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November 7, 1785–November 5, 1786

Paul H. Smith, Editor

Ronald M. Gephart, Associate Editor

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Editorial Method and Apparatus

In its treatment of documents this edition of delegate letters strives to achieve a middle ground between facsimile reproduction and thorough modernization. The original spelling and grammar are allowed to stand except where editorial changes or insertions are required to make the text intelligible. Words omitted through oversight, however, have been supplied at appropriate places in italic type in brackets, and obvious slips of the pen and inadvertent repetitions are usually silently corrected. Capitalization and punctuation have been standardized according to certain conventions. Each sentence begins with a capital letter, as do all proper and geographic names as well as days of the week and months of the year. Doubtful cases have been resolved in favor of modern usage; otherwise the usage of the original texts has been followed. Generally, abbreviations, contractions, and monetary signs are preserved as they appear in manuscript except when they are ambiguous or misleading. On the other hand, the thorn and the tilde are consistently expanded. "Ye" always appears as "The," for instance, and "re~cvd" as "received." Likewise, "pr." and tailed *p*'s are always expanded to "per," "pre," or "pro," as the case demands. Finally, superscript letters are always lowered to the line.

Gaps in the text are indicated by ellipses in brackets for missing words and by blank spaces in brackets for missing numbers. Conjectural readings are supplied in roman type in brackets, and editorial insertions in italic type in brackets. Material canceled in manuscript but restored to the printed text is included in italic type in angle brackets ("square parentheses"). Marginalia in letters are treated as postscripts if not obviously keyed to the body of the document, and postscripts which appear without explicit designation are supplied with a *P.S.* in brackets. Documents are arranged chronologically, with more than one document of the same date arranged alphabetically according to writer. Documents dated only by the month or by the year are placed at the end of the respective month or year. Place-and-date lines always appear on the same line with the salutation regardless of their position in the manuscript.

A descriptive note at the foot of each entry provides abbreviations indicating the nature and location of the document when it was copied for this project, except for privately owned manuscripts whose ownership is explained. The descriptive note also contains information on the document's authorship if explanation is necessary, and endorsements or addresses are quoted when they contain more than routine information. Other editorial practices employed in this work are explained in the sections on editorial apparatus which follow.

TEXTUAL DEVICES

The following devices will be used in this work to clarify the text.

[...], [...]	One or two words missing and not conjecturable.
[...] ¹ , [...] ¹	More than two words missing; subjoined footnote estimates amount of material missing.
[]	Number or part of a number missing or illegible.
[] ¹	Blank space in manuscript; explanation in subjoined footnote.
[roman]	Conjectural reading for missing or illegible matter; question mark inserted if reading is doubtful.
[<i>italic</i>]	Editorial insertion in the text.
< <i>italic</i> >	Matter crossed out in manuscript but restored.

DESCRIPTIVE SYMBOLS

The following symbols are used in this work to describe the kinds of documents drawn upon. When more than one symbol is used in the descriptive note, the first to appear is that from which the main text is taken.

RC	recipient's copy
FC	file copy
LB	letterbook copy
MS	manuscript
Tr	transcript (used to designate not only contemporary and later handwritten copies of manuscripts, but also printed documents)

LOCATION SYMBOLS

The following symbols, denoting institutions holding the manuscripts in the present volume, are taken from *Symbols of American Libraries*, 14th ed. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1992). Each volume of this edition will contain a revised list.

CsMh	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
Ct	Connecticut State Library, Hartford
CtHi	Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford
CtY	Yale University, New Haven
DLC	Library of Congress
DLC(ESR)	Library of Congress, Early State Records Collection
DNA	National Archives and Records Administration
DNDAR	Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D.C.
DSI	Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
De-Ar	Delaware Public Archives Commission, Dover
DeHi	Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington

ICHi	Chicago Historical Society
InHi	Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis
M-Ar	Massachusetts Archives, Boston
MB	Boston Public Library
MBevHi	Beverly Historical Society, Beverly, Mass.
MH-H	Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MdAA	Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore
MeHi	Maine Historical Society, Portland
MiU-C	William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.
MCooHi	New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, N.Y.
N	New York State Library, Albany
NHi	New-York Historical Society, New York
NIC	Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
NN	New York Public Library, New York
NNC	Columbia University, New York
NNPM	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
Nc-Ar	North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh
Nh-Ar	New Hampshire Division of Archives and Records Management, Concord
NjHi	New Jersey Historical Society, Newark
NjMoHP	Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N.J.
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
O	Ohio State Library, Columbus
OHi	Ohio Historical Society, Columbus
OMC	Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio
PBL	Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa.
PBMCA	Moravian Church Northern Province Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.
PHC	Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
PHarH	Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PP	Free Library of Philadelphia
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia
PPL	Library Company of Philadelphia
PSC	Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
R-Ar	Rhode Island State Archives, Providence
RPB	Brown University, Providence
RPJCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence
ScCoAH	South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia
TxU	University of Texas, Austin
Vi	Virginia State Library, Richmond

ViFreJM	James Monroe Memorial Foundation, Fredericksburg, Va.
ViHi	Virginia Historical Society, Richmond
VtU	University of Vermont, Burlington

ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

AHR

The American Historical Review.

Bio. Dict. of Md. Legis.

A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789.
 Edited by Edward C. Papenfuss et al. 2 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979–85.

Bio. Dir. Cong.

U.S. Congress. *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–1989.* Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989.

Brunhouse, *Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania*

Robert L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776–1790.* Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942.

Burnett, *Letters*

Burnett, Edmund C., ed. *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress.* 8 vols. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921–36.

DAB

Dictionary of American Biography. Edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone.

Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89

The Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States of America, from the Signing of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, 10th September, 1783, to the Adoption of the Constitution, March 4, 1789. 3 vols. Washington: John C. Rives, 1855.

Ernst, *Rufus King*

Ernst, Robert. *Rufus King: American Federalist.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968.

Evans, *Am. Bibliography*

Evans, Charles. *American Bibliography,* 12 vols. Chicago: Privately printed, 1903–34.

Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse*

Ferguson, E. James. *The Power of the Purse.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961.

Gross, *In Debt to Shays*

Gross, Robert A., ed. *In Debt to Shays: The Bicentennial of an Agrarian Rebellion.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993.

Guild, *Early History of Brown University*

Guild, Reuben A. *Early History of Brown University, including the Life, Times, and Correspondence of President Manning, 1756–1791.* 1897. Reprint. New York: Arno Press, 1980.

Hall, *Politics without Parties*

Hall, Van Beck. *Politics without Parties, Massachusetts, 1780–1791*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972.

Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett)

Hamilton, Alexander. *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*. Edited by Harold C. Syrett et al. 26 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961–86.

Heitman, *Historical Register*

Heitman, F. B. *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April 1775 to December 1783*. Washington [Baltimore]: Press of Nichols, Killam & Maffitt, 1893.

Hening, *Statutes*

Hening, William W. *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*. 13 vols. Richmond: J. & G. Cochran, 1809–23.

Henry, *Patrick Henry*

Henry, William Wirt. *Patrick Henry, Life, Correspondence, and Speeches*. 3 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891.

Jay, *Papers* (Morris and Sirvet)

Jay, John. *John Jay: Confederation and Union; State Papers and Private Correspondence, 1784–1789*. Edited by Richard B. Morris and Ene Sirvet. New York: Harper & Row, forthcoming.

JCC

U. S. Continental Congress. *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789*. 34 vols. Edited by Worthington C. Ford, Gaillard Hunt, and John C. Fitzpatrick. Washington: Library of Congress, 1904–37.

Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd)

Jefferson, Thomas. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Edited by Julian P. Boyd et al. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950–.

Jensen, *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*

Jensen, Merrill, ed. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976–.

King, *Correspondence* (King)

King, Rufus. *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*. Edited by Charles R. King. 4 vols. 1894–1900. Reprint. New York: Da Capo Press, 1971.

Livingston, *Papers* (Prince)

Livingston, William. *The Papers of William Livingston*. Edited by Carl E. Prince et al. 5 vols. Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1979–88.

Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson)

Madison, James. *The Papers of James Madison*. Edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962–73.

Madison, *Papers* (Rutland)

Madison, James. *The Papers of James Madison*. Edited by Robert A. Rutland et al. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975–.

Md. Archives

Archives of Maryland. Edited by William H. Browne. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-.

Morris, Forging of the Union

Morris, Richard B. *The Forging of the Union, 1781-1789.* New York: Harper & Row, 1987.

Morris, Papers (Ferguson)

Morris, Robert. *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784.* Edited by E. James Ferguson et al. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973-.

N. C. State Records

North Carolina. *The State Records of North Carolina.* Edited by Walter Clark. Vols. 11-16. Winston and Goldsboro, N.C.: N. I. and J. C. Stewart et al., 1895-1914.

Pa. Archives

Pennsylvania Archives. 9 series, 119 vols. in 120. Philadelphia: J. Severns & Co., 1852-56; Harrisburg: State Printer, 1874-1935.

Pa. Council Minutes

Pennsylvania. *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, from Its Organization to the Revolution.* 6 vols. [Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, vols. 11-16]. Harrisburg: Theo. Fenn & Co., 1852-53.

PCC

Papers of the Continental Congress. National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, D.C.

PMHB

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography

Polishook, Rhode Island and the Union

Polishook, Irwin H. *Rhode Island and the Union, 1774-1795.* Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1969.

Ramsay, Writings (Brunhouse)

Ramsay, David. *David Ramsay, 1749-1815: Selections from His Writings.* Edited by Robert L. Brunhouse. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s., vol. 55, pt. 4. Philadelphia, 1965.

Ritcheson, Aftermath of Revolution

Ritcheson, Charles R. *Aftermath of Revolution, British Policy toward the United States, 1783-1795.* Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1969.

Spaulding, New York in the Critical Period

Spaulding, Ernest Wilder. *New York in the Critical Period, 1783-1789.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1932.

*Sullivan, Letters (Hammond)**Sullivan, John, Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan.*

Edited by Otis G. Hammond. 3 vols. Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, vols. 13-15. Concord: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1930-39.

Susquehannah Co. Papers

Boyd, Julian P., and Taylor, Robert R., eds. *The Susquehannah Company Papers*. 11 vols. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962-71.

Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick)

Washington, George. *The Writings of George Washington*. Edited by John C. Fitzpatrick. 39 vols. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931-44.

Acknowledgments

This edition began in 1970 as a project of the Library of Congress American Revolution Bicentennial Office, now incorporated into the Library's Manuscript Division as the Historical Publications Office. The Library has had a long tradition of publishing scholarship on the period of the American Revolution. Its monumental edition of the *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (34 vols., Washington, 1904-37) is a predecessor of the present work and will be a companion to it. The editors wish to thank the Ford Foundation for a substantial gift which has been indispensable to the progress of the edition. Our appreciation is also extended to the innumerable individuals who have contributed to enriching the holdings of the Library of Congress to make it the premier institution for conducting research on the American Revolution.

The photocopies of the twenty-three thousand documents that have been collected for this project have been assembled through the cooperation of several hundred institutions and private individuals devoted to preserving the documentary record upon which the history and traditions of the American people rest, and it is to their work that a documentary publication of this nature should ultimately be dedicated. Unfortunately, all the many contributors to this collecting effort cannot be adequately recognized, but for permission to print documents appearing in the present volume we are especially grateful to the following institutions: the Algemeen Rijksarchief (The Hague), American Philosophical Society, Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères (Paris), Beverly Historical Society, Boston Public Library, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Chicago Historical Society, William L. Clements Library, Columbia University, Connecticut Historical Society, Connecticut State Library, Cornell University, Daughters of the American Revolution, Historical Society of Delaware, Delaware Public Archives Commission, Harvard University, Haverford College, Henry E. Huntington Library, Indiana Historical Society, Lehigh University, Maine Historical Society, Marietta College, Maryland Hall of Records, Maryland Historical Society, Massachusetts Archives Division, Massachusetts Historical Society, James Monroe Memorial Foundation, Moravian Church Northern Province Archives, Pierpont Morgan Library, Morristown National Historical Park, National Archives and Records Administration, New Hampshire Division of Archives and Records Management, New Jersey Historical Society, New-York Historical Society, New York Public Library, New York State

Library, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Ohio Historical Society, Ohio State Library, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Free Library of Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia, Princeton University, Rhode Island State Archives, Smithsonian Institution, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, University of South Carolina, Swarthmore College, University of Texas, Virginia Historical Society, Virginia State Library, University of Virginia, and Yale University. And in addition we express our thanks and appreciation to Mrs. Elsie O. and Mr. Philip D. Sang.

This work has benefitted not only from Edmund C. Burnett's path-finding 8-volume edition of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* but also from the generous cooperation of the editors of several other documentary publications with a common focus on the revolutionary era. From them the Library has borrowed heavily and to them it owes a debt it can never adequately acknowledge. It is a pleasure to give special thanks to the editors of the papers of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Laurens, James Madison, Robert Morris, and George Washington. Finally we owe thanks to the historians who served on the Advisory Committee on the Library's American Revolution Bicentennial Program, and especially to Mr. Julian P. Boyd, Mr. Lyman H. Butterfield, and Mr. Merrill Jensen, who generous acted as an advisory committee for the *Letters* project.

Paul H. Smith
Historical Publications Office
Manuscript Division

Chronology of Congress

NOVEMBER 1785–NOVEMBER 1786

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| November 7 | Convenes at New York City, three states represented. |
| November 23 | Achieves quorum, seven states represented; elects John Hancock president (in absentia), David Ramsay chairman. |
| November 24 | Elects two congressional chaplains. |
| November 25 | Receives report on British consul John Temple. |
| November 28–29 | Fails to achieve quorum. |
| December 2 | Recognizes John Temple as British consul. |
| December 5–26 | Fails to achieve quorum. |
| December 27 | Receives secretary at war reports. |
| January 2 | Receives British complaint on treatment of loyalists. |
| January 4 | Receives reports on states' response to appeals to grant Congress authority to raise revenue and regulate trade. |
| January 5 | Receives report on Algerian capture of American seamen. |
| January 12 | Receives report on settlement of Continental accounts. |
| January 18 | Refers Connecticut cession to committee. |
| January 19 | Orders report on 1786 fiscal estimates. |
| January 27 | Elects Samuel Shaw consul to Canton, China. |
| January 30 | Appeals to six unrepresented states to send delegates. |
| February 1 | Removes injunction of secrecy on correspondence concerning "the appointment of Commissioners to treat with the Barbary powers." |
| February 3 | Debates states' response to congressional fiscal appeals. |

February 8	Receives report on French loan interest requirements.
February 9	Justifies abolishing salaries of court of appeals judges
February 15	Reaffirms necessity for granting Congress revenue authority.
February 16–24	Fails to achieve quorum.
February 25	Receives reports on Franco-American postal plan and on 1786 fiscal estimates.
March 3	Repeats call to the states for authority to regulate trade.
March 7	Appoints committee to confer with New Jersey Assembly on its refusal to comply with 1786 Continental requisition.
March 10	Rejects New York appeal for an extension of time for receiving Continental claims from citizens of the state.
March 14	Clarifies form of oaths required for Continental officeholders.
March 17–18	Fails to achieve quorum.
March 21	Receives report on capital punishment in military courts martial.
March 22	Receives report of New Jersey's reversal of opposition to 1786 Continental requisition.
March 24	Appoints single commissioner to consolidate settlement of accounts of the five great departments (clothier, commissary, hospital, marine, and quartermaster).
March 27	Orders arrest of Maj. John Wyllys for execution of army deserters.
March 29	Directs secretary for foreign affairs to report on negotiations for British evacuation of frontier posts.
April 5	Receives report on "negotiations, and other measnres to be taken with the Barbary powers."
April 10	Receives report on Connecticut land cession.
April 12	Receives board of treasury report on coinage.

- April 19 Rejects Massachusetts request for Continental ordinance.
- April 27 Receives translations of French decree on fisheries bounties.
- May 2 Holds audience with Cornplanter and other Seneca chiefs.
- May 5 Holds audience with Cornplanter and other Seneca chiefs.
- May 6 Fails to achieve quorum.
- May 8 Appoints second commissioner for settlement of accounts of the five great departments.
- May 9 Directs Continental Geographer to proceed with survey of western territory.
- May 11 Debates Connecticut cession.
- May 12 Declares navigable waters in the territories forever free to their inhabitants and to the citizens of the United States.
- May 15 Elects Nathaniel Gorham chairman of Congress to succeed David Ramsay.
- May 17 Ratifies Prussian-American treaty of commerce.
- May 18 Postpones to September meeting of agents for Georgia-South Carolina boundary dispute.
- May 22-25 Debates Connecticut cession.
- May 26 Declares conditional acceptance of Connecticut cession.
- May 29 Fails to achieve quorum.
- May 31 Amends rules of war; receives John Jay request for a committee to confer with him on negotiations with Diego de Gardoqui.
- June 5 Receives resignation of President John Hancock; receives report on military establishment.
- June 6 Elects Chairman Nathaniel Gorham president of Congress.
- June 13-14 Fails to achieve quorum.
- June 15 Receives reports on prospects for Indian hostilities and on Continental arsenals and magazines.

- June 16 Orders Indian commissioners to report on prospects for hostilities.
- June 19–20 Fails to achieve quorum.
- June 21 Bans acceptance of paper money by post offices.
- June 22 Orders troop reinforcements “to the rapids of the Ohio.”
- June 27 Directs court of appeals judges to reconvene November 6 and reinstates salaries on per diem basis.
- June 28 Receives draft ordinance for the Indian department.
- June 30 Responds to Virginia appeal for protection against western Indians.
- July 4 Celebrates anniversary of independence.
- July 7 Requests revision of Virginia cession to permit creation of “not more than five nor less than three” states from the northwest territory.
- July 12 Revokes commissions of those appointed to negotiate treaties with the Indians.
- July 13 Recommits draft territorial plan of government.
- July 21 Debates Indian affairs ordinance.
- July 24 Orders second reading of Indian affairs ordinance.
- July 27 Seeks revision of New York act authorizing Continental impost.
- August 1 Receives report on arsenals and ordnance.
- August 2 Adopts 1786 requisition.
- August 3 Authorizes purchase of West Point; confers with secretary for foreign affairs on negotiation of treaty with Spain.
- August 7 Adopts Indian affairs ordinance.
- August 8 Adopts coinage standards; orders board of treasury to report an ordinance for establishment of a mint.
- August 9 Appeals to North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia for land cessions.

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| August 10 | Debates John Jay's instructions for negotiating Spanish treaty. |
| August 14 | Appoints committee to meet with Pennsylvania Assembly on revising act authorizing Continental impost. |
| August 16-23 | Debates John Jay's instructions for negotiating Spanish treaty. |
| August 24 | Orders relief for displaced Moravian Indians. |
| August 28 | Debates John Jay's negotiating instructions. |
| August 29 | Repeals John Jay's negotiating instructions by seven-to-five vote (which was contested on the ground that nine votes were constitutionally required). |
| August 30-31 | Debates repeal of John Jay's instructions. |
| September 1-2 | Debates repeal of John Jay's instructions. |
| September 4 | Convenes agents for appointing a court to hear South Carolina-Georgia boundary dispute. |
| September 5 | Authorizes settlement of Pennsylvania fiscal claim. |
| September 11 | Receives South Carolina appeal for congressional intervention in hearing boundary dispute with Georgia. |
| September 12 | Receives John Jay report on consular convention with France. |
| September 13 | Selects judges for hearing South Carolina-Georgia boundary dispute. |
| September 14 | Accepts Connecticut land cession. |
| September 18 | Bars payment of Continental requisitions in paper money. |
| September 20 | Receives report on Annapolis Convention; orders postmasters "to receive no other money in payment for postage than specie." |
| September 25 | Receives report on conference of congressional committee with Pennsylvania Assembly. |
| September 28 | Debates repeal of John Jay's negotiating instructions. |
| September 29 | Debates ordinance for territorial government. |

- October 3 Instructs Thomas Jefferson on renegotiation of consular convention with France.
- October 4 Debates Northwest ordinance.
- October 6 Elects James White southern Indian superintendent.
- October 10 Directs Indian superintendent to confer with southern states.
- October 13 Adopts ordinance for settlement of the states' Continental accounts; receives report on British response to request for evacuation of frontier posts.
- October 16 Adopts ordinance for establishment of a mint.
- October 18 Receives secretary at war's report on Shays' rebellion.
- October 21 Increases military establishment—ostensibly for Indian defense but with an eye to the “disorders” in Massachusetts.
- October 23 Appeals to states for authority to regulate trade; authorizes secretary for foreign affairs to inspect the mails for reasons of national security (excepting the mail of members of Congress).
- October 26 Orders inquiry into postal service.
- October 30 Authorizes suspension of interest credits on Rhode Island-held debt in retaliation for state paper money policy.
- November 1–2 Debates postal reform.
- November 3 Adjourns—referring “the several matters now before Congress” to the new Congress scheduled to meet “on Monday next” (but which first achieved a quorum January 17, 1787).

List of Delegates to Congress

This section lists both the dates on which delegates were elected to terms falling within the period covered by this volume and the inclusive dates of their attendance. The former are generally ascertainable from contemporary state records, but the latter are often elusive bits of information derived from the journals of Congress or extrapolated from references contained in the delegates' correspondence, and in many cases the "facts" are inevitably conjectural. It is not possible to determine interruptions in the attendance of many delegates, and no attempt has been made to record interruptions in service caused by illness or brief trips home, especially delegates from New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey living within easy access of Congress. For occasional references to such periods of intermittent service as survive in the correspondence and notes of various delegates, see the index under individual delegates. Until fuller information is provided in a consolidated summary of delegate attendance in the final volume of this series, the reader is advised to consult Burnett, *Letters*, 8:xxxiii–xcviii, for additional information on conjectural dates of attendance. Brief biographical sketches of all the delegates are available in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–1989*, and fuller sketches of more than half of the delegates can be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

CONNECTICUT

John Canfield

Elected: May 11, 1786

Did not attend Congress

Joseph Platt Cooke

Elected: May 12, 1785; May 11, 1786

Did not attend November 1785 to November 1786

James Hillhouse

Elected: May 11, 1786

Did not attend Congress

William Hillhouse

Elected: May 12, 1785

Did not attend Congress

William Samuel Johnson

Elected: May 12, 1785; May 11, 1786

Attended: November 22 to December 30, 1785; January 2 to February 15; March 9 to May 26; June 9–10; July 3 to October 23, 1786

Stephen Mix Mitchell

Elected: May 12, 1785; May 11, 1786

Attended: December 27, 1785 to May 30, 1786

Jonathan Sturges

Elected: May 12, 1785; May 11, 1786

Attended: July 12–21; July 28 to October 23, 1786

John Treadwell

Elected: May 12, 1785

Did not attend Congress

James Wadsworth

Elected: May 12, 1785; May 11, 1786

Did not attend in 1785–86

DELAWARE

Gunning Bedford, Jr.

Elected: November 4, 1785

Did not attend November 1785 to November 1786

John Patten

Elected: November 4, 1785

Attended: May 1–19, 1786

William Peery

Elected: November 4, 1785

Attended: June 5–16, 1786

Thomas Rodney

Elected: November 4, 1785

Attended: May 2–19, 1786

John Vining

Elected: November 4, 1785

Did not attend November 1785 to November 1786

GEORGIA

Abraham Baldwin

Elected: January 19, 1785

Attended: November 23 to December 2, 1785

William Few

Elected: January 19, 1785; February 10, April 1, 1786

Attended: May 8 to November 5, 1786

William Gibbons

Elected: January 19, 1785

Did not attend 1785–86

John Habersham

Elected: January 19, 1785

Did not attend November 1785 to November 1786

William Houstoun

Elected: January 19, 1785; February 10, 1786

Attended: November 7, 1785 to February 9; May 8 to June 7; June 26 to November 3, 1786

Henry Osborne

Elected: February 10, 1786

Did not attend Congress

Edward Telfair

Elected: January 19, 1785

Did not attend 1785-86

MARYLAND

Samuel Chase

Elected: December 4, 1784

Did not attend in 1785

William Harrison

Elected: November 24, 1785

Attended: March 24 to September 20? 1786

John Henry

Elected: December 17, 1784; November 24, 1785

Attended: June 13 to November 5, 1786

William Hindman

Elected: December 17, 1784; November 24, 1785

Attended: November 7 to December 2, 1785; January 17 to June 30, September 13-14, October 12? 1786

James McHenry

Elected: December 4, 1784

Attended: November 7 to December 2, 1785

Luther Martin

Elected: December 17, 1784

Did not attend Congress

Nathaniel Ramsey

Elected: November 24, 1785

Attended: June 26 to November 5, 1786

Richard Ridgeley

Elected: November 24, 1785

Did not attend Congress

Gustavus Scott

Elected: December 4, 1784

Did not attend Congress

MASSACHUSETTS

Nathan Dane

Elected: June 16, 1785; June 27, 1786

Attended: November 17, 1785 to July 27; September 13 to November 3, 1786

Nathaniel Gorham

Elected: June 16, 1785; June 27, 1786

Attended: January 17 to March 7; March 22 to November 5, 1786
(on mission to New Jersey Assembly March 8–21, 1786)*John Hancock*

Elected: June 16, 1785

Did not attend in 1785–86

Samuel Holten

Elected: June 27, 1786

Did not attend in 1786

Rufus King

Elected: June 16, 1785; June 27, 1786

Attended: November 7, 1785 to November 5, 1786 (on mission to
Pennsylvania Assembly September 6–24, 1786)*Theodore Sedgwick*

Elected: June 16, 1785

Attended: December 12–24, 1785; June 1 to August 22, 1786

NEW HAMPSHIRE

George Atkinson

Elected: June 21, 1785

Did not attend Congress

Abiel Foster

Elected: June 14, 1786

Did not attend in 1786

Nicholas Gilman

Elected: June 27, 1786

Did not attend in 1786

John Langdon

Elected: June 14, 1786

Did not attend in 1786

Woodbury Langdon

Elected: June 21, 1785

Did not attend in 1785–86

Samuel Livermore

Elected: November 4, 1785

Attended: December 7, 1785 to April 5; June 26 to September 1, 1786

Pierse Long

Elected: June 21, 1785; June 14, 1786

Attended: November 28, 1785 to September 20, 1786

Nathaniel Peabody

Elected: June 21, 1785

Did not attend in 1785–86

John Pickering

Elected: June 14, 1786

Declined

John Sparhawk

Elected: June 14, 1786

Did not attend Congress

Timothy Walker

Elected: November 4, 1785

Did not attend Congress

NEW JERSEY

Lambert Cadwalader

Elected: October 28, 1785

Attended: December 12, 1785 to February 6; August 7 to October 29, 1786

Josiah Hornblower

Elected: October 28, 1785

Attended: November 8, 1785 to November 5, 1786

John Cleves Symmes

Elected: October 28, 1785

Attended: November 7, 1785 to August 23?; September 13 to October 29, 1786

NEW YORK

John Haring

Elected: March 26, 1785; February 24, 1786

Attended: November 7-14, 1785; January 26?-31; April 19? to May 31; June 13? to November 5, 1786

John Laurance

Elected: March 26, 1785; February 24, 1786

Attended: November 7, 1785 to March 16?; May 1-15, June 1-5?; July 19-20; August 16? to September 1?; October 30 to November 5, 1786

Zephaniah Platt

Elected: March 26, 1785; February 24, 1786

Attended: November 15, 1785; March 10-18? 1786

Melancton Smith

Elected: March 26, 1785; February 24, 1786

Attended: November 7, 1785 to November 5, 1786

Peter W. Yates

Elected: March 26, 1785; February 24, 1786

Attended: January 17 to February 9, 1786

NORTH CAROLINA

Timothy Bloodworth

Elected: November 20, 1784; December 9, 1785

Attended: May 3 to October 5, 1786

William Blount

Elected: November 20, 1784; December 9, 1785

Attended: May 3 to June 1? 1786

Robert Burton

Elected: December 9, 1785

Did not attend in 1785–86

William Cumming

Elected: May 24, 1784; December 12, 1785

Did not attend November 1785 to November 1786

Charles Johnson

Elected: November 20, 1784

Did not attend Congress

Nathaniel Macon

Elected: December 9, 1785

Did not attend Congress

Abner Nash

Elected: December 9, 1785

Did not attend under this election

Adlai Osborn

Elected: November 20, 1784

Did not attend Congress

John Sitgreaves

Elected: November 20, 1784

Did not attend November 1785 to November 1786

Richard Dobbs Spaight

Elected: November 22, 1784

Did not attend November 1785 to November 1786

James White

Elected: December 12, 1785

Attended: May 3 to October 5, 1786

PENNSYLVANIA

John Bubenheim Bayard

Elected: November 11, 1785

Attended: November 23, 1785 to March 17; March 30 to June 1;
June 26 to September 22; October 11 to November 5, 1786

Matthew Clarkson

Elected: February 19, 1785

Did not attend Congress

Joseph Gardner

Elected: November 16, 1784

Did not attend November 1785 to November 1786

William Henry

Elected: November 16, 1784; November 11, 1785

Did not attend November 1785 to November 1786 (All JCC references
to William Henry in 1786 should be to John Henry of Maryland)

David Jackson

Elected: February 19, 1785

Did not attend November 7, 1785 to November 1786

William Montgomery

Elected: November 16, 1784

Did not attend Congress

Charles Pettit

Elected: November 11, 1785

Attended: November 22, 1785, to February 20?; April 24 to August 18; September 26 to November 5, 1786

Arthur St. Clair

Elected: November 11, 1785

Attended: February 20 to March 28; May 1-26; August 16 to October 6, 1786

James Wilson

Elected: November 11, 1785

Attended: March 22-28; May 15-26; June 15-22, 1786

RHODE ISLAND

Peleg Arnold

Elected: May 3, 1786

Did not attend in 1786

John Brown

Elected: May 4, 1785

Did not attend Congress

George Champlin

Elected: May 4, 1785; May 3, 1786

Did not attend Congress

James Manning

Elected: March 2, 1786

Attended: May 3 to September 1; September 25-29; October 10-25, 1786

Nathan Miller

Elected: March 2, May 3, 1786

Attended: July 14 to September 1; September 25 to October 26, 1786

Paul Mumford

Elected: May 4, 1785

Did not attend Congress

Peter Philips

Elected: May 4, 1785

Did not attend Congress

James Mitchell Varnum

Elected: May 3, 1786

Did not attend in 1786

SOUTH CAROLINA

Thomas Bee

Elected: February 16, 1786

Declined

John Bull

Elected: February 11, 1785; February 16, 1786

Attended: November 7-14, 1785; July 17 to September 1?; September 20 to October 4; October 12-13, 1786

Daniel Huger

Elected: February 16, 1786

Attended: June 22 to September 1?; September 29 to November 5, 1786

John Kean

Elected: February 11, 1785; February 16, 1786

Attended: November 7, 1785 to May 25, 1786; July 3-7?; September 13?-20? 1786

John Parker

Elected: February 23, 1786

Attended: July 3 to November 3, 1786

Charles Pinckney

Elected: February 11, 1785; February 16, 1786

Attended: November 7, 1785, to March 31?; May 3? to June 7; June 22 to November 5, 1786 (on mission to New Jersey Assembly March 8-21, 1786)

David Ramsay

Elected: February 11, 1785

Attended: November 22, 1785 to May 12, 1786

Jacob Read

Elected: February 11, 1785

Did not attend November 1785 to November 1786

VIRGINIA

Edward Carrington

Elected: November 15, 1785

Attended: March 3 to November 3, 1786

William Grayson

Elected: November 15, 1785

Attended: February 13 to March 7; March 22 to September 1? 1786 (on mission to New Jersey Assembly March 8-21, 1786)

Henry Lee

Elected: November 15, 1785

Attended: February 1 to April 28; June 1? to November 3, 1786

Richard Henry Lee

Elected: November 15, 1785

Did not attend November 1785 to November 1786

James Monroe

Elected: November 15, 1785

Attended: December 20, 1785, to October 5? 1786 (on mission to Pennsylvania Assembly September 6–24, 1786)

Illustrations

Plan of the City of New York

endpapers

This "Plan" was drawn by John McComb in 1789. Federal Hall, where Congress met from 1785 to 1789, is located at the intersection of Wall and Broad Streets, one block southeast of Broad Way.

Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress. G3804.N4 1789.M3.

Charles Pettit

106

Pettit (1736–1806) was born in New Jersey and learned the mercantile trade through his father's Philadelphia importing business. With his marriage to Sarah Reed, daughter of a Trenton merchant, he followed his New Jersey connections, held minor public offices, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1770. He succeeded Joseph Reed, his wife's half-brother, as deputy secretary of the province, clerk of the council and of the superior court, and was appointed aide to Gov. William Franklin in 1771. Upon Franklin's arrest as a Loyalist in 1776, Pettit followed the patriot cause and continued as secretary of the new state government. He was appointed aide to Gov. William Livingston in October 1776, and assistant quartermaster general of the Continental Army under Gen. Nathanael Greene in March 1778, a post he held until June 1781. He subsequently became a Philadelphia importer, but returned to public office as a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1784–85 and as a delegate to Congress, 1785–87. Widely regarded as a fiscal authority, Pettit drafted important fiscal legislation for the Assembly, published a pamphlet to explain the state's funding system in 1788, and was appointed to present Pennsylvania's extensive Continental claims to Congress in 1790–91. In the Confederation Congress he served on numerous committees concerned with fiscal and commercial issues, advocated granting Congress power to regulate trade and raise a revenue, and defended Pennsylvania's efforts to protect the state's public creditors who had invested heavily in Continental securities.

Engraving by Max Rosenthal. Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Nathan Dane

124

Dane (1752–1835) spent most of his early years on his father's Ipswich, Mass., farm, turning to college at the late age of 22 and graduating from Harvard in 1778. Thereafter he progressed rapidly, teach-

ing school, studying law with William Wetmore of Salem, gaining admission to the bar, and beginning practice of the law at Beverly in 1782. He was elected the same year to the Massachusetts General Court, where he served three years before being elected to Congress, 1785–87, and to the Massachusetts Senate, 1790, 1793–98. Increasing deafness forced Dane from public deliberations, but he was appointed a commissioner to revise the laws of the Commonwealth, devoting much of his time to the work until 1812. He published an eight-volume *Abridgement and Digest of American Law* in 1823. In Congress Dane was concerned over the reluctance of the states to adopt the Continental impost to provide adequate revenues, but argued against a general overhaul of the Confederation until the Shaysite threat in Massachusetts convinced him, along with most of the state's leaders, of the necessity for strengthening the federal government. He has been noted for the central role he played in drafting the Northwest Ordinance, particularly in adding the provision that "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory."

Painting by Marcia Oakes Woodbury after the original in Dane Hall, Harvard College. Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

John Kean

165

Kean (1756–95), a wealthy Charleston, S.C., merchant-planter, led an inconspicuous public life until his capture by the British at the fall of Charleston in 1780. Following his release he represented St. Helena Parish in the South Carolina Assembly in 1782 and 1785–86 and was elected to represent the state in Congress in 1785–87. Kean married Susan Livingston, daughter of Peter Van Brugh Livingston, in 1786, thereafter residing in New York City, and was later named by President Washington commissioner for settling Continental Army accounts in 1790 and cashier of the Bank of the United States in 1791. Kean's work in Congress had a strong bent toward commercial and fiscal issues, and he was indefatigable in pursuit of South Carolina's claim against Spain for the use of the state's frigate in naval operations against Britain. He also took great interest in the conduct of Indian affairs in the southern department, served on the committee that drafted the Northwest Ordinance, and urged the sale of western lands in Europe to raise immediate revenue.

Engraving by Max Rosenthal. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. LC-USZ62–54685.

John Bubenheim Bayard

185

Bayard (1738–1807), a Philadelphia merchant, was born and educated in Maryland, joined a Philadelphia mercantile house as a young man, and emerged as a moderate leader in opposition to British im-

perial policies in 1765–66. He was a member of the provincial convention of 1774, of the council of safety in 1776–77, and of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1776–79, 1784, of which was elected speaker in 1777–78. He became colonel of the second battalion of Philadelphia Volunteers, seeing action at the battles of Princeton, Brandywine, and Germantown, and was subsequently elected to the Pennsylvania Executive Council, 1781–82, and served in the Confederation Congress, 1785–86. He moved to New Brunswick, N.J., in 1788, where he was elected mayor in 1790, and was later appointed judge of the court of common pleas. In Congress he deferred to members who were more gifted oratorically, but ardently defended Pennsylvania interests, especially in the Wyoming Valley. He also served on committees charged with preparing new regulations for the militia and the Continental Post Office.

Engraved for the *Evangelical Intelligencer*. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. LC-USZ62–54693.

Stephen Mix Mitchell

228

Mitchell (1743–1835), a Connecticut jurist, was born at Wethersfield and graduated from Yale College in 1763. He continued his studies there three additional years, followed by three years as tutor, during which time he began reading law with Jared Ingersoll. Mitchell was admitted to the bar in 1770 and practiced law until 1779, when he was appointed associate judge of the Hartford county court. He was elevated to the chief judgeship in 1790, appointed to the state superior court in 1795, and named chief justice in 1807, a post he retired from in 1814. Mitchell also served in the Connecticut Assembly, 1778–83, on the Council, 1784–93, as delegate to Congress, 1785–88, and in the United States Senate, 1793–95. In Congress he was successful in securing acceptance of Connecticut's land cession with recognition of its claim to a "western reserve," and advocated adoption of the Continental impost to secure needed Continental revenues. But he was ambivalent about augmenting the powers of Congress, for although he lamented its general weakness and worried over the Shaysite disorders in Massachusetts, he opposed calling a convention for a general revision of the Confederation.

Painting (ca. 1827) attributed to Samuel Finley Breese Morse. Connecticut Historical Society.

David Ramsay

289

Ramsay (1749–1815), a Charleston, S.C., physician and historian, graduated from the College of New Jersey and received his medical education at the College of Philadelphia. Following a brief practice in Maryland, he moved in 1773 to Charleston where he quickly became

established and entered public life as a member of the South Carolina Assembly, 1776–80. Arrested by the British in August 1780 and exiled to St. Augustine, he returned to the Assembly after his release, 1782–90, represented the state in Congress, 1782–83, 1785–86, and served in the state Senate, 1791–97, including several terms as president. While a prisoner of war in Florida, Ramsay turned to recording events of the Revolution and increased his research as a member of Congress, publishing a two-volume *History of Revolution in South-Carolina* in 1785 and a two-volume *History of the American Revolution* in 1789. He subsequently published a life of *George Washington* (1807), a two-volume *History of South-Carolina, From Its First Settlement* (1816), and a twelve-volume *Universal History Americanized* (1819). Ramsay was twice a widower, less than a year after his marriage in 1775 to Sabina Ellis, and less than two years after his marriage in 1783 to Frances Witherspoon, daughter of John Witherspoon. In 1787, however, he married Henry Laurens' daughter, Martha, by whom he had eleven children. In Congress, Ramsay lamented the decline of patriotism and commitment to the union, advocated adoption of the impost to provide adequate revenues, and recommended the calling of "a continental convention for the purpose of enlarging the powers of Congress." He served as chairman of Congress from November 23, 1785 to May 12, 1786 in the absence of President John Hancock.

Painting by Charles Willson Peale. Independence National Historical Park.

James Manning

292

Manning (1738–91), a Baptist minister and first president of Rhode Island College (later Brown University), was born in New Jersey and graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1762. Although he began his ministry in the Philadelphia Association of Baptist Churches, he settled in Warren, R.I., in 1764, opening a Latin School and becoming pastor of its Baptist church. The following year he was elected president, at age 27, of the new college that opened there before it was moved to Providence in 1770. Administering Rhode Island College during its first 26 years, Manning was looked upon as a leader over a wide region and conducted Baptist evangelical campaigns throughout the Philadelphia and Warren Baptist Associations. He accepted election to Congress in 1786 primarily to support the college's petition for compensation for the use of its property and damages to it by American and French troops during the Revolution, attending May to October 1786 during a troubled period. He was often at odds with his constituents, generally supporting measures to strengthen Continental authority and opposing Rhode Island's paper money policies. He strongly advocated adoption of the federal Constitution, which Rhode

Island refused to ratify until May 1790. Manning died following a sudden apoplectic stroke in July 1791 at age 52.

Engraving from a 1770 portrait. Reuben A. Guild, *History of Brown University*.

Nathaniel Gorham

337

Gorham (1738–96), a Charlestown, Mass., merchant and member of the colonial legislature, 1771–75, served in the provincial congress of 1774–75, on the Massachusetts board of war, 1778–81, and as a delegate to the state constitutional convention of 1779–80. He was elected to the Massachusetts Senate in 1780 and to the House of Representatives, 1781–87, where he presided as speaker in 1781–82 and 1785, before being appointed judge of the Middlesex court of common pleas in July 1785. He represented Massachusetts in Congress, 1782–83 and 1786–87, where he served as president from June to November 1786 and was a delegate to the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787. In Congress Gorham advocated adopting the Continental impost and granting Congress power to regulate trade. He also supported the calling of the Annapolis Convention and recommended that Massachusetts herself call a convention for strengthening federal authority. In 1788 he purchased in partnership with Oliver Phelps of Windsor, Conn., the six-million-acre tract New York ceded to Massachusetts in settlement of the latter's western land claims (later known as the Genesee Country), but ultimately failed to profit from the venture when the partners were unable to meet their payments and went bankrupt shortly before his death.

Etching "From the Original Painting in the possession of the Family." Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. LC-USZ62-54675.

Henry Lee

439

Lee (1756–1818), a Virginia planter and 1773 graduate (at age 17) of the College of New Jersey, was appointed a captain in Bland's regiment of Virginia cavalry in 1776 and embarked upon a brilliant military career. Known to history as "Light-Horse Harry," he acquired fame for the exploits of "Lee's Legion" and in the course of the war developed a close relationship with Washington that shaped his career. He married his cousin Matilda Lee, heiress of "Stratford," in 1782, was elected to the House of Delegates in 1785, and represented Virginia in Congress, 1786–88. He was an active member of the Virginia convention that ratified the federal Constitution, served as governor, 1792–95, and while governor was appointed by Washington in 1794 to command the army raised to quell the Whiskey Rebellion. Lee

also served a term in the United States House of Representatives, 1799–1801, during which he delivered the official eulogy on Washington, whom he characterized as “first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.” In the Confederation Congress, Lee generally worked for measures to strengthen Continental authority but broke with his Virginia colleagues over their insistence on free navigation of the Mississippi River, recommending temporary forbearance of its use in exchange for a commercial treaty with Spain.

Painting by Charles Willson Peale. Independence National Historical Park.

Lambert Cadwalader

503

Cadwalader (1742–1823), a native of Trenton, N.J., was educated at the College of Philadelphia and entered business in partnership with his brother John. He took an active part in resistance to Britain from 1765, served on a number of Philadelphia committees and conventions at the beginning of the revolution, and began a brief military career in 1776 that led to his appointment as colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion and capture at the battle of Fort Mifflin in November 1776. Following his release as a prisoner, Cadwalader resumed the conduct of his mercantile business, but was elected a delegate to Congress from New Jersey, 1785–87, and to the United States House of Representatives, 1789–91, 1793–95. In the Confederation Congress, he played a subordinate role in most debates but was attentive to issues pertaining to trade and the reduction of the civil list, lamented the removal of the capital from Philadelphia, and was sufficiently well regarded by his colleagues to be elected chairman of Congress during the brief absence of President Arthur St. Clair in February 1787. He was a member of the committee that received the report of the Annapolis Convention in October 1786 and vigorously urged the election of delegates to attend a successor convention to strengthen the federal government called to meet in Philadelphia in May 1787.

Painting by Charles Willson Peale. Philadelphia Museum of Art: Cadwalader Collection; Purchased with funds contributed by the Pew Memorial Trust and gift of an anonymous donor.

LETTERS OF DELEGATES
23
November 7, 1785–
November 5, 1786
TO CONGRESS

Rufus King to Caleb Davis

Dear Sir

New York 7th. Nov. 1785

I reply in great haste to your's of the 27th ult. which I have just received. It is not a little singular that Congress have no information from any Gentleman in the Service of the united States in Europe concerning the Algerine War. A Letter from J. P. Jones inclosing, from France, a copy of the Letter of a French Consul, which has been published in almost all the States, is the only intelligence before Congress relative to the hostile Disposition of the Algerines.¹

Eighteen months, or two years ago, congress directed the ministers in Europe to make inquiry of the mode, and money, necessary to treat with, and obtain peace from, the Barbary powers. Upon examination, it was found that the States of Europe, upon an average pay each near 200,000 Dollars annually to these powers, to obtain their friendship. The Emperor of Morocco made overtures through Doct. Franklin for a Treaty; and about seven months since a formal Letter was written by the President of Congress to the Emperor of Morocco, in Answer to his Overtures, assuring him of the friendship of the united States, and their wishes to treat with him.

That Letter was sent to the ministers in Europe, with full powers to treat with the Emperor of Morocco, the Regencies of Algiers, Tripoli, & Tunis, and to conclude peace with them upon the best possible Terms—and to enable the Ministers to treat with a prospect of success, they were authorised to draw upon the monies of the United States in Holland, *for Eighty Thousand Dollars*, to be applied to the purposes of these Treaties—a blank commission was also transmitted, to be filled with the name of such person as the Ministers should appoint, to repair to the Coast of Barbary for the execution of the business under their Directions.

A Capt. Lamb of Connecticut was charged with the Dispatches and took passage in the Packet in April or May last. No account has been received of his arrival in France. Duplicates of the Dispatches have been since forwarded, and every thing on the part of Congress has been done, which their situation would permit.

The sum appropriated for these Treaties was as large as the Finances would allow—and it was supposed, that with such auxiliary contracts, or engagements, as the Negotiator might form, would effect a peace with these piratical states; who, to the Disgrace of Europe, subject almost all the commercial States to pay them Tribute. It will be unfortunate if the capture of any american Vessels should increase their Demands.

I beg you to use this information as to the sum &c. &c. with discretion. Any publication thereof would not only be obviously improper, but wd. subject me personally to Censure—yet it is extremely proper that the Gentlemen in Trades should be informed that Congress have done all within their power upon this subject. I pray you to communicate this to *my Friend* Wigglesworth.

With great respect & esteem your obt. servt., Rufus King

RC (MHi: Davis Papers).

¹ John Paul Jones' August 6 letter to John Jay and the enclosed copy of a July 14 letter from the French commandant at Toulon, Monsieur de Soulanges, are in PCC, item 168, 2:325-34.

Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[November 7-15, 1785]

Letters transmitted to the Office for foreign Affairs. Novr. 7th. 1785
1785—

June	2d.	Mr Adams letters—his Introduction to the British Court.
	6th.	his Interview with Col Forest, a Scotch Merchant.
	17th.	his conversation with Lord Carmarthen. ¹
	20th.	Copy of his letter to the Secretary of State—from W. Smith.
		The original letters in cyphers. ²
Augt.	6th.	Mr Adams letter of the temper of the british nation.
	8th.	of measures necessary to counteract the policy of the british navigation Act.
	10th.	of the Arret of the King of France. ³
June	8th.	No. 2.b. Dr Franklin & Mr Jefferson to Mr Favi, Charge des Affairs du grand Duc de Toscane. ⁴
May	16th.	No. 3. do to the Duke of Dorset—britannic Ambassador.
	18th.	No. 3. do to Mr. Jay, Secretary for foreign Affairs. ⁵
	26th.	No. 6. do to Baron Thulemier—with observations on the Articles of treaty with the duke of Tuscany. ⁶
March	26th.	No. 6. Duke of Dorset to Messrs. Adams, Franklin & Jefferson. ⁷
April 1784—	13th.	No. 5.a. Mr Adams, Franklin & Jefferson to Mr Jay. ⁸
Feby.	17	No. 1. Wm. Carmichael to Dr Franklin. ⁹
Novr.	3	No. 1.a. Franco Chiappe to Dr. Franklin. ¹⁰
	24	No. 4. Conde de florida Blanca.
		No. 1.b. Count florida Blanca—Interpretation.
Decr.	23d.	No. 1.c. Alcaid Driss to Monsr. Harrison with do.

No. 1.d . . . do . . . with Interpretation

1785—

Jany.	3d.	No. 1.e.	Mordyay de lamar . . . do.
	10th.	No. 1.f.	Franco Chiappe
		No. 1.g.	Conde de florida blanca
March	16th.	No. 2.	Conde de florida blanca with Interpretation
		No. 3.	not signed—giving an exact account of the Algerine cruisers—with Interpretation.
April	8th	No. 4.a	Marquis de la fayette to Messrs. Franklin, Adams, & Jefferson of presents made by European to African princes, from No. 4b to No. 4g inclusive—account of part of the presents sent to the King of Morocco, by the King of france—Feb. 2d. 1778.
		No. 3.	copy—distribution of presents from custom given by the french nation at Tunis at the renewal of peace—the Divan not included.

1778—

Augt.	28th.	No. 5.a.	from the Commissioners of the United States of America to M. le Conde de Vergennes. ¹¹
Sept.	27th.	No. 3.b.	from de Vergennes to the Commissioners.
	21st	No. 5.c.	from M. de Sartine to Count de Vergennes. ¹²

1785—

March	20th	No. 5.d	Mr Adams to Messrs. Franklin & Jefferson his conversation with Count de Vergennes, respecting the Barbary powers.
	28th.		from the Commissioners to Count de Vergennes—how to proceed with the Barbary powers. ¹³

Transmitted to the Office f. Affairs—Novr. 12, 1785.

June 26 Mr Adams—in cypher—with Interpretation.¹⁴

1784—

June	22d.		Mr Adams—at the Hague.
Decr.	15th.		ditto—at Auteuil. ¹⁵

Transmitted to the Office f. Affairs Novr. 15th. 1785.

1785—

Jany	31st.	No. 53.	Dupl . . . C.W.F. Dumas. ¹⁶
Sept	23		Don Diego Gardoqui—and translation. ¹⁷
April	18th.		Marquis La fayette. ¹⁸
Sept.	24th.		Monsr De Marbois. ¹⁹
Octr	4.		Mr Polyart. ²⁰

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, September 7–16, 1785.

¹ John Adams' letters to John Jay of June 2, 6, and 17 are in PCC, item 84, 5:469–84, 491–96, 507–13.

² William Stephens Smith's June 20 letter to Jay enclosing Adams' letter of the same date to the marquis of Carmarthen, secretary of state for foreign affairs, is in PCC, item 92, fols. 13–15.

³ Adams' letters to Jay of August 6, 8, and 10 are in PCC, item 84, 5:585–604.

⁴ A transcript of this letter is in PCC, item 86, fol. 263.

⁵ Letterbook copies of these letters from the commissioners to Dorset and to Jay are in PCC, item 116, fols. 402–7.

⁶ See PCC, item 86, fols. 259–61.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 199–201.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 207–13.

⁹ This letter, actually dated February 27, 1784, is in PCC, item 98, fols. 1–4.

¹⁰ For this and the next 18 documents related to negotiations with the Barbary states, identified No. 1.a to 4.g, see *ibid.*, fols. 21–138.

¹¹ A transcript of this letter is in PCC, item 84, 1:172–74.

¹² Transcripts of these two letters are in PCC, item 85, fols. 213–15, 221–22.

¹³ These two letters of March 20 and 28 are in PCC, item 86, fols. 309–16.

¹⁴ For this and the following letter, see PCC, item 84, 5:342–45, 5:522–28.

¹⁵ See PCC, item 104, 5:197–200.

¹⁶ This letter is not in the PCC, but Dumas' draft of it is in the Dumas Papers, Inventaire II, fols. 693–94, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, DLC microfilm.

¹⁷ For Gardoqui's memorial to Congress of this date, see PCC, item 97, fols. 81–90.

¹⁸ There are two letters from Lafayette of this date in PCC, item 156, fols. 412–14, 422–25.

¹⁹ See PCC, item 120, 1:489.

²⁰ This letter from Ignatius Palyart to John Jay is in PCC, item 78, 18:579–81.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, Novr 7. 1785.

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency herewith enclosed two copies of the continuation of the journal of Congress from 29 Sept. to the close of the Session, one copy for the legislative & the other for the executive branch of Government. In conformity to the Act of the 17 August I enclose also a state of the representation from the beginning of Oct to the 1 Monday in Novr. & have to request the favor of Yr Exy. to lay it before your legislature.¹

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Exy's Most Obedt and Most humble Servt. C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For the first of the delegate attendance lists Thomson sent to the states in compliance with the August 17 act directing the transmission of such lists monthly, see Thomson to James Bowdoin, September 6, 1785; and *JCC*, 29:631–33. For his present enclosure and copies of all the lists sent to the states during the Congress of 1785–86, see the Appendix to the present volume.

Virginia Delegates to Patrick Henry

Sir.

New York Novr. 7th. 1785

We do ourselves the honor of inclosing your Excellency the Statement of the account of taxes, exclusive of the specific supplies, of all the States.¹ We had directed copies of the advances on the treasury books against each State, and that the same might be liquidated in specie value; this is not yet made out but will be completed some time this month, when they will be forwarded to Richmond. We had lately ordered statements of the public accounts to the clo[se] of the last month, these will be ready by the last of the week, & will be sent on together with the accts. of the late Superintendant of finance, & will exhibit the most satisfactory view, that it is in our power to procure of the expenditure of the public moneys.

The Register is making out a State of the public debt, which will comprehend all the liquidated certificates. He will have directions to enclose them [to] your Excellency at Richmond.

The evils likely to flow from the practice of dismembering States having created serious alarms in the minds of those who wish well to our Confederacy, induced the delegations of Virginia & Massachusetts to propose that the sense of Congress should be made known against the dismemberment of any State without the previous approbation of the State about to be dismembered, and of the United States as your Excellency will observe by the Journals,² although the opposition giv'n to this measure by some who coming from small States appear to wish for every facility to lessen the larger ones, has hung up the motion in suspense for the present, yet they were compelled to acknowledge (in argument) the propriety of the measure whenever it should be brought forward to Congress as the desire of any one or more of the legislatures of the larger States; the above delegations have therefore [agre]ed to lay the matter before their respective constituents, [to] the end that instructions may be sent for this purpose; if the hon'ble legislatures of Virginia or Massachusetts shall think proper so to do.

Your Excellency will observe that the public papers abound with accounts of Algerine captures of American vessels, & yet our Official accounts from Europe as late as the 10th of August make no mention of this war. It was early in the spring that Congress dispatched powers to the Plenipotentiaries of the United States in Europe, to make treaties in the usual way with Morocco, & the regencies of Algiers, Tripoli and Tunis. But we know not to what cause it is—owing that, a Mr. Lamb who was charged with the dispatches, was not lately arrived

in Europe. Duplicates of these powers have therefore been lately sent by the packet.³

We have the honor to be, With the highest respect, Yr. Excys Most
Obed & very huble servts.,

Richard Henry Lee

Willm. Grayson

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Grayson and signed by Grayson and Lee.

¹ Apparently the "General Account of Taxes" for October prepared by the Continental Register Joseph Nourse, November 1, 1785, which is in PCC, item 141, 2:373-75.

² For this October 7 motion, see Richard Henry Lee to Thomas Jefferson, October 29, 1785, note 5.

³ On March 11 Congress had empowered the commissioners in Europe to authorize agents to negotiate treaties with the Barbary Powers, having allotted \$80,000 for that purpose, and agreed to employ Connecticut sea captain John Lamb to carry the appropriate instructions and dispatches, recommending that he be employed "as an Agent in that Business." See *JCC*, 28:65-66, 139-48; and Abiel Foster to Thomas Jefferson, March 26, 1785, note. Lamb did not sail until June, however, and did not arrive in Paris until September 18, thereby provoking great concern between the commissioners and in Congress. Upon receipt of their instructions, Jefferson and John Adams, who had already designated Thomas Barclay and David S. Franks to negotiate with Morocco, assigned Lamb and Paul R. Randall to Algiers. Jefferson's October 11 report to John Jay concerning Lamb's arrival and the appointments made was not received until February 9, 1786. In the meantime, Jay forwarded to the commissioners in early November duplicates of the dispatches sent by Lamb. See PCC, item 185, 3:149; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 8:19-22, 235, 246-48, 499, 526, 543-44, 572-73, 606-9, 610-24, 626, 631, 9:8-9. For a review of U.S. relations with the four Barbary states at this time, see Frederick W. Marks, *Independence on Trial: Foreign Relations and the Making of the Constitution*, 2d ed. rev. (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1986), pp. 38-44; and Ray W. Irwin, *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers, 1776-1816* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931), pp. 28-35, 37-51.

Elbridge Gerry to John Adams

My dear Sir,

New York 8th Novr 1785

Since my last of the 3d of August I am favoured with yours of the 26th of June, 6th of July, 26th of August & 11th of September, & am much obliged to You for the papers inclosed in the July Letter, as well as for the useful Information contained in all of them.

The Conduct of the Court of London, clearly indicates, & convinces Us on this Side the Atlantic that they have an unfriendly Disposition towards Us, if the professions of the King are real, he discovers great Wisdom; for this will ever direct them to make the best of Circumstances, & not to afflict themselves with repining or Resentment, because unfavorable Events have taken place, but in political affairs, & indeed in private Concerns, We are to ground our Conduct, on the part which those We have to deal with *act*, not on that, which they *profess*. But let the King's Disposition, be what it may, the Ministry's & Na-

tion's appears inimical—their true line of Conduct, is to rival in our Commerce the other Europeans, as they can, if they would conquer their vindictive Disposition & renew Friendship; but they are too degenerate for this, & the Consequence will be, such an implacable Hatred between the two Nations as will terminate all Commerce, & divert that of the U States into Channels from whence it will never return to G Britain. If they wish for Hostilities, We mean to be prepared for them by having a well armed & disciplined Militia, but with forty Millions sterling unfunded & with a people so burdened, as to be clamorous upon every Attempt to fund this Debt or any part of it, so loaded with Taxes for supporting Government & for paying the Interest of the funded Debt as to be hardly able to subsist, I think they cannot be so distracted as to wish for another hundred Millions on their shoulders by again waging War with the U.S. If they are, in the Name of God let them come on, & sink into the pit they had provided for Us; for such an addition to their Debt, or a less Sum, would produce a Convulsion that must subjugate them to some of the Other European powers; An Event I wish not to see, if they will cease to disturb & destroy the Happiness of Mankind.

As to an Allowance of Interest to the british Merchants for Debts contracted before the War, I do not conceive the Demand to be just, or that a Jury in the Union will ever be found to admit it. Interest is a Consideration for the Improvement of property, & the Fact is, that the American Debtors had not an Opportunity during the War to make such Improvement. They were obliged to sell their british Imports on Credit & to receive paper, which on an average is depreciated to an half of one third of its nominal Sum. Shall then the british Creditor recover Interest on a Book Debt, when the Debtor could only recover the principal, because such a privilege was admitted by Us under the british Government? if this indulgence was just then, is it, for the same Reason just now? I think not, & beleive them, whatever they may say, to be of the same Opinion: or at least, that they must feel in some Degree, the Injustice of a Demand, so apparent to those who are personally disinterested. I allude to the most cool & judicious Men in this quarter.

If a proposition should be made by partial Favours to divide the states, it will as formerly have a most happy Effect. It will tend to unite Us more than any propositions of our own. But I think it impossible that the British Court can be so lost to common sense, as to betray their Enmity by such weak propositions as Facilities in Trade. Your plan of granting a Bounty on oyl to be paid by an Impost on british Manufactures strikes me very agreeably. The operation would be twofold, & I should hope the Effect would be powerful.

I think You may make Yourself easy at present, respecting Congress—most of your Opponents are out by Rotation, & the Members appear in general to have great Confidence in your Abilities & In-

tegrity. Should You be attacked, You may rely on Mr King for a friendly & firm Support. Those who wished to supplant You, have quoted in private Circles, such *Details & familiar Expressions* in your Letters as they conceived were below the Dignity of your Station. Their objections have had little or no Effect on liberal & judicious Minds, more especially, as all allow, You write with great Abilities on great Subjects. But to quiet these Competitors, or Creatures of Competitors, it may be best to avoid Details, & gratify in some Measure their Taste for Sublimity of Style, & Rotundity of periods.

The Tales which You have heard of Gallicans & Antigallicans, british & antibritish, are without Foundation. Congress can not be more free from foreign & domestic Influence, than they now are; & there are no parties in America, but such as are produced by clashing Interests, which there is a general Disposition to reconcile—the Cincinnati indeed may be considered as an Exception; but their Institution will be soon attacked in Congress, & I hope abolished.

Congress have taken much pains to obtain a full Representation of the States from the Want of which We have not done half the Business which We otherwise might have done the past Year. We have however put on a good Footing the Departments of the Treasury, War Office & foreign Affairs, the Business of which is very regularly & expeditiously conducted. We have also by adjourning to this place, quieted the Uneasiness which resulted from the Want of accomodations in Princetown, Trenton & Annapolis. We have obtained a good Requisition & regulated the Loan Offices so as reduce the thirteen Receivers of Taxes, & unite both Offices into One: passed the Land ordnance, in which however I think there must be an alteration so far as to reduce the price of the foederal Lands offered for sale. We have also given You powers to adjust with the Court of London the eastern Boundary Line of Massachusetts, & have made You, Mr Jefferson & Mr Carmichael Consuls general, in the Kingdoms wherein You respectively reside. The foederal Court between Massachusetts & New York is postponed, as two out of nine Judges have not yet accepted. We urged the Expediency of submitting the cause to the seven who have accepted but N York declined.

The new Congress is not yet formed & probably will not be within ten Days; they will have nothing to take off their Attention from the great objects of laying plans for empowering Congress to collect the Taxes levied in pursuance of their Requisitions; to regulate Trade, so as to retaliate on Foreigners & carry commercial Treaties into full Effect; & to obtain an Adjustment of the State Accounts & a foederal Valuation for assessing the States, or rather a Rule, for forming the latter, indeed the Algerine War, if it has taken place, will require an Exer-

tion, as We must have peace at all Events with these Barbarians, who are probably encouraged to commence Hostilities, by our british or some other European friends.

I wish You would attend to the Resolution of Congress making You Consul General:¹ & if it will admit of the Measure, appoint General Warren's Son Mr Winslow Warren Consul untill the sense of Congress can be known, provided he can remove from Lisbon. This would give such satisfaction to our Milton Friends, that I sincerely wish the Measure may be adopted: & there is no Doubt in my Mind the appointment would be confirmed by Congress.

I am no longer eligible to Congress, & feel such a Relief from Anxiety & Care already, As induces me to think I shall relish private Life too well to to quit it Again for any public office whatever.² Possibly I may alter my Mind after resting awhile, but I sincerely declare, that I always supposed & ever found publick Life inconsistent with my Happiness. The obligations, Solitudes, & Confinements thereof, are utterly irreconcilable to my Disposition—however I can never divest myself of a Desire to see the U States happy in their Government, prosperous, & respected. These objects an Individual may as well promote in his study, & often times better, than by appearing as an Actor in the political Theatre. You have much more Philosophy than most Statesmen can boast; & yet I am sometimes diverted to see it put to the Test. Pray give my Compliments to the Ladies of your Family, & Colo Smith & be assured I am ever yours most sincerely,

E. Gerry

P.S. Mr. King has lately written to you, but request his respectful Compliments.

RC (MHi: Adams Family Papers).

¹ For the adoption of this October 28 resolution and the recommendations of secretary for foreign affairs John Jay on a consular establishment for the United States, see *JCC*, 29:722–24, 831–33, 845–46, 855.

² Gerry's congressional career under the Articles of Confederation ended with the adjournment of November 4, 1785.

Before leaving New York, however, Gerry submitted the following deposition concerning baron von Steuben's contract with the United States which had been agreed to when Gerry was in Congress in January 1778.

"New-York, 23 November, 1785. The subscriber certifies, that having a seat in Congress at the time of the Baron de Steuben's arrival at York-Town, he well remembers the facts herein stated, excepting what relates to the entertainment, which he doubts was not provided, and to the time of the Baron's arrival at that place, which was in the beginning of the year 1778. The subscriber further certifies, that in questions agitated in Congress while he has been a member, respecting the allowance that should be made in pursuance of the within stipulation, he has considered the claim of the Baron, for a full indemnification and compensation, as a claim of justice, founded in the verbal contract of the parties. (Signed) E. Gerry." PCC, item 19, 5:585 (document no. 17).

William Grayson to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York Novr. 8th. 1785.

The President¹ being this moment about to set out for Virginia obliges me to be very short at present. We have no authentic advices from Europe respecting the Algerine war, although the papers speak of several captures of American vessels. Nothing new from Mr. Adams respecting the debts. I will again look at his letters, & give you the necessary information in confidence. You will then judge for yourself as to the expediency or in expediency of a certain measure.²

I shall at all events stay here till next Munday in order to collect some documents which are necessary for the State, & will write you again before I leave this. Mr. Hancock is talked of by the Southern States for President, though I suppose if Governor Nash or Paca were to come forward they would change their tone.

Since you left this We have had a considerable flurry respecting a motion brought forward by Massachusets & Virginia respecting the dismemberment of States: the motion is on the journals.³

Contracts for the transportation of the Mail are made: two mails a week throughout America, for six months & three mails a week for the six other months—to begin in Jany. next.

From yr. Affect. frd. & Most Obed Sert, Willm. Grayson

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ That is, Richard Henry Lee who had received on November 4 the "thanks of Congress. . . for his able and faithful discharge of the duties of president" from November 30, 1784. *JCC*, 29:872.

² Undoubtedly the Virginia Assembly's consideration of a bill concerning the payment of British debts, for which see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 8:455–56, 465–66.

³ See Richard Henry Lee to Thomas Jefferson, October 29, 1785, note 5. Madison had been in New York in late September. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

Virginia Delegates to Patrick Henry

Sir,

New York Novr. 8th. 1785.

Immediately on the death of the Hon'ble Mr. Hardy, Congress pass'd a resolution directing a special Commee. to superintend the funeral; and made it an instruction to them to invite the foreign Ministers, the Governor & principal Officers of the State of New York; and also signified that they would attend themselves in a body. The Commee. were therefore under the necessity of incurring an expence equal to about three hundred & seventy dollars, in order that Mr. Hardy should be interred in a manner suitable to his Station. It was

expected at the time that as Congress had undertaken the direction of the funeral, they meant to pay the expences of the same out of the foederal treasury; inasmuch as the heirs of the deceased were subjected to this expence from the rank which he held under the foederal Government, & which was unavoidably imposed on them without their consent; however it was found on inquiry that Congress were not disposed to interfere: & It was necessary these charges should be paid without delay. The immediate funds of Mr. Hardy were not more than equal to the discharge of his own tradesmen's bills. The matter therefore rested on the Commee. who offered to pay the same out of their own pockets. This however the delegation thought highly improper, & it was judged necessary for the honor of the State as well as of the deceased that the money should be borrowed here, & the bills discharged, which is on the point of being executed. As the expences incurred under all the circumstances of the Case were moderate, & as the delegation were under the necessity of either paying them themselves, or of permitting a special Commee. of Congress to discharge them, they hope their conduct will be intirely approved of, and that the money borrowed will be replaced in New York within the next three months agreeable to the terms on which the same has been taken up.¹

A particular account of the charges, will be rendered.

We have the honor to be, With the highest respect, Yr. Excys. Most Obedt & Very hble Servt.,

Richard Henry Lee.

RC (PBL: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). Written by William Grayson but signed only by Lee.

¹ See Virginia Delegates to Henry, October 24, 1785, note 1.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, Novr. 9. 1785.

Although I have regularly forwarded two copies of the journal, as printed, one for the legislative and another for the Executive branch of government, yet lest some of the sheets may have been mislaid and thereby the volumes rendered incomplete, I now forward to yr Excy two complete copies of the journal of last year, bound, one of which you will be pleased to transmit to the legislature reserving the other for the use of the Executive.

On the 28 July last I had the honor of transmitting a copy of the enclosed resolution of the 27¹ by which I am directed to apply to the Executives of the several States for 13 copies of the legislative Acts thereof since the 1 Sept 1784 and to adopt a similar mode for procuring the Acts which may there after be passed as aforesaid. The pur-

poses for which these copies are desired and the end to be answered are fully explained in the resolution.

In consequence of this resolution I have recd. 13 copies of sundry Acts from the States of Massachusetts & South Carolina,² one of which I delivered to the delegates of your state for the use of the legislature thereof and I am informed by his Excy. the govr of Connecticut that previous to the passing of this Act, that state had sent a copy of its Acts to the legislatures of the several States.³

I beg leave to request your attention to this matter.

With great Respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excy Most Obedt & Most humble servt.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Endorsed: "The first paragraph composes a letter to Massachusetts, Connecticut, So Carolina."

¹ See Thomson to the States, July 28, 1785.

² Thomson had received these copies with letters from Massachusetts governor James Bowdoin of August 22 and South Carolina governor William Moultrie of September 9, which are in PCC, item 65, 2:297-99, item 72, fols. 579-82.

³ Gov. Matthew Griswold's October 26 letter informing Thomson that "the New Composition of the Statute Laws" of Connecticut had already been sent directly to each of the States is in PCC, item 66, 2:310-11.

Pierse Long to John Langdon

Sir,

New York November 10th. 1785

In my last of the 14th Ultio. I enclosed yr. Excellcy a copy of a letter received from Capt. Jones at L'Orient, containing an account of war being declared by the Algerines against the United States. We daily see publications in the papers of their taking some of our Vessels, and chasing others—and at the same time no mention is made of the war by our minister Mr. Adams in either of his letters dated the 6th, 8, & 10 August and the 11th September.¹ In the latter he says, as Capt. Lamb (who was the bearer of the dispatches authorizing our Ministers to treat with those Barbarians) is not arrived, they shall depute Mr. Barclay together with Mr. Franks consuls in France to go on this Embassy.

I also mentioned that a Grand committee was appointed to receive heads of such State claims, against the United States, as were not cover'd by previous resolutions of Congress.² The committee after frequent meetings have reported as follows—Vizt.³

That the board of Treasury give instructions to the commissioners appointed for the settlement of the accounts of particular States, with the United States, to report to them from time to time, such claims of States, as in their opinion they are not authorized to admit as charges

against the United States, and the nature of the evidence on which the same depends, and that the board from time to time make report thereof to Congress, in order that they may be duly consider'd, and proper measures adopted for the final adjustment of the accts. of the United States.

Your Excellly will please to observe that in consequence of my being reelected by the Honble. General Court a delegate in Congress for the ensuing year, was the reason of my not returning with Mr. Foster—Supposing the Official information thereof would come to hand in season for me to take my seat but as yet have not received any.

As I know its my duty to wait here untill so much time expires as would bring an answer to this, shall tarry, and then if I do not receive my credentials, shall return to New Hampshire. I have the Honr. to be with sentiments of respect & Esteem, your Excellys Most Obedt. Humble Servant,

Pierse Long

RC (Nh—Ar: Executive Records).

¹ Adams' letters of August 6, 8, and 10, 1785, are in PCC, item 84, 5:585–604; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:421–30. No September 11 letter from Adams to Congress has been found.

² See William Samuel Johnson to Matthew Griswold, July 9, note 2, and Joseph Gardner to John Dickinson, October 1, notes 1 and 3.

³ See *JCC*, 28:870.

William Grayson to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York Nov. 14th. 1785.

On inquiring at the Office for F.A. I find it is uncusomary to give copies unless by special direction of Congress, a circumstance I did not advert to, when I was writing to you last. I shall therefore give you the best information in my power from memory. Mr. A. says that a Commee. of merchts. from Glasgow waited on him in London & told him their business was to lay the affair of the debts before parliament; that he dissuaded them from taking this step, as he was apprehensive it might be productive of disagreeable consequences; by holding out the idea of a speedy accomodation of all subjects of dispute. That he had some conversation with Lord Caermarthen on the subject of the debts among other things.

That his Lordship mentioned to him the bill for opening the Courts of justice, and that the same (he had understood) had been lost by the accidental circumstance of a post. That his Lordship objected to the loss of interest which was to be incurred by that bill—& farther apprehended great losses to the British merchants by the emigrations to Kentucki. That with respect to the interest Mr. Adams had urged, the calamities of war, the sufferings of the debtors & the

infraction of the treaty in other instances on their parts; & that as to the injuries apprehended from the emigrations to Kentucky he conceived they were groundless, as few persons Went to that country who did not greatly better their situations; & as there was a regular administration of justice in those quarters, such removals were undoubtedly of advantage.

That upon the whole interest & policy dictated to them to act with moderation, & give time to the distressed debtors to make payment: that the loss of the negroes carried off, & the product of their labor, as well as the want of the fur trade arising from the posts being withheld were real & heavy grievances on the debtors & furnished strong reasons against a rigorous exaction of claims. This I think is the substance of what Mr. A. has remarked, to the best of my memory;¹ from his subsequent correspondence, it does not appear to me to be probable that any thing will be done very speedily, in this or any other business. Mr. Adams thinks nothing will touch them but restraints laid on their trade by Congress. At the same [*time*] he insinuates that such restraints may eventually produce hostilities.² Upon the whole it is difficult to determine whether the bill alluded to ought to pass this session or not;³ I was in great hopes it would have been in my power to have giv'n you better information before this but the last letters mention nothing about the matter.

By last Post the delegation wrote to the Governor giving their reasons for not assenting to the requisition;⁴ their design was only that the will of the State might not be fettered by their acts. If the State for the sake of preserving public credit should think it expedient to pass a legislative act complying with the requisition I then beg leave to submit to your consideration the propriety of purchasing in different parts of the Continent as many certificates of interest, as that when added to the interest due the citizens of the state on liquidated certificates may be equal to two thirds of their proportion of the same, having in contemplation at the same time the one fourth of the requisition of 1784 which remains yet to be satisfied as far as it relates to facilities;⁵ this mode I should think would be preferable to that of laying an interest tax on the Citizens for the full two thirds of the States proportion, as thereby a competition would be raised & the interest of course obtained on worse terms than if the purchase was conducted (as far as relates to the deficiency) by State agents. With respect to the interest due the Citizens of the State, perhaps an interest tax pro tanto may be an eligible mode. Some of the delegates have it in contemplation [*to*] recommend to their States to purchase principal, which may be now had at 2/8 in the pound without charging for the back interest; however I do not conceive this to be the interest of our State. Her claim agt. the Continent for the Western expedition must be soon allowed, as a credit in some shape or another; it is beside expected the sales of the Western lands will very soon greatly diminish the domestic

debt; of course the demands on our State will be lessened according to such diminution.

I am sorry to inform you that the Surveyors from the back Country have returned without doing any thing more than merely making a beginning; they have alledged in excuse the advanced season of the year, & the unsettled situation of Indian affairs.⁶ The Eastern Surveyors Who have returned this Way, speak of the country in the highest style, & talk of nothing but forming confederacies, purchasing townships, & settling the country à la mode New England. Indeed from every appearance it is plain to me, the influx into that country from the Eastern States & the State of N. Jersey will be beyond the most sanguine expectation. The Consular arrangement has been before Congress since you left this; & nothing was done except that of vesting the Ministers & chargè des affaires at foreign Courts with the powers of Consuls general.⁷ The balance remains for the new Congress.

Yesterday the English & French packets both arrived, but do not understand they have brought any news of consequence. Indeed their contents have not yet got abroad.

From Yr. Affect. fd. & Most Obed Servt., Willm. Grayson.

N.B. the part of this letter which relates to a certain subject is entirely confidential.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ The above information was taken from John Adams' June 6 and 17 letters to John Jay which had been read August 26, for which see PCC, item 84, 5:491-96, 507-13, item 185, 3:136; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-89*, 2:371-73, 378-82.

² For Adams' subsequent letters to Jay of June 10, 26, July 19, 29, August 6, 8, and 10 received prior to this day, see PCC, item 84, 5:499-506, 522-604, item 185, 3:139, 142, 144; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-89*, 2:376-78, 385-87, 396-417, 421-30.

³ Grayson to Madison, November 8, note 2.

⁴ Not found. The requisition was not referred to in the Virginia delegates' letter of November 7, although it is clear from the journals that they had opposed the measure throughout the debate. The final vote on September 27 was not recorded. *JCC*, 29:765-71.

⁵ For the Virginia delegates' opposition to facilities, see Richard Henry Lee to James Monroe, October 17, 1785, note 3.

⁶ See David Ramsay to Ralph Izard, December 1, note 2.

⁷ See Elbridge Gerry to John Adams, November 8, note 1.

William Samuel Johnson to Matthew Griswold

Sr.

Stratford. Novr. 14th. 1785

While waiting a Conveyance for the I received yr. favour of the 8th covering an order on the Treasy for £200.0 & am much obliged by yr. Excellys. Attentions to procure me the necessary sup-

plies to proceed on to Congress. I do not know what more could possibly be done. I hope one or other of the Applications may be successful, & as I have said in the former Letter the Moment I am in Cash I shall set out.¹ Five States I am informed were in N York on Saturday last as well as one Delegate from two other States all extremely impatient for the arrival of a sufficient Represent'n to open Congress. They shall not certainly be detain'd a single Day by my absence after I am able to proceed. The Letters to Coll Abel & Coll Fitch will be forwarded to them immediately. The Demand of Mr. Smith is no doubt a Just one & ought to be paid as soon as the state of the public Funds will admit, but the Threat of Reprisal is I apprehend an Idle one as this cannot be done without a previous Application by the Sovereign of the Cr. & a denial of Justice & I hardly imagine that anything of this Nature has yet taken place. I shall be happy to receive the Resolutions of the Assembly relative to our Claim of Western Territory, & yr. Excelly may be assured that the most exact attention shall be paid to them.

Yr. Excellys. most obedt. humble Servant

FC (CtlHi: Johnson Papers). In the hand of William Samuel Johnson.

¹ Johnson had explained his inability to attend Congress in the following November 11 letter to Griswold.

"I am sorry to find that the Assembly had not time before they broke up to consider upon the subject of directing three Delegates to attend Congress from this State, which I conceive to be a matter of much importance. I was in hopes also that some further and more effectual provision would have been made for the support of those who shall attend. But I presume the variety of important affairs before the Assembly must have prevented it. And since as far as I can obtain information upon the subject, I find that it is expect'd that I sho'd attend the ensuing Winter, I have as far as possible reconciled my Mind to it and wish as soon as possible to be in the discharge of my Duty. But do assure yr. Excell'y without disguise that I have not by me nor in my Power, cash sufficient to support me even for a single week at N York, and must therefore beg yr. Excell'y to give such directions where it may be proper as will tend to furnish what may be necessary, and then as soon as it arrives I shall be ready to begin my Journey." Johnson Papers, CtlHi.

Maryland Delegates to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Sir

New York 14 Novr. 1785.

Notwithstanding the engagements entered into and promises made to us the old money does not come in agreeably to either. It still however comes in.¹

Mr. McHenry has got his friend in Philadelphia to purchase for you a pair of horses agreeably to your discription which we presume he will accomplish. With respect to the carriage Mr. Hindman proposes to carry it down as far as General Cadwalladers should no better hand

offer before he sets out which will be the beginning of the next month. We are collecting and preparing some matters for the General Assembly which from their intricacy requires a good deal of time.² We cannot say when they will be completed.

With the greatest respect and regard we have the honor to be, Dr.
Sir, Your most obt.,

James McHenry

Wm. Hindman

RC (DNDAR: Americana Collection). Written by McHenry and signed by McHenry and Hindman.

¹ For the Maryland delegates' endeavor to buy Continental money and securities at this time, see Maryland Delegates to Jenifer, October 5 and December 6.

² For some of the subjects on which McHenry and Hindman were "collecting and preparing" information for the assembly, see McHenry to John Hall, November 28, note 1; and their two letters to the Maryland assembly of November 28.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, Office of Secy of Congress, Novr. 14. 1785.

It appearing necessary that a period should be fixed to the final adjustment of all claims against the United States for services performed by the Army, and that from the nature of such claims they cannot be so properly investigated by any other Officer as by the present Commissioner, who has nearly closed the lineal Settlement, The United States in Congress assembled on the 2d Instant have been pleased to pass the inclosed resolution limiting the time for exhibiting such claims to the first of August next, and have directed the Commissioner of Army Accounts to give public notice thereof in all the States for the space of six Months.¹

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellencys Most
Obedient & Most Humble Servt., Cha Thomson

RC (PHarH: RG 27). LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For the adoption of this board of treasury recommendation, which was a response to the urging of the commissioner of army accounts John Pierce, see JCC, 29:847n, 859, 866; and PCC, item 62, fols. 57–59.

Charles Thomson to Certain States

Sir, (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, Novr. 18. 1785

I am sorry to inform your Excellency, that, notwithstanding it seems to be the intention of the Confederation that all the States should punctually assemble in Congress on the first Monday in November,

there are yet but five states represented, namely Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Maryland & South Carolina and one member attending from Georgia.

The late packets from Europe have, I understand, brought dispatches which demand the immediate & attentive Consideration of Congress. I beg leave to transmit to your Excellency herewith enclosed a copy of a letter which I have just received from the Secretary for foreign affairs, and hope you will be pleased to urge the delegates for your State to come forward as speedily as possible.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's
Most Obt. & Most h S.,CT

E N C L O S U R E

Dear Sir.

Office for foreign Affairs 18 Novr 1785

The season when the legislatures usually meet to do business is at hand. It is highly probable that Congress will find it expedient to call their attention to certain objects of general concern & particularly to some which the present state of our Affairs present. The late advices I have received from Europe demand the attentive consideration of Congress & in my Opinion will give Occasion to Recommendations to the States & other measures which should not be delayed. Considering the time unavoidably consumed by deliberative bodies in maturing their Acts it is to be regretted that a sufficient number of states to proceed on every kind of business within the powers of Congress are not now represented. Communications to the states for the purpose of accelerating their representation in congress fall more properly within your department than mine. I therefore think it my duty to give you these hints that your letters to the states on that subject may impress them more strongly with the necessity of their providing for their being speedily, fully & constantly represented in Congress.

With great & sincere esteem & regard, I am Dr Sr &c, J Jay.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed by Thomson: "Circular to N.H., R., Con., D., V., NC & G." Despite Thomson's address, copies of this letter directed to the executives of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, respectively, are located in the Gunther Collection, ICHi; State Papers, Nj; and RG 27, PHaH.

Rufus King to Samuel Holten

My Dear Sir

New York 21. Nov. [17]85

We have only five states represented. Pennsylvania & Connecticut are expected—when they are here we can form a House. No public in-

formation since you left us—it is very singular that congress have no Official information of the Algerine war.

We heard that the Genl. Court were doubtful whether they would pass an act complying with the Requisition, because the affair of the Old money was unsettled—you understand this business. Other states have claims more important than ours—whenever the last are settled, the Old Emissions, & Penobscot, will be connected.

Farewell, Your Obt. Servt. & Friend,

R King

RC (NN: Emmet Collection, no. 525).

Charles Pettit to James Hutchinson

Dear Sir¹

New York 21st. Novemr. 1785

I am concerned to find that you have been disappointed by not receiving my Inclosures by the last Post which cost me some Pains to put them forward at so early a Period. I am the more concerned because I have not the least Trace of a Copy or Note on the Subject, having sent you the original Scribbling in every Part. I have been to the Post Office. They assure me the Letter was forwarded. Col. B.² I find is in the same situation as to his Letters. The Post Mr. suggests they may have been out in the Hands of the Penny Post when you have called or sent to the Office. I therefore flatter myself that your Disappointmt. was temporary only & short. By what Col. Bayard tells me, a new Draught, were I to set about it, would be too late for this Session. These Enquiries & some other Circumstances do not permit me to more than Acknowledge your Fav. of yesterday.

I am, with much Regard Dr Sir, Your most obt. Servt.,

Cha. Pettit

P.S. My last packet contained a Draught of a Bill of 6 or 8 Pages for Exchanging the Certificates &c, a Letter written on the Subject of it, And a Letter on Sunday night, pretty long, on the Manuscript Copy of the Plan you sent me. I hope you have got them.

RC (PPAmP: Hutchinson Papers).

¹ Dr. James Hutchinson (1752–93), a Philadelphia physician, had served as surgeon general of Pennsylvania, 1778–84, and was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania. Having declined the university's chair of materia medica and chemistry in 1783, he held the position from 1789 until his death during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. *DAB*.

² That is, Pettit's fellow Pennsylvania delegate, John Bayard.

[P.S.] The receipts for the money I shall bring down with me. W.G.

RC (NN: Emmet Collection, no. 9677).

¹ See Virginia Delegates to Henry, November 8.

William Grayson to Patrick Henry

Sir.

New York Nov. 22nd 1785

Since writing by the last post, I have procurd from the board of treasury, a schedule of the aggregate amounts of advances to the different States in the Union;¹ the component articles which form these amounts are about being printed, & will then be forwarded, as the charges were very numerous, and as it was necessary that every one however insignificant should be reduced to specie value by the scale of deprecation, I am not surprised that the work has taken up so much time. The advances to the State of Virginia are relatively small as your Excellency will observe by ascertaining the proportions: but from this circumstance it does not appear that any immediate advantage is to be derived to the State, as it is contended that the resolution of the 3rd of June 1784 suspends the payment of interest untill the general settlement of the public accounts.

I do myself the honor of inclosing also the general account of receipts & expenditures from the first of Nov. 1784 to the first of Nov. 1785.² Mr. Morris's book of receipts & expenditures has not yet been authenticated by Congress, but as there is no other immediate means of shewing a state of them I shall forward them by the first convenient opportunity the same being too bulky for a conveyance by Post; When the Grand Commee. were sitting, they directed the Commrs. of the Treasury to furnish extracts of the [cor]respondence of the different Commrs. of public accounts with the late financier & with the present board; copies of these Extracts &c. I beg leave now to inclose,³ which will serve to shew the difficulties of the State of Virginia in the settlement of her accounts, as well as those of most of the other states in the Union.

An official letter from Mr. Adams dated the 15th of September makes no mention of the Algerine War; a letter from Mr. Jefferson of an older date mentions it only as common report.⁴

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, Yr. Excys. Most Obedt. & very hble Serv.,

Willm. Grayson.

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

¹ Not found.

² Not found, but for the December 17 circular letter sent by the board of treasury to North Carolina containing this account, see *N.C. State Records*, 17:559–62.

³ The enclosed 21-page "Abstract of Quarries made, and Information transmitted by the Commissioners" is in the Continental Congress Papers, VI.

⁴ John Adams' brief letter of September 15, which was not read until November 25, is in PCC, item 84, 5:657; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-89*, 2:476. The "letter from Mr. Jefferson" is undoubtedly that of August 14, for which see PCC, item 87, 1:33-37, item 185, 3:145; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 8:375-76.

William Grayson to James Madison

Dear Sir.

New York, Nov. 22nd. 1785.

I wrote you by the last Post, since which other letters have arrived from the gentleman therein mentioned. They came by the last packett; and one is dated as late as the 15th of September last.¹ In it however there is no mention of the Algerine War. Mr. Jefferson has also wrote by the french packett, but his letter is of an old date.² There has been a conference with Mr. Pitt.³

That gentleman thinks the war could make no change in the nature of the debts due by or to the citizens or subjects of either country; that the interest is as much due as principal; that the British lawyers hold this opinion. In answer Mr. A. observes the lawyers in America hold a very different opinion respecting the War, and that no jury from New Hampshire to Georgia would allow interest during the war. That the war put an end to all laws and government, consequently to all contracts made under those laws. That it is a maxim of law that a personal right or obligation once destroyed is lost forever: that the treaty & new laws were necessary for the restoration of the contracts or obligations; that the contracts could not be said to have had any existence during the War. Mr. Pitt replied, that if these were the ideas in America, it was necessary there should be some new stipulation respecting the subject.

With respect to the negroes he acknowledged that this was so clear a case, as that satisfaction ought to be made therefor, as soon as the number carried off could be made appear. To this Mr. A. replied, that Colo. Smith who had transacted the business with Sir Guy Carleton could evince it by documents then ready to be produced. He acknowledged also with respect to Mr. A's construction of the Armistice there could be no great difficulty: that with regard to the Posts it was so connected with other matters as not to be decided on singly. As to the commercial treaty there seems to have been a great difference of sentiment; Mr. A. is of opinion that nothing will be done shortly. Mr. Pitt however has promised that during the recess of parliament he will turn his thoughts to those subjects. Mr. A. thinks that the reason why the Elector of Hanover came into the Confederation agt. the Emperor was to preserve peace, in Europe, on *our accounts*. I need not observe

he is a strong advocate for *restrictions* on their *commerce*. I have been detained here longer than I expected, waiting to forward some documents which I conceived might be of advantage to our State; & which I have had more difficulty in procuring than I at first expected. I have by this post sent the aggregate amounts in specie value of the advances to each State;⁴ by which it will appear that our State has had but little comparatively. The Union in fact owe her a million of dollars & upwards on this account provided she has made equal exertions in other respects; that is to say she has recieved a million less than her foederal proportion. It is said however that no advantage can be immediately derived from this circumstance, as it is contended that the interest on all these sums is suspended till the final settlement of accounts by the resolution of the 3rd of June 1784. This same resolution then holds out an additional temptation for prolongating the settlement. Rhode Island has had a million of dollars; is it likely then to suppose she wishes for the arrival of a period when she is to account? The same observation will apply to those who are similarly circumstanced. It will be difficult then when Virginia meets with embarrassments to get them removed by Congress.

Virginia has a demand (in opposing Lord Dunmore) of £400,000 Virga. money incurred from Sepr. 1775 to December 1776; which I do not know is supported by any resolution of Congress. It is true she has the same reason to have it allowed as Massachusetts. Besides there are resolutions of Congress which direct assistance which assistance Congress says shall be paid: however it is said here that all this goes for nothing. This subject of our public accounts deserves great consideration. I hope you will [con]sider this letter as confidential, & remain, Yr. Affect. friend & Most Obedt. Servt., Willm. Grayson

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ John Adams' letters of August 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, and September 2, 3, 6 and 15 had arrived in New York aboard the British packet *Halifax* on November 12. See PCC, item 84, 5:605–57, item 185, 3:145–46; *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:455–76; and the *New York Packet*, November 14, 1785.

² See the preceding entry, note 4.

³ Adams' conference with William Pitt the Younger was treated in his letter of August 25.

⁴ See the preceding entry, note 1.

Nathan Dane to Nathaniel Gorham

Sir.

New York Nov. [23] 1785.¹

I arrived here last Wednesday when four States only had met²—on this day seven States met Viz, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South-Carolina and Georgia—from New

Hampshire Mr. Long—from Connecticut Dr. Johnson—from Virginia Mr. Grayson.³ Most of the members present were in Congress last year. We found Mr. Hancock was generally thought of as President of Congress and this day he was chosen to that office by the seven States present—and Mr. Ramsay to act as chairman till the President shall take the chair. We are informed that important dispatches have been totally received by the minister of foreign affairs which will immediately come under the consideration of Congress. As to the gentlemen that compose this Congress it is our opinion at present that they are candid and agreeable characters. We wish to see you here as soon as possible or convenient for you to attend.

Your friend and Obedt. Humble Servant, N. Dane

P.S. As to lodgings, Sir, I shall, in a few days be able better to inform you.

RC (OMC: Slack Collection).

¹ Dane dated this letter "Nov. 1785." The date has been established from his assertion that Congress "this day" elected John Hancock president.

² See *JCC*, 29:874. Dane later submitted a claim for "services and attendance as a Delegate . . . in Congress from Nov. 7. 1785 to Augt. 12th. 1786 both inclusive," which included travel time. He actually attended from Thursday November 17 through Friday July 28, 1786. Nathan Dane Accounts, August 10, 1786–November 8, 1788, M–Ar.

³ Cf. *JCC*, 29:875, where in addition to the seven states represented, Secretary Charles Thomson recorded only the attendance of Connecticut delegate William Samuel Johnson.

William Samuel Johnson to Stephen Mix Mitchell

Dr. Sr.,

N York Novr. 23d. 1785.

Last Friday I forwarded you Mr. Thompsons Letter¹ acquaintg. me with the State of the Representation here & urging the Conn't. Delegates to come on, which I hope you duly receiv'd. The next Day I left Stratford & arriv'd here on Monday. Several Members arriv'd at the same time so that if I had had the pleasure of your company Congress might have open'd yesterday. A single Member from either Connecticut, N. Hampshire or Georgia would have Compleated seven States. Mr. Baldwin is however confidently expected in by this Evenings Stage so that Congress may proceed upon business tomorrow,² as it is of much Importance they sho'd do, there being forreign Letters of Consequence in Mr. Jays Office of which no Notice can be taken till Congress commences. But sho'd Mr. Baldwin arrive as Expected this must by no means Excuse you from coming on as soon as possible, because the Georgia Deligates will continue here but a few Days. I hope therefore, if not already on yr. Journey when this reaches you that you will sett out immediately & wishing you a pros-

perous Journey am with great respect, Dr. Sr., Yr. most obedt. humble
Servt.,
Wm Sam Johnson³

FC (CtHi: Johnson Papers). In the hand of William Samuel Johnson.

¹ Not found, but see Charles Thomson to Certain States, November 18.

² Actually Abraham Baldwin arrived and Congress proceeded to business this day. See *JCC*, 29:875–84.

Johnson recorded in his diary this day: "Seeking Lodgs. at Judah's &c. Congress formed. President Hancock chosen. Ramsay Chairman." Johnson Papers, CtHi. For the cryptic nature of Johnson's diary and the limited use made of it in these *Letters*, see Johnson's Diary, January 13, 1785, note.

³ Johnson also wrote a letter on December 4 to his son Samuel William, expressing concern over "Billy's" impending voyage to Bermuda and explaining that he was about to return home with Mrs. Johnson. Johnson Papers, CtHi. According to his diary, Johnson left New York December 5 and returned the 14th. Secretary Thomson's journals confirm that he returned to Congress December 15. *JCC*, 29:901.

And on January 1 he wrote again to Billy, expressing impatience to hear that he had had a safe voyage. Johnson Papers, CtHi.

Maryland Delegates to Charles Thomson

Sir. New York 23 Novr. 1785.

Messrs. Goddard & Langworthy, the conductors of a news paper in Baltimore¹ being desirous to obtain the proceedings of Congress in the order in which they are printed, for the purpose of reprinting the same in their paper; we have to request that you will be good enough to inclose to the said printers a copy of the Journals as soon as printed, which we have no reason to doubt will be approved of by our successors in the delegation.

We have the honor to be, Sir, your most obdt.,

James McHenry

William Hindman

RC (DNA: PCC, item 55). Written by McHenry and signed by McHenry and Hindman.

¹ That is, *The Maryland Journal, and Baltimore Advertiser*, published by William Goddard and Edward Langworthy.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, November 23d, 1785

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that seven States this day assembled in Congress, and have unanimously elected his Excellency John Hancock, President.¹

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's
Most Obedt. & Most humble Servt.,
Cha Thomson

RC (MH-H: bMS Am 1300.2). LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ Hancock, who had been president of Congress May 1775 to October 1777, had been elected to this post in absentia, whereupon, "The president not being present, Congress proceeded to the choice of a chairman; and, the ballots being taken, the honorable D[avid] Ramsay was elected." *JCC*, 29:883.

In his November 30 response to Thomson's letter of notification, Hancock acknowledged the honor he felt by this appointment and his intention to undertake the duties of office "as soon as I can Arrange my Affairs here [Boston]." PCC, item 58, fol. 43. But he repeatedly found himself thwarted, and never returned to Congress despite contrary assurances. Congress was finally notified of his inability to accept the office on June 5, 1786, and the following day elected Nathaniel Gorham to the vacancy. *JCC*, 30:328, 300.

This day, Congress also referred a motion to the board of treasury calling for a report on "the expense of the Presidents household for the years 1783, 1784 and 1785," which was submitted on the 25th and taken up November 30. This report was then submitted to a committee of Congress which subsequently recommended that the president's household allowance not exceed \$12,000 annually, "including the Salary of his private Secretary, House rent, Steward, and servants' Wages, and all other expenses whatever." But the issue of limiting presidential expenses was not settled until March 23, 1787, when the president's annual allowance was set at \$8,000. See *JCC*, 29:884, 905, 32:128; and PCC, item 140, 2:111-21. For the background of this issue and discussion of Congress' attempts to deal with it, see Edmund C. Burnett, "Perquisites of the President of the Continental Congress," *AHR* 35 (October 1929): 69-76; and Jennings B. Sanders, *The Presidency of the Continental Congress* (1930; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1971), pp. 44-52.

John Bayard to James Hutchinson

My Dear Sir

New York Novr. 25th. 1785

Col. Pettit and myself arrived here on Monday evening—and on Wensday We made a Congress, by Seven States appearing on the Floor.¹ We proceeded to the choice of a President, when after seven times balloting we made choice of Mr. Hancock, but He not being present, Dr. Ramsay was chosen as chairman.

This day has been taken up in reading Dispatches from various parts of the United States, chiefly those that relate to Indian Affairs—tomorrow We expect thro the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, to have the communications from our Ministers in Europe laid before us. Little Business can be done in Congress till more States are represented. At present We have but Seven wch. you know barely constitutes a Congress—and a Single person can negative whatever is proposed. We are told there is Business of the utmost Consequence to be laid before us that requires immediate attention, but cannot safely be taken up unless We have Nine or Eleven States.

I find the Members of Congress from the different States exceedingly attentive to the Debates of our Assembly as contained in Careys Paper.²

The Expressions & Arguments made use of by some Gentlemen in the debate respecting the Theatre, Vizt, that it would be an inducement to the *Young Fellows* in Congress &c whilst it excited a Laugh, evidently gave offence to a Number, the Answers made by Smiley, Whitehill, Finley, &c were much approved. If Gentlemen wish Congress to return to Philada., they at least ought to be guarded in their Expressions respecting them. The Puff in Mr. Careys Paper on the Election of Dr. Franklin as President "that it would induce Congress to remove to Philada. to avail themselves of His superior Wisdom," was very injudicious & offensive.

I Just hint those things to you as I have frequently had them cast up to me by Members of Congress and others.

I wrote by Lank to my Son James informing Him, that Mrs. Rodgers & myself were of opinion it would be best to Enoculate the Child immediately—provided He continued well. I leave it therefore with You & the Family to do what you shall think best in this Matter.

I shall be glad to hear from you and our other Freinds, & will write you as often as I can. Present my best regards to Messrs. Whitehill, Smiley, Finley, & our other Freinds in Assembly &c. I am, My Dear sir,
Your sincere Freind &c &c,

John Bayard

RC (PPAmP: Hutchinson Papers).

¹ See JCC, 29:875–76.

² Mathew Carey had begun printing the proceedings of the new session of the Pennsylvania Assembly, which convened October 27, with the October 29 issue of his *Pennsylvania Evening Herald*, a practice he continued in each successive issue throughout the session.

Charles Thomson to Samuel Provost and John Rodgers

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, Novr. 25, 1785

I have the honor to inform you that Congress have been pleased to elect you one of their chaplains for the current year.¹

With great respect, I am, Sir, Your Most obt. hu St.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "The revd. Mr Provost, The revd. Doct Rogers."

¹ See JCC, 29:884. Congress had experienced some difficulty in staffing its two chaplain positions since its flight from Philadelphia in June 1783, and the problem had been

compounded when a decision was reached December 13, 1784, to make the appointments annual rather than indefinite. See *JCC*, 27:683; and these *Letters*, 21:302-3. For the original appointments of Samuel Provost January 19 and of John Rodgers August 5, 1785, see *JCC*, 28:11, 29:613.

William Grayson to James Madison

Dear Sir.

New York. 28th. Nov. 1785.

I am very busy preparing to decamp for Virginia, of course I shall not lay you under the trouble of reading a long letter from me this Post. There is one thing very singular in Adam's correspondence, he is always pressing the necessity of commercial restrictions; says no treaty can be had without them, and yet he decidedly acknowledges, that in the *prosecution* of this *commercial war* there is every reason to suppose we shall incur a *real war*; for says he nothing but the opinion they have of our *strength* & their *weakness* prevents it at present: for the nation is against us. There are still pro's & Con's here respecting the Algerine war: & not a word from Europe officially. The new Congress have chos'n Hancock Presidt. and Doct. Ramsay Chairman until his arrival. The business immediately before them is whether Temple shall be recieved as Consul Genl. from G. Britain.¹ I presume it will be decided ultimately in the affirmative as Congress have passed a resolution that Ministers & Chargès des Affaires at foreign courts shall be Consuls general ex Officio.² Temple has come out in great State, & has taken the best house in the City.

The inconvenience which Members of Congress have experienced here this last year from living at common boarding houses, & mixing with the landlady, her Aunts, cousins & acquaintances & with all other sorts of company has been complained of loudly; We have not, I confess suffered in this way, though we have purchased the exemption at a dear rate to our purses; we have had a house though a small one, & yet that same house has went deep into our allowances, so that our dignity has almost eat up our finances. I understand some of the States mean to relieve their delegates from the weight of this inconvenience by establishing a kind of State house at the expence of such State. Although I cannot help admiring the idea of doing something yet I think the plan of jumbling all together whether Grave or gay, married or single, like Falstaff in the buck baskett, heel to point,³ altogether improper. I should rather suppose (if the legislature gets into a merry mood,) that it would be better to allow each delegate a certain sum of money, provided he disburses the same in House rent. It is also supposed hard that a Member of Congress when he goes home to see his family should be put upon stoppages. I should hope no person would be appointed but would conscientiously discharge his duty to the State to the best of his judgment.

I remain Yr. Affect. fd. & Most Obed Servt., Willm. Grayson.

[P.S.] You will please to consider what relates to Adams as altogether confidential.

The Affair of the negroes which has made so much noise in our house⁴ is rather trifling.

Negroes carried off from N.Y.	Men	1,386,
	Women	954,
	Children	657,
	Total	<u>2,997.</u>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ For the recognition of Massachusetts native John Temple as British consul general, see Charles Thomson's first letter to the States, December 3, 1785.

² See Elbridge Gerry to John Adams, November 8, note 1.

³ Cf. Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, act 3, sc. 5, lines 90–91, 113–14.

⁴ That is, the Virginia House of Delegates in which agitation over Britain's evacuation of Virginia slaves in violation of the Treaty of Paris had become endemic. See, for example, Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 8:59–61, 426n.3, 454.

William Grayson to James Monroe

Dr Sir

New York. 28th. Nov. 1785.

I imagine long before this you have heard of the death of our worthy friend Mr. Hardy; he was hardly ever well after you left us, having been much troubled with fevers, till going to Haerlem heights on a party, he broke a blood vessel in coughing, & dyed the 17th of Octob. His death has giv'n me the greatest concern on account of the sincere friendship I had for him; and I have been much embarassed with his affairs since his death; his funeral has cost 385 dolls. for which I am liable; his frends being not equal to the paymt. of his private debts. I have wrote particularly to the Governor thereon to which I refer you,¹ & request your assistance thereon, provided this finds you at Richmond; I shall be much pinched to pay the money if I am not relieved in time. With respect to your affairs, I have done the best that it was in my power to do; by paying the importunate, & giving fair words to the others, I have managed so that your credit has not suffered in the smallest degree. I inclosed you by last post, all the letters which have come to hand directed to you since your departure to the care of Genl Weedon; a book referred to (I expect) in one of Mr. Jefferson's letters is now in my possession having been delivered to me by Mr. Otto.² I now inclose you the journals of Congress complete by which you will see what we have been about since you left us; since the new Congress met, nothing has been done of any consequence, except the appointing of Hancock President, and Doctr. Ramsay, Chairman untill his ar-

rival; some people think he will not come forward. The business immediately before them is whether Temple shall be received as Consul general from G. Brittain or not. I am inclined to think it will be carried in the affirmative, when the States come forward (there being but 7 at present on the floor). As Congress have committed themselves by resolving that all Ministers, Chargès, &c at foreign Courts shall be Consuls genl. ex Officio: of course Adams is Consul genl. at the Court of G.B. There is some important foreign intelligence but which I cannot communicate witht. a cypher. Whether there is actually an Algerine War or not, is more than I can tell with certainty; the news comes authenticated from individuals in different parts; but we have no official accts. about the matter. They talk much about a new requisition already: & I hope you will inform yourself well about the State of our public accounts, also of the sentiments of the legislature respecting the last request as well as of the federal buildings at Trenton. The latter is asleep for the present. Pray dont forget the situation of your colleagues: & yourself, it is rather unworthy the State to deduct for absent time. The Members ought also to be allowed a hundred pounds a piece for house rent if the delegate expends so much. As to stowing them all together in a State house, I think it highly improper, though this I understand is the idea in Pensylvania. I think it would be right that we should be paid our house rent for this year: You know it was very heavy upon us. Your friend Gerry is on the point of being united to the elder Miss Thomson; in consequence of this, I have been able to sell the black horses yesterday for 160 dollars. They were put up before this at the Coffee house, & only one hundred & eight dollars was bid for them: this I should have been obliged to have taken, if I had been under the necessity of setting off for Virginia when I expected, by keeping them I have done better for you; though bad is the best: had it not been for the death of Mr. Hardy I would have taken them myself at the price: but circumstanced as I was I did not think it right to be concerned with them at all. Your friends at the Sycamore are all well, & very frequently inquire after you; Rufus, the Capt., & myself were at the play with them the other evening when they made so brilliant & lovely an appearance as to depopulate all the other boxes of all the genteel male people therein. The town is likely to be very gay this winter. There is a regular Concert & assembly established—besides the Play house.

I intend to decamp from [here] this Week; if I should not meet you, I beg leave to inform You that you will find our house tolerably well furnished for people in our circumstances as to funds; you may take possession of my bed & sheets &c till I return. I advise you to take back the black Cook again, she has left us in a fret on account of a difference between her & my Irishman when they had nearly proceeded to actual hostilities.

Wishing you health & happiness, I remain yr. Affect. frd,
Willm. Grayson

[P.S.] Doctr. Draper³ is just arrived & informs me that Mr. H. Lee & Mr. Carrington⁴ are added to the old delegn. No credentials are come on.

N.B. Yr. bill got safe; & the Note in the bank taken up in due season.
The young ladies desire to be remembd. to you.

RC (DLC: Monroe Papers).

¹ See Grayson's first letter to Patrick Henry, November 22.

² That is, *Notes on the State of Virginia*. See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 8:229.

³ Apparently Dr. George Draper of Prince William Co., Va., who had served as hospital surgeon in the Continental Army from 1777 to the end of the war. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 11:251n.

⁴ Edward Carrington wrote to Gov. Patrick Henry on December 10 resigning his position as a commissioner "for adjusting the claims for the Western Cession to Congress" because of his recent election. Executive Communications, Vi. He did not take his seat in Congress, however, until March 3, 1786. *JCC*, 30:93.

James McHenry to John Henry

My dear Henry.

New York 28 Novr. 1785.

You will find by the dispatch to the Assembly that our Time has not been unemployed since you left this place. As it is not known in Congress that our State is so greatly in debt as appears by this dispatch;¹ and as it contains a proposal by which the State may be releived for a moderate sum, I submit it to you whether it may not be proper to read the information with shut doors.

We have had much writing of late from Mr. Adams on the subject of commerce.² What would you think, if he should recommend to the States, to confine *their exports to American bottoms* and in the same breath, tell Congress, that if the States enter upon the system he recommends, nothing but our strength and the weakness of Great Britain will protect us from an *actual war*.³ Would you be surprised to learn, that there are great men both in and near Congress who wish for another war in order to compel the States to relinquish to Congress the sole and exclusive power of regulating trade. Would you imagine that a certain secretary would venture to assert to Congress "that it may be demonstrated, that while we bend our attention to the sea, every naval war, however long, which does not do us essential injury, will do us essential good."⁴ But his whole report is so curious that I herewith translate it. Think of our situation my dear Henry and of men who will have resolution and firmness of mind to guard our interests from the combinations of a very formidable phalanx. If the States adopt the war of restrictions recommended by Mr Adams, the

carrying trade of course falls into the hands of the Eastern people. If the restrictions beget a *war*, and that should prove a naval war only, which they flatter themselves will be the case, our protection must be derived from the Eastern States; so that whichever side of the die turns up we shall be the sufferers and they gainers. Let these hints suffice for the present. I have more to communicate at another time.

Adieu sincerely and with affectionate regards to my brother senators
James McHenry

FC (MiU-C: McHenry Papers). In the hand of James McHenry.

¹ This dispatch has not been found, but it was clearly part of the Maryland delegates' attempt to warn the assembly and its members of Maryland's precarious debtor position among the states which could only be remedied by purchasing depreciated Continental securities to be used in the settlement of the state's wartime accounts. McHenry had reported to John Hall in his letter of September 27–28? that "we owe an *immense sum* to the other States as will appear from the statement which I intend to lay before the General Assembly," and he and William Hindman further informed intendant of the revenue Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer on October 5 that "we shall deem it incumbent on Us to submit to the Consideration of the Legislature at their next Session, the Purchasing so large a Quantity of them [*Continental securities*] as the Circumstances & Finances of the State will by any Means admit."

² See Maryland Delegates (2d letter) to the Maryland Assembly, this date, note 2.

³ McHenry was summarizing a portion of John Adams' August 30 letter to John Jay which had been read in Congress on November 25, for which see PCC, item 84, 5:633–40, item 185, 3:146; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:467–71.

⁴ This quote was taken from secretary for foreign affairs John Jay's October 13 letter to the president of Congress enclosing information from John Paul Jones and a monsieur de Soulanges that the Algerian corsairs "had declared War against the United States." The letter had been read in Congress that day when Jay was ordered to transmit the news to the states and to report to Congress "with all convenient speed," which he did on October 20. His report was ordered printed for distribution. See JCC, 29:833–34, 842–44, 930; and PCC, item 80, 2:37–39, item 81, 1:455–64.

Maryland Delegates to the Maryland Assembly

The Honorable the General Assembly, New York, 28 Nov. 1785.

At the request of the Delegates in Massachusetts we do ourselves the honor to inclose an act of that State for the regulation of navigation and commerce.¹ At the same time we think it our duty to subjoin some strictures thereon by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs contained in a report delivered to Congress on the 7 Octbr ulto.²

With the most profound respect we have the honor to be your most
obt. svts.,

James McHenry

Wm. Hindman

MS not found; reprinted from Burnett, *Letters*, 8:261–62, from a document then in "the collection of the late Adrian H. Joline of New York."

¹ See Massachusetts Delegate to James Bowdoin, August 23, note 5.

² For John Jay's October 7 report, which was read in Congress on the 10th, see *JCC*, 29:817–20, 929; and Richard Henry Lee to Unknown, October 10, note 5. Jay's "strictures" included a recommendation that Massachusetts and New Hampshire revise their navigation acts of June 23 originally intended to force a change in British policy. Upon reexamination, the Massachusetts legislature agreed that portions of its act appeared to contravene "the principles of reciprocity which ought ever to be adopted in Commercial Regulation" and on November 29 repealed those clauses which imposed tonnage duties and some double duties on foreign vessels and also restricted their commerce to Boston, Falmouth, and Dartmouth. The act of June 23, however, would continue "in full force against the subjects of the King of Great Britain and the property of such subjects." The new act, with a letter of explanation, was circulated among the states by Gov. James Bowdoin in December. See, for example, *N.C. State Records*, 17:592–93. For its part, the New Hampshire House of Representatives instructed Gov. John Langdon on November 9 to inquire of other state executives "whether their Assemblies have, or are like to join with this State, and Massachusetts in their Commercial opposition to Great Britain?" and whether they had "impowered Congress to regulate Commerce," for which see *ibid.*, pp. 571–76.

Maryland Delegates to the Maryland Assembly

[November 28? 1785]¹

The late dispatches from the ministers of the U.S. in Europe especially from Mr Adams, containing matters of great importance to the peace and well-being of the States, we have conceived it to be our duty to lay them confidentially before the honorable the general assembly, premising at the same time as no copies or extracts could be made from these communications that we have been obliged to depend upon our memory.²

The chief points with which Mr. Adams is charged are, 1. An explanation of the armistice. 2. a compensation for the negroes carried off contrary to the treaty. 3. a remission of the interest due on British debts contracted before the war. 4. The surrender of the Western posts, and 5thly a commercial treaty.

These points have been discussed by Mr. Adams in several conferences with Lord Carmarthen and in one with Mr. Pitt, but he has not yet been able to obtain a *cabinet determination* upon either of them. The ministry seems unwilling to commit themselves officially either from an apprehension of doing something which might prove disagreeable to the nation—from its being necessary to have matters previously adjusted with Ireland, before they treat with America, or from an intention to recommence war should their finances admit of a recommencement.

With respect to the 1st point, Mr. Adams observed to Mr. Pitt.³

On the 2d point, Mr. Pitt said that, compensation ought to be made when the number of negroes which had been carried off could be ascertained.⁴ What passed on the 3d point is too interesting not to be particularly noticed. Mr. Pitt observed that wars made no change in

the nature of debts due by or to the parties at war. That this opinion was held by the British lawyers. The American lawyers, Mr. Adams replied, were of a different opinion as to the present case; and that no jury from New Hampshire to Georgia would allow the interest which run during the war. The american lawyers hold that the war put an end to all laws and government, and consequently to all contracts made under the laws. That it is a maxim of law that a personal right or obligation once destroyed or suspended, is lost forever. That hence an article in the treaty and new laws became necessary to reproduce the contracts. That the contracts therefore could not be considered as having any existence during the war; and of course during that period, could not generate interest. This was a subject Mr. Pitt said that required consideration, and that the merchants must be consulted upon it, before any thing could be done. The balance, he added, is in favor of Great Britain to which Mr. Adams assented. Touching the surrender of the western posts, which Mr. Adams is *instructed to demand*, Mr. Pitt observed, that this point must be taken up and settled in conjunction with some others; meaning, Mr. Adams remarks, the obstructions which some of the States have raised against the recovery of British debts. The last point, "a commercial treaty" seems to engage the greatest share of our ministers attention, as being perhaps the most important of his embassy. He has laid before the British cabinet the project of a treaty which has for its basis the most perfect reciprocity in all exchanges and intercourse between the two countries. He is of opinion however notwithstanding all his endeavours, that the national judgement and popular voice is so decided in favor of the navigation acts that neither administration nor opposition dare avow a thought of relaxing them further than has been already done, and that Great Britain will hold out in this system as long as she can maintain *the credit of her stocks*. Great Britain he thinks must be *compelled into a treaty*. He urges therefore the necessity of meeting her, as he expresses it, with correspondent "commercial hostilities" and of the States relinquishing to Congress the sole and exclusive power of regulating their trade. He says that this war of mutual duties, restraints and prohibitions must necessarily be a long one—that it cannot be known which side will "roar" out first—that Great Britain may hurt us by taking off the duty from Spanish tobacco, and by that means make the Spaniards our rivals, in that article—and that she may also injure our exports in a variety of other ways. But "to confine our exports to American shipping, to lay heavy duties upon all foreign luxuries; and to encourage manufactures by prohibitions and exclusions, appear to him to be our only resource"—That we should immediately enter upon the execution of this system, "altho" he subjoins, under this head, "I am very sensible of the many difficulties in the way, and of the danger of its bringing on in the course of a few years another war.

Nothing but our strength and their weakness will in my opinion protect us from such a calamity."⁵

This "commercial war," which is already commenced by the State of Massachusetts, (as will appear by their act in reference No. and a report of the Secretary of foreign affairs thereon No.)⁶ has struck your delegates as involving some very interesting questions which your representatives in Congress may be called upon to decide. To apprise the honorable Assembly of these facts seemed to be the bounden duty of your present delegates.

In a country where there is land to employ the labor of double or fourfold its inhabitants that money and industry which a severe navigation act will force into ship building, would be employed in agriculture. As such a country acquired more wealth than the land could employ, and more men than were necessary to work it, the excess would be converted into ships, seamen, merchants, manufacturers and manufactures. How far this order ought to be disturbed for the purpose of creating on a sudden a naval defence is of great moment to have truly ascertained. It deserves also to be examined whether it is not our interest, for at least twenty years to come, to be at peace with all the world; and whether it is not in our power to enjoy peace without any diminution of our prosperity, and in the mean while, be forwarding the means of a future navy. It may also be made a matter of serious inquiry, how far the confining the exportation of our produce to American built ships navigated by American sailors will effect the price, and, whether the advantages of this system generally and specially considered, are sufficient to counterbalance the consequences of another war.

We have been thus particular that the general assembly may have a full view of the subject should Congress refer the question to the States; and because the Secretary of foreign affairs in a report No. has given it to Congress as his opinion, that "it may be demonstrated that while we bend our attention to the sea, every naval war, however long, which does not do us essential injury, will do us essential good."⁷

With respect to the Algerine war which for some time past has agitated the public mind, and given rise to the official report just alluded to, Congress have received no confirmation thereof, nor does Mr. Adams take any notice of it in any of his letters tho' one is as late as the 15 Sept. We will not therefore consider it other than a story fabricated to answer some speculating purpose till it comes authorised by our ministers. Measures have been long since taken to keep peace with the piratical powers, but the person who was charged by Congress with instructions had not been heard of by Mr. Jefferson the [...] tho' he received his orders from Congress.

We have now to subjoin the substance of a communication from Dr. Franklin which will close the foreign state of our affairs.⁸ The last act

this minister did was to sign with Mr. Jefferson a treaty of friendship and commerce with Prussia, which was to be carried to the Hague by Mr. Short, there to be signed by Baron Thulemeyer on the part of the King. The Doctor says, that he left the Court of France in the same friendly disposition towards the U.S. that we have all along experienced, tho' concerned to find that our credit is not better supported in the payment of the interest due on our loans, which, in case of another war, must be, they think, extremely prejudicial to us, and indeed, may contribute to bring on the war sooner, by affording our enemies the encouraging confidence, that those who take so little care to pay will not again find it easy to borrow.⁹

MS (CtY: James McHenry Notes [fols. 3–8], Mason-Franklin Collection). In the hand of James McHenry.

¹ From the content of this draft letter it is clear that it was composed sometime after the receipt on November 25 of nine letters from John Adams, dated late August and early September, and before the delegates left New York on December 2 or 3, for which see PCC, item 185, 3:145–46; and Maryland Delegates to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, December 6, note 2. For convenience it has been grouped with a surviving dispatch from the Maryland delegates to the assembly of known date, for which see the preceding entry. For another dispatch prepared at this time which has not survived, see McHenry to John McHenry, this date, note 1.

This letter is among fifty-three pages of notes acquired by Yale University in 1944 which consist primarily of McHenry's copies of dispatches written by American ministers abroad between December 1782 and September 1785 pertaining to the peace treaty. They reflect his overriding concern with the state of Anglo-American relations and the possibility that problems created by the British ministers' construction of the armistice, the evacuation of American slaves in 1783, Britain's retention of the frontier posts, and continued agitation over nonpayment of American prewar debts to British merchants would preclude the negotiation of an Anglo-American commercial treaty or lead to open naval warfare. It is not known whether this letter was actually sent, but given the congressional prohibition against communicating the content of foreign dispatches, McHenry and Hindman may have decided instead to report in person to the general assembly, which sat from November 7 to March 12, 1786.

² The delegates were preoccupied with fourteen letters from John Adams to secretary for foreign affairs John Jay that had arrived in three increments. On October 11 Jay had submitted to Congress Adams' letters of July 19 and 29 enclosing copies of Adams' letters to Lord Carmarthen of July 14, 27, and 29, and a draft treaty of amity and commerce. On October 27 and 31 he submitted Adams' letters of August 6, 8, and 10, and on November 24 Jay forwarded Adams' letters of August 25 (containing a lengthy recital of his August 24 conference with William Pitt the Younger), 28, 29, 30, 31, and September 2, 3, 6, and 15. See PCC, item 84, 5:530–660, item 104, 5:297–310; item 185, 3:141–42, 144–46; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:396–417, 421–30, 455–76.

³ McHenry left a blank space in the manuscript at this point, obviously intending to insert a portion of Adams' August 25 letter containing his conference with William Pitt, for which see PCC, item 84, 5:605–20; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:455–62.

⁴ At this point in the manuscript McHenry inserted an asterisk to which he keyed the following note in the margin: "numbers of negroes carried off from New York ascertained by commissioners who attended in N. York for the purpose at its evaluation viz, men. 1386, wom. 954, child. 657. Total 2,997."

⁵ See Adams' August 30 letter to John Jay in PCC, item 84, 5:633–40; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:467–71.

⁶ The delegates sent this information under separate cover, for which see the preceding entry.

⁷ See McHenry to John Henry, this date, note 4.

⁸ For Benjamin Franklin's September 19 letter to John Jay, which had been read in Congress on October 4, see PCC, item 100, 2:260–62, item 185, 3:141; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 1:398–99.

⁹ Among these McHenry notes are also two fragments that reflect other preoccupations at the close of his congressional career. In the first of these, he recorded characterizations of three of the ministers abroad, drawn by their own colleagues: "The minister to the Court of Tuscany [*Ralph Izard*] says that Doctr. Franklin is destitute of every principle of moral rectitude. Doctor Franklin says Mr Adams is some times a madman. Mr Adams says that Doctr. Franklin just does what the court of France bids him," McHenry Notes, fol. 40.

In the second fragment he focused on the powers of Congress. "Question, what powers exist in Congress by the confederation? Congress shd not be the expositors of the confed—they shd act under it. The measures of Congress sufficiently declaratory of the powers." *Ibid.*, fol. 20.

William Grayson to Richard Henry Lee

Dear Sir

New York Nov. 30th. 1785.

I have very little news to communicate. Mr. Hancock is appointed President but it is much doubted whether he will accept of this high Office. It was surely improper to play the risquing game on such an occasion. The business immedy. before Congress is whether Mr. Temple shall be received as Consul Genl. from G.B. or not; there are on this occasion different sentiments, though I presume when the States are fully represented (there being but seven at present) that it will be decided in the affirmative as Congress seem to have committed themselves as they have resolved that the Ministers & Chargés des affaires of the U.S. are Consuls genl. ex Officio. Of course Adams is Consul Genl. at the Court of G.B.—as soon as the dispatches from the Secy. for foreign affairs arrives. Temple himself is in a peck of troubles about it; it seems a very good salary depends on the decision.

Since your departure Adams has givn us another fire, to the old tune of commercial restrictions. Jay & Thompson have thought his last advices of so much importance as to send official letters to the States to require the immediate attendance of the Members.¹ It is a little extraordinary that Mr. Adams should recommend a commercial war, when in the same letter he agrees that in the prosecution of this commercial war it is highly probable we shall incur a *real* war.² We are no doubt in a good situation for war. I inclose you a schedule of the advances to the States,³ by which you will see that Virginia has had less by a million of dollars than her proportion. No advantage it seems can however be taken of this circumstance in the next requisition as the resolution of the 3rd of June 1784 suspends the payment

of interest till the final settlement of the accounts, that is, till the day of Judgment.

I read some part of your letter at the Sycamore alias the Virginia Hotel, which gave no small satisfaction, & like an able negotiator I drew some small advantages from it myself. Perhaps it may still be productive. I had the honor of escorting them to the play the other evening, when they made so beautiful & elegant an appearance as to depopulate all the other boxes of the Beaux & Philanders. They beg me to present their best regards to you. If it was not for the intervention of Mrs. Lee, perhaps the expression might be more animating. I am just on the point of leaving this place.¹ Should however anything new cast up before I go I will write. From yr. Affect frd & most obed servt.,
Willm. Grayson⁵

RC (ViU: Lee Family Papers).

¹ See Charles Thomson to Certain States, November 18.

² See James McHenry to John Henry, November 28, note 3.

³ Not found.

⁴ Apparently Grayson did not leave New York until December 6 or 7, for which see Maryland Delegates to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, December 6, note 3.

⁵ Grayson also wrote the following brief note to Virginia's treasurer Jacquelin Ambler on November 29: "At five days sight, of this my first bill of exchange, (the second of the same tenor and date not being paid,) pay to William Duer Esqr. or order the sum of four hundred dollars, & place the same to account of, Sir, yr. hbble servt, Willm. Grayson." Account Vouchers, Vi.

Pierse Long to John Langdon

Sir,

New York Novr. 30th. 1785

I have the honr. to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellys. letter of the 16th Instt. which came to hand the 27th with its enclosure, in consequence thereof I took my seat in Congress the following morning when I found the Wednesday preceeding seven states present, they proceeded to the election of a president—and Mr. Hancock was chosen.¹

In conformity to your directions I enclose a list of the States who have complied with the recommendations of Congress of the 30th April 1784 respecting the regulation of trade.² I also enclose a copy of a letter I received from Mr. Dowse our surveyor in the western country³—I am sorry they could not proceed on the business of their appointment, as it will protract the sale of the lands near another year. There is a report that the commissioners are going on with the treaty with the Indians agreeable to their wishes. I am rather inclined to believe its on foot, before now they must have returned to this city.

Mr. Temple is here from London, he came in a Ship by whom Congress have received letters from Mr. Adams of later dates than I in-

formed you of in my last. No account of Mr. Lamb with the dispatches, nor any prospect of a reciprocal commerce. Mr. Adams has had a long, and free conversation with Mr. Pitt respecting Trade, and on giving up the Posts agreeable to treaty but nothing has been determined on as yet.

I would beg leave to inform your Excellency that I expect to draw for money very soon, being considerably in debt to my Friends here for the supplies I have had for some time past. I have the honor. to be with Very Great Regard & Esteem, Your Excellency's Most Obt. hum. Servt,

Pierce Long

RC (Nh-Ar; Executive Records).

¹ See *JCC*, 29:883, 889.

² Long's list (not found) was undoubtedly compiled from information provided by Secretary Charles Thomson, whose report to Congress on this subject is in *JCC*, 30:10.

³ A transcript of this October 16, 1785, Edward Dowse letter is in the New Hampshire Council Records, Peter Force Collection, DLC. For the eventual election of Winthrop Sargent as Continental surveyor for New Hampshire in the place of Dowse, see *JCC*, 30:355.

John Bayard to Samuel Bayard

My Dear Son,¹

New York Decr 1st. 1785

I received a few Lines from your Brother James by Post informing that you had moved the furniture &c without any accident & that you were all Well.

I mentioned in a Letter to your Brother my wish that He would forward your Sister Jennys Forte Piana by the first Vessell that should come round from Philada. & that He would purchase & Send an English Cheese & 2 Bbls of our best potatoes but As I suppose He is much engaged in business I wish you to see this business performed. Take care that the forte piana is well cased—the Musick Books belonging to the Instrument were in the Drawer of one of the Mahogany Card tables in the front parlour those ought to be sent with it.

I wish to hear as frequently as possible from You, I hope you live in Love & Friendship with each other. My Mind is much exercised respecting my family, I cease not to remember you all in my prayers to God, that He may preserve you & make You blessings to each other & to Your Country.

I find Congress opens a new scene of Action to me & candidly confess it requires greater abilities than I am possessed of to make a distinguished Appearance on that Floor. There are several Gentlemen who shine as speakers particularly a Mr. Rufus King from Massachusetts. He has a graceful Attitude—a fine flow of Words & in general a thorough acquaintance of the Subject on wch. He speaks. This

gives him an unrival'd Influence. The Debates are conducted in general with great Decency & propriety & the Members treat each other with the utmost politeness—the greatest inconvenience is, that We have so many good speakers, each willing to display their Abilities on the Subject in debate that they are frequently lenthned out, & exhausted & become rather tiresome.

I thought to have wrote to cousin James but fear I shall not have time at present. I wish He would write to me & I will endeavour to answer His Letters in course. You must all write two or three Letters to me for one from me, for remember I have a great Number to correspond with, and at the Same time to attend my duty in Congress—receive & pay Visits &c.

We are all well at Dr. Rodgers's & Join in Love to you all as if named.

I am my Dear son Your Afft. Father,

John Bayard

NB. You can enquire for a Vessell bound to New York, they generally put an advertisement in the papers but if this should not be the Case, Your Uncle Andw. can tell you of any coming this way.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Addressed: "Mr. Samuel Bayard, In Philadelphia."

¹ Samuel Bayard (1767–1840), a 1784 graduate of the College of New Jersey, was studying law with William Bradford, the attorney general of Pennsylvania. He was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in 1787 and subsequently became Bradford's partner. Ruth L. Woodward and Wesley Frank Craven, *Princetonians, 1784–1790, A Biographical Dictionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 9–13.

David Ramsay to Ralph Izard

Dear Sir,

December 1, 1785. New-York.

Your favor of the 20th ult is now before me and I shall endeavor to reply to the various parts of it. We have at present only seven States & five of them are represented by two & two of the at present represented States will be of[f] the floor in a few days. We notwithstanding expect New-Hampshire, Connecticut & Virginia. It is probable that we will not have more than ten States on the floor this winter. The attendance of Georgia, North Carolina, Delaware & Rhode island is very uncertain. From these facts I doubt our being able to get seven States in favor of any Gentleman to represent us at the Hague. I am farther induced to believe this from a strong suspicion I have that it is the wish of the Eastern States to keep open the appointment to the Hague for John Adams Esq. Should that Gentleman fail in his negotiations at the court of London & his success is very doubtful I expect that next Spring a motion will be made to recal him from London & reappoint him to the Hague. This is only conjecture but from the

thinness of the Congress added to the above I doubt much whether the vote of seven States will be this winter conferred on any Gentleman. If any person is elected Mr. Izard unquestionably will be the person. Mr. Paca is not a candidate. The only present rival is Houston & I am confident he is not a formidable one.¹

As to the State of our finances if our last requisition is complied with we have much to hope; but I fear the compliance of Virginia, North Carolina & Georgia. South Carolina has nothing to pay. We have heretofore paid interest by new loans but this will end in a year & we must stand on our own exertions. I doubt much being done by the States till the balances are struck and the debt apportioned by a federal rule. Our expectations from western territory have failed us. Captain Hutchings² is returned & his conduct in not proceeding is approved. The Indians have thrown difficulties in his way. That project has cost us much money & is likely to produce nothing at present. On the whole I think all our debts will be ultimately paid but I doubt much the present exertions of the States. If the British relinquish their western posts & that land was sold it would so diminish the capital as would make the payment of interest annually easy. It will relieve you from embarrassment on this head to be informed that the interest has been hitherto paid but by new loans. A crisis awaits us & either a national bankruptcy or a vigorous exertion of our own resources. I hope for the latter but not as soon as it ought to be.

Mr. A Lee has for some time past been in Virginia; but is expected soon to return to his seat at the board of Treasury. This accounts for his not answering your letter.

I have made some enquiry into the State of the College here & I hear a very good account of it.³ I think your sons may be placed here to great advantage. They have lately instituted competition which excites that ambition which is the most powerful stimulus to study. The teachers are able & attentive & the College is under the government of the Gentlemen of the city whose sons are Pupils & who will for their own sake take good care of the institution. My most respectful compliments are tendered to Mrs. Izard. In promoting your interest here I shall exert my utmost & in so doing I am happy that private attachment, State honor & federal benefit all draw in one & the same direction.

With the highest esteem, I have the honor to be, your most obedient servt,
David Ramsay.

P.S. Mr Temple was this day recognised as Consul general of his Britannic Majesty to these States. Decr. 2d 85⁴

RC (NNC: X973.C72.F vol. 1,48).

¹ For the August 1785 nominations of Izard and John Houstoun to be minister to The Hague after John Rutledge declined the appointment, see James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, April 12, 1785, note 6.

² That is, geographer of the United States Thomas Hutchins, whose November 24 letter explaining the reasons why he had returned from his assignment to survey the territory northwest of the Ohio River was read in Congress that day. He had been warned by the chiefs of the Delaware and Wyandot tribes "to desist from prosecuting the Surveying business until the Treaty to be held at the Miami River should be over." Indeed, according to the enclosed testimony of William Wilson, Hutchins' emissary to the tribes, "had the Surveyors appointed by Congress continued surveying the Lands in the Western Territory, they would have either have been made prisoners, or killed and Scalped." See *JCC*, 29:884n; and *PCC*, item 60, fols. 193–220.

³ That is, recently revived and renamed Columbia College, formerly King's College.

⁴ See Charles Thomson to the States, first letter, December 3, 1785.

Charles Thomson to Nathanael Greene

Sir,

New York Decr. 2. 1785.

By the Edward, Capt Cooper, I received from Mr Brown of London the enclosed letter together with a box directed to you and containing as he informs me two prints one of general Washington & the other of yourself.¹ Had there been a vessel directly for Georgia I should have hazarded the sending the box by it. As there is not, I shall wait your Orders. I hope the climate of Georgia will correspond with your prospects & wishes, as I am confident that infant Government will derive great advantage from your becoming a citizen & inhabitant thereof.

With much esteem and respect, I am, Sir, Your most obedt humble
Servt Cha Thomson

RC (MiU–C: Greene Papers).

¹ For Joseph Brown's shipment of these prints to Thomson for distribution, see Thomson to Brown, January 28, 1786.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, Circular Office of Secretary of Congress, Decr. 3. 1785.

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency herewith enclosed an Act of Congress passed yesterday recognizing John Temple Esqr as Consul general of his Britannic Majesty throughout the United States.¹

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most
Obedient & most humble Servt, CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). The RC of this letter that was sent to the governor of Massachusetts was dated December 2. Revolutionary War Letters, vol. 288, M–Ar.

¹ For this enclosure, and John Jay's November 24 and 28 reports and recommendations on United States recognition of Temple, see *JCC*, 29:886–87, 894, 896–98. Tem-

ple's arrival coincided with growing concern over John Adams' unsuccessful efforts to negotiate a commercial treaty with Britain and provoked speculation that withholding recognition might lead to more fruitful negotiations. Jay's view that such retaliatory gestures are seldom useful and more likely simply to irritate prevailed; his draft recognition resolution was adopted December 2 after considerable debate the preceding day. See also Rufus King to John Adams, December 4, 1785, and May 4, 1786.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, *Circular* Office of Secretary of Congress, Decr. 3. 1785

In conformity to the Act of 17 August last I have the honor to transmit to your Exy herewith enclosed a list of the states represented & of the Members who appeared in Congress from the meeting thereof on the first Monday in November to the end of the Month.¹ The Journals for that time do not fill half a sheet which is the Reason why they are not presented & transmitted herewith.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Yr Excellency's &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For this enclosure and the 11 other monthly attendance lists sent to the states during the Congress of 1785–86, see Appendix. See also Thomson to the States, November 7, 1785.

Rufus King to John Adams

Sir New York 4 Decr. 1785

I had the honor to write to you under date of the second of November, at which time the congress of the last year was at the point of separation to make way for their successors. States sufficient to form a new Congress did not assemble until the 23d ult, when they proceeded to the choice of a President, and Mr Hancock, although absent, was elected. Whether he will accept the appointment is uncertain.

Mr. Temple arrived here about ten days since, and having presented his commission, Congress on the 2d instant passed an act recognizing him as Consul General. I inclose a Copy of the act which explains itself,¹ and manifests what would be the Opinion of congress on the question in case no commercial treaty should take place between G Britain and the U.S. Perhaps the delays of the british ministry may operate more advantageously to the U.S. than those acts which now might be esteemed the most liberal, and Kind. You very well remember, that Spain delayed Mr. Jay formerly, as England now delays you. The Event may be such in the latter Case, as it was in the former; and the U.S. hereafter may decline what they once solicited. Time is more

favorable to young, than to old nations. The States are more and more embracing the Opinion that they must rely upon themselves, rather than upon alliances or Treaties with foreign nations. The navigation law of Massachusetts has been literally adopted by New Hampshire, Rhode Island has even gone beyond them. New York probably will follow their example, Pennsylvania has now a Bill before their legislature, the heads whereof, as printed in the Gazettes I inclose you. Maryland will do something, which will strengthen the common cause, South Carolina had a short Session of their Legislature this Autumn, adjourned to meet in January, having appointed a respectable committee to prepare a Bill for the regulation of Navigation & commerce. The Rotation of members established by the confederation, has returned many old delegates to their respective States; these Gentlemen, having a more comprehensive Knowledge of the Affairs of the Confederacy, impressed with the importance of a more close union between the States and a greater uniformity in their laws as they affect foreign powers, will not only exert themselves to produce these desirable objects, but probably will have considerable influence in bringing them forth. The Merchants through all the states are agreed, they urge the necessity of commercial Regulations—and the Sessions of the several Legislatures during the winter will be employed on this subject. The opening of the Budget by the British Minister will not be more important to that Nation than the Acts which the states may probably pass during the winter, will be to the united states.

Much time and almost the whole attention of the majority of the Citizens of this country, have been diverted since the war, from public employments, and engaged in the recovery of their private Affairs, deranged and injured by the progress of the Revolution. The success of their application is almost incredible, towns have been rebuilt more beautiful upon their former Ruins, and the waste fields of the Husbandmen are again enclosed and covered with their Flocks and herds. These Citizens will again attend to the public concerns; and engage in every measure which can effectually secure their peace and happiness with the Zeal and firmness of freemen—all opinions of the future character of the United States, which are founded upon their measures or pursuits since the war, must for the reasons alluded to, be in a considerable degree erroneous. A few years hence will exhibit this confederacy in a condition far different from that which has past, or is present. The conduct of England discovers their sentiments to the citizens of America, and being known, the latter will be guarded, & prepared for every event. Is it so certain as Englishmen suppose it, that the United States cannot do without them—is it clear that because they prohibit the introduction of our Oil into *England* and our Fish into their Islands, that therefore our Fisheries will languish—How is the fact? France is desirous of purchasing our oil, and it comes to a good Market in some other states. The cod Fishery is in a prosperous

condition, Plymouth, in Massachusetts, has as many fishermen or more as some say, than ever. Marblehead has upwards of 40 Sail, besides boats—Salem 30, Beverly 30, Cape Ann 20, and other Towns to the eastward in proportion to their wealth. A few months since these Towns had no Fishermen; and by the next summer, it is the Opinion of Good Judges, they will have a third more Vessels than they now possess; nor is it probable they will want a Market for all the Fish they can cure. Are not these circumstances in our favor? they certainly are. But I will not be sanguine—on the other hand I see no cause to despair. The letters you wrote to Mr. Jay in August and September,² were very satisfactory to Congress, contained much valuable information, and by their timely arrival I hope will produce good Effects in the southern states.

Mr. Gerry who has not yet left me for home, presents his most affectionate Regards to you, some private concerns detains him here for a short time, and I thereby enjoy his good society longer than I expected.

With the most perfect consideration & respect I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obt. Servt.,
Rufus King

RC (MHi: Adams Family Papers).

¹ See *JCC*, 29:897–98.

² Letters from Adams to John Jay of August 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, and September 2, 6, and 15, 1785, were reported by the secretary for foreign affairs to Congress on November 24. PCC, item 127, fol. 196. The letters are in PCC, item 84, 5:605–60; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:455–76.

Rufus King to Daniel Kilham

My dear Sir

New York 4th. Dec. [17]85

I forbear writing to you any *opinions* relative to commerce or politicks—they are so speculative after the most intimate knowledge of facts that, reading them is but the perusal of Romance. Englishmen and Americans are very well acquainted with their respective situations and conditions, and infer opposite opinions from the same facts—each plausible, probably neither right.

How goes on your winter amusements, who is your M. of Ceremonies—do great men agree? or disagreeing do little ones range themselves un[der] the Protection of the Partizans, and advocate their several merits? How does my *amiable* friend, whom we have repetedly mentioned? does misfortune so weaken the soul, that frien[d]ships are forgotten? I hope not.

Pray inform me whether our common friend N. Carter is moving towards matrimony—if he cannot suit himself at Home, if he will

come here he must be difficult to please, or he may shop agreeably. I don't ask whether you are thinking of this connection—but I hope you will within a few years, as I intend when you have given me the example of a Philosopher, to follow myself.

Farewell, Yours affectionately,

R King

RC (NNC: King Collection).

Charles Pettit to John Nicholson

Dear Sir,

New York 4th. December 1785

I have been favoured with your Letter of the 29th Ult. but have not yet had Time to have any Conversation with the Commrs. of the Treasury on the Subject you mention.¹

Whatever the Letter of the several Resolutions of Congress may import, or whatever strained Construction they may be liable to, in order to favour some States at the Expence of others, the Idea of fair & substantial Justice must be kept in View, and must be the Rule by which all such Cases must be determined. Every Idea of tricking and catching at little Advantages arising from Circumstances not foreseen at the Time of the Contract, is unworthy of a State or Nation, whose fundamental Maxim in Negotiations, especially in Money-matters, should always be that Honesty is the best Policy. I apprehend no Difficulty, therefore, in the Adjustment of this Matter. I would never higggle for Trifles in State Affairs where the Line of Justice is doubtful; but where it is plain and evident, it must prevail among States who mean to be happy. The Proportions between Specie & Facilities must be preserved alike in all the States. If the other States will pay up in Specie to our Mark on the 31st of December 1783 & strike the Proportion of Facilities on the Residue only, we shall be ready to meet them on that Ground; but if they do not come up to our Mark, we must resort to theirs for a Rule. We can easily resort to any Rule that is founded in Justice and Equality—and some such Rule we must be governed by. Another Requisition must soon be framed, and in doing that we can adjust the Matter, if not before.

I am about an Enquiry in which I wish to be informed of the annual Expenditures of our State under the Head of supporting Government²—I mean such Expenditures as are made out of the Public Treasury exclusive of the Pay of Officers who draw their Support from Fees and Perquisites which form no part of the public Account. Such as

Salaries—mentioning each Officer by Title & his Salary, separately.

Pay of the Council—the Amount for one Year, & their Servants or Officers.

Pay of the Assembly—the Amt. for one Year & their servants, with the Contingent Expences of both for Fire &c.

Contingencies—Rewards for apprehending Robbers &c and such other annual Expences as are incident to supporting the Dignity of Government.

I thought of extracting this from your Book of the Treasurers accounts, but I find several of the Articles, and the Accounts of different Years so blended that I cannot do it satisfactorily. I imagine you can give me what I want with ease as well as accuracy. Pray send me such a Statement as early as may be. If any Article should occur which may raise a Doubt whether it comes within my Description or not, it may be best to insert it. I can more easily strike out what may be redundant than supply what may be deficient.

I have had some Account of the scheme of Finance promulged in the Commee. of Ways & Means. I learn it is to be printed & wish to see it. Pray procure & send me a Copy.

I am, Sir, Your most humble Servt.,

Cha. Pettit

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Addressed: "John Nicholson Esquire, Comptroller General, Philadelphia."

¹ Nicholson's inquiry apparently concerned the settlement of Pennsylvania's Continental accounts. For the "State of the Quota of Pennsylvania" that Nicholson had recently prepared showing the payments made and sums due on "the several Existing Requisitions of Congress" as of November 5, 1785, see *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 10:529–30.

² For Nicholson's response, see Pettit to Nicholson, December 27.

Massachusetts Delegates to James Bowdoin

Sir,

New York 5th. Decr. 1785

In pursuance of the full powers of the states of Massachusetts and New York, congress on the 2d instant proceeded to the choice of three commissioners to run the Eastern boundary line of the State of New York adjoining to Massachusetts, and Mr. Hutchins Geographer of the United States, Mr. Rittenhouse, and Doctor Ewing of Pensylvania were elected.¹

We forbear making any observations concerning the time of running this line, or the propriety of some persons attending the commissioners, on the part of the state, when the same is run, every consideration of this nature being properly within the Authority of the supreme executive of the State.

Mr. Secretary Thomson will officially transmit the act of Congress of the second instant recognizing Mr. Temple as consul General from his Britannic majesty;² the Recognition differs from that used in the case

of a Consul received under a Treaty of commerce, and the issuing an exequatur by the several Executives will be unnecessary.

With perfect consideration & Respect we have the honor to be,
your Excellency's most obt. servants,

Rufus King

Nathan Dane

RC (MB: Chamberlain Collection).

¹ See Charles Thomson to John Ewing et al., December 10.

² See Thomson's first letter to the states of December 3. John Temple was married to Bowdoin's daughter Elizabeth.

Charles Thomson to William Churchill Houston

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, December 5th. 1785

The late Contractors for the moving Army having Stated to Congress in a memorial that they have sustained loss and damage from the late superintendant of finance having failed to make good the stipulated payments, and from his withdrawing the Contract, Congress on the 27th May last were pleased to Resolve, "That J D Mercier, William Malcolm & Isaac Roosevelt esquires, having made oath that they will faithfully discharge this trust, be authorised to enquire into the particulars, and to determine what damages, if any, have been sustained by Tench Francis, Comfort Sands, and other late Contractors for the moving Army, from the late superintendant of finance having failed to make good the stipulated payments or from his withdrawing the Contract, & make report to Congress."¹

The Gentlemen above named being desirous that two more should be added, Congress were pleased on the 4th of November to Resolve "That the Secretary of Congress, be and hereby is authorised in Conjunction with Walter Livingston and Comfort Sands and their Associates to agree upon and appoint two disinterested referees, to be added to those heretofore appointed to decide certain Controversies between the United States and the said Walter Livingston and Comfort Sands and their Associates who or a Majority of whom shall be competent to report their opinion to Congress."²

In obedience to this order I have had a meeting with the Contractors and we have mutually agreed upon You and Mr Banker of New York to be added to those heretofore appointed. I must therefore request your acceptance of this duty, as I am confident you will thereby do an acceptable service both to Congress and the parties concerned.³ It will be very agreeable if you can come forward soon. If you could make it convenient to come by the middle of this month

you will meet with no delay and it is hoped you will be able to come to a speedy decision. But as two of the Gentlemen are of the Legislature of this State which meets on the 6th of January they may possibly not be able to give close attendance during the session.

Your speedy answer will oblige, Sir, Your most obedt huml Servt.

C.T

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For the context of this issue, see Thomson to William Malcom et al., May 31, 1785.

² See *JCC*, 29:860, 870.

³ Houston's response to this letter is not in the PCC, but it may be inferred that he declined the appointment since Thomson wrote an almost identical letter to Elbridge Gerry on August 2, 1786, for which see PCC, item 18B, fols. 80–81; and Thomson to Walter Livingston and Comfort Sands, August 19, 1786.

Maryland Delegates to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Decr. 6th. 1785

Mr. McHenry who goes down to Baltimore in a few Days takes Charge of what old Money our Contracts have as yet produced.¹ The Remainder of the two Millions, which We have the Strongest Assurances of receiving in a short Time, will be forwarded by Mr. Hindman on his Return to New-York,² either to Baltimore or directly to Annapolis. You will perceive from the Nature of this Transaction that We have been obliged occasionally to advance our Money to enable the Agents to carry their Speculations into Effect, unless We had advanced in this Manner, We could not so readily have obtained the Paper. The Account between Us stands as follows—Viz.

Amount of the two Millions

conformably to your Restriction at 175 for 1	£4280.10.0
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By Draughts & Orders on

Willing Morris & Swanwick for	3000.0.0
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Balance	1280.10.0
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This Balance You will be pleased to remit as soon as convenient to Willing, Morris & Swanwick, subjecting the same to the Order of Mr. Hindman, who is in the Disposition of it. We have only to add on this Head that We have Reason to believe that as much more could be obtained on the same Terms, but as We had no Orders to go beyond the two Millions, We have entered into no new Contracts—all that We could venture to do was to desire one of the Agents to write to Mr. McHenry, in Case He could immediately and without any Delay procure another Half a Million or thereabouts, telling him that He would

receive an Answer from Mr. McHenry, who will have it in his Power to consult You on the Occasion & to take your Orders.

Your Carriage is a very handsom one & goes under the Care of Colo. Grayson to Baltimore, He sets out to Day or to Morrow³ & will leave it at Mr. Grant's; in the mean while & till You can send for it, We have requested Mr. John McHenry to see that no Injury befalls it. The Horses are very good & cost 100£, which with Keeping since their Purchase, You will be pleased to pay to Mr. James McHenry.

With great Regard, We have the Honor to be, Yr. very hble Servts.,

James McHenry

Wm. Hindman

RC (MdAA: Executive Papers). Written by Hindman and signed by Hindman and McHenry.

¹ See Maryland Delegates to Jenifer, October 5.

² Hindman did not return to New York for six weeks, presenting the credentials of the new Maryland delegation (Hindman, William Harrison, John Henry, Nathaniel Ramsey, and Richard Ridgely) to Congress on January 17, 1786. Both he and McHenry had left New York after Congress met on December 2. See *JCC*, 29:890, 897, 30:19–20.

³ Cf. William Grayson to Richard Henry Lee, November 30, note 4.

Rufus King to John Hancock

Dear Sir

New York 7th. Dec. 1785¹

It was with very sincere pleasure I this day received yours of the 30th ult. which declares your acceptance of the chair of congress² and I entreat you to be assured, that this pleasure was not a little encreased, by the expectation you have given me leave to entertain, that Mrs Hancock will be with you during your residence here. In consequence of some Doubts expressed in your Letter, I have this Evening made enquiry, concerning the Situation of the House, and furniture, of the President's family; *the House is good*, and although the Furniture is not such as it should be, it will be within your direction at the public charge, to make such dispositions and amendments as may be convenient. The Servants, carriage, Horses &ca. of the late president are retained, and wait your coming; the Carriage is very ordinary, but every arrangement relative to the Household may be effected on your arrival here, and without any inconvenience.³

In great haste, but with perfect consideration & respect, I have the honor to be, Dear Sir, Your very humbl. servt., Rufus King

P.S. I beleive that it was after you left Congress, that the present plan of supporting the Household of the president was adopted. A Steward is appointed by Congress, who conducts the whole business of the house-

hold, under direction of the President; and the President draws on the Treasury for the necessary monies to defray the Stewards demands.

RC (PHi; Jenkins Old Congress Collection).

¹ This letter is misdated December 4 in Burnett, *Letters*, 8:269.

² A November 30 letter from Hancock to Charles Thomson, written in response to Thomson's letter to him of November 23, is in PCC, item 58, fols. 43–46. It is endorsed: "Read 27 Decr. 1785." This delay in the reading of Hancock's letter simply reflects the fact that Congress failed to produce a quorum from December 2 to 27. See *JCC*, 29:899–903.

³ Despite King's expectation, Hancock never attended Congress again after his brief June–July 1778 appearance.

Rufus King to Daniel Kilham

My dear Friend

New-York 8th. Decr. 1785

I have this evening the pleasure of your friendly letter of the 29th ult, and wish most sincerely I could face to face chat an hour or two with you, and satisfy a thousand mutual curiosities, which at this distance must remain ungratified.

About ten Days since, perhaps longer, I wrote to Mr. Davis¹ a particular account of the proceedings and expectations of congress relative to the Algerines, and other Barbary powers. Mr. Davis is one of the Representatives of Boston, & I requested him to communicate the information to our friend Col. Wigglesworth—to him I must refer you, as it is out of my power to give you, a particular account of this business by this post. The unaccountable policy of the commercial powers of Europe concerning the Barbary powers renders it necessary that America should also pay Tribute to these Pirates.

I am exceedingly grateful to my freinds for any enquiry they may make about me, or my affairs—and hope before many months elapse to convince them in person of the sincerity of this Declaration—not even the Ladies of this City, agreeable as many of them are, shall with all *their Fraillies* detain me. I am thank God no prisoner—my system will not admit of the idea. Both you and I have passed that feverish age, which leads to indiscreet attachments, and subjects the Reason to the passions.²

You ask me what are my Habits of business & Amusement; you know my disposition upon the general pursuits of Life, by having observed my practices. I have too much pride to be an ignorant man; and that constant industry, which is requisite to understand, and form dispositions of, the complicated, and various, business before congress, is to me a pleasure and amusement.

The amusement of leisure men here, lies in the frequent and elegant private Routs or parties given by the Ladies and Gentlemen of

the City. In addition to these a public Assembly and concert alternately every fortnight—a company of players furnish the pleasures of a Theatre three nights every Week. I confess this last amusement is very agreeable, and that I partake of it more frequently, and with more satisfaction, than of any other which this Gay city affords.

This is not a letter from the Delegate, but from your freind, and is confidential.

I embrace you, Adieu!

R King

RC (NNC: King Collection).

¹ King is actually referring to his November 7 letter to Caleb Davis.

² Notwithstanding this posturing, King married 16-year old Mary Alsop, the only daughter of John Alsop, a wealthy New York merchant and former delegate to Congress, on March 30, 1786, six days after his 31st birthday. See Robert Ernst, *Rufus King, American Federalist* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1968), pp. 66–67; and King to Elbridge Gerry, March 29 and April 5, 1786.

Massachusetts and New York Delegates to Thomas Hutchins et al.

Sir

New York Decemr. 9. 1785.

In the year 1773 the late Coloneis now States of Massachusetts and New York, agreed on the Course of a line of Jurisdiction on the Eastern boundary of the latter and between the North and South boundaries of the former—repeated attempts have since been made by the parties to run this line in conformity with the agreement, but they have hitherto proved fruitless; the happiness of the people who live adjacent to this line is materially interested in it's establishment—and the two States are for this and other reasons very desirous that this uncertainty of Jurisdiction should be removed by the actual running and marking of the same. To effect this Object each State by a legislative Act has vested full powers in Congress to appoint three Commissioners to execute this business; and Congress in pursuance of these powers on the 2d instant elected you, Mr. Rittenhouse and Doctr. Ewing for that purpose.¹ We are unable to mention the precise length of the line to be run, perhaps it is not far distant from a Degree of Latitude—the time will be made convenient to the Commissioners and although we are sensible a pecuniary inducement will be with the last motives to your acceptance— We assure you nevertheless that the Compensation will be to your Most intire Satisfaction. This election being in Consequence of our Joint nomination we hope you will not decline

London from this port. Two are just gone, Capt Cooper of the *Edward* I suppose will be next, but when he will sail is uncertain.

"Please to inform Jonathan that I expect by next post to be able to send him, the sketches on forming. They are now copying and nearly finished. Mrs. T. writes by this opportunity & requests your care of her letter to Mrs. Norris." John Jay Smith Collection, PPL.

Note also that the letter to John Mifflin of December 8 in Burnett, *Letters*, 8:273, is actually one from Hannah Thomson ("Mrs. T"), not Charles.

Rufus King to John Adams

Sir

New York 10 Dec. 1785

Mr. Hancock has accepted as President of Congress and will be here in a few days; Seven states have been represented, for a few days only since November commenced. Six states only are now represented, I inclose a list of the Names of the Delegates.

A Bill passed the house of representatives of Massachusetts during their autumn Session, repealing all the Laws preventing the Return or Residence of Tories or Refugees to that State, and admitting them on the Footing of Aliens. But meeting with opposition in the Senate, it was postponed until the next Session—it passed the House upon a Division of 141 for, and 18 against the Bill, the question being taken by Yeas & Nays.¹

Although this measure failed, yet the Legislature passed a Law relative to the Whale Fishery, which is greatly to be commended, and taken as a part of a System, is certainly wise and politick.²

The navigation act was altered so as to conform it to the commercial Treaties entered into by the United States, continuing the impositions upon all British commerce.³

I inclose a Gazette, which contains the Massachusetts Law encouraging the Whale Fishery.

In great haste, but perfect Respect, Your most obt servt.,

Rufus King

RC (MHi: Adams Family Papers).

¹ For discussion of the politics of the "Tory question" in Massachusetts, see Van Beck Hall, *Politics Without Parties, Massachusetts, 1780–1791* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), pp. 138–42.

² For Massachusetts' adoption of legislation providing bounties on whale oil, see *ibid.*, pp. 125, 170; and William Frank Zornow, "Massachusetts Tariff Policies, 1775–1789," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 90 (April 1954): 210.

³ For the protectionist legislation adopted by Massachusetts in 1785, see Zornow, "Massachusetts Tariff Policies," pp. 205–13.

David Ramsay to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir,

New-York Decr. 10th 1785.

When I left this city last August I directed my printer to furnish Mr Monroe with the sheets of my book¹ from time to time that they might be sent to you by the packets. Mr Monroe soon after left Congress² & transferred the business to Mr Hardy. His much lamented death prevented his execution of the business. On my return here in November I could not find satisfactory information of what had been sent to you; but the printer informed me that you must have received up to page 305 of Vol. 2d. I now send you the remainder. The work was finished on the 7th inst. but by an unfortunate accident I have not by me the notes from page 440 to page 545. I shall send from this port 1600 copies to Mr Charles Dilly of London by Capt Cowper who sails on the 20th instant. I shall direct him to deliver to your order two complete copies & I beg the favor of your acceptance of one & that you would do me the honor of presenting the other to the Marquis De La Fayette in my name. When you receive the books from Mr Dilly please to deliver the inclosed letter to the Marquis³ with the copy of the book. I am sorry for the trouble I give you but hope for your indulgence. I have not hitherto been favored with the reception of any letter that informed me of your having received the sheets which I sent you by the monthly packets.

I have the honor to be your most obedient servt,

David Ramsay

RC (DLC: Jefferson Papers).

¹ That is, his *History of the Revolution of South Carolina*, for which see Ramsay to the Marquis de Barbé-Marbois, June 7, note 1; and Ramsay to Jefferson, June 15, note 1.

² James Monroe left New York August 25 and resumed his seat in Congress again on December 20. See *JCC*, 29:901–2; and Monroe to Jefferson, August 25, note 1.

³ Not found.

Charles Thomson to John Ewing,
Thomas Hutchins, and David Rittenhouse

Sir,

Office of Secretary of Congress, Decr. 10. 1785

I have the honor to send you enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress assembled appointing you one of three commissioners for running a line of Jurisdiction between the States of Massachusetts & New York pursuant to acts passed by those States.¹

With great respect, I am, Sr, Yr Obedt humble Servt

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For the enclosed December 2 resolve appointing these three commissioners, see *JCC*, 29:898. For the context of these appointments, Massachusetts' initiative to obtain a settlement of this boundary, and Congress' September 29 resolve calling for the appointment of such commissioners, see Massachusetts Delegates to James Bowdoin, August 23, 1785.

John Ewing was the provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Thomas Hutchins the geographer of the United States, and David Rittenhouse the country's most famous astronomer, instrument maker, and mathematician. *DAB*.

Charles Pettit to James Hutchinson

Dear Sir,

New York 11th. Decr. 1785

I am now to acknowledge the fresh Obligation conferred on me by your Favour of the 8th Instant. It is not so great, however, as you intended, as the Address to the Assembly respecting the Bank, had before reached me from another Friend. That Address seems to have been intended for the late House, & I have conjectured that, having been too late in it's Birth, or been kept back in Compliment to the one that did appear, it now steps forward to try to convert the present House.¹ I mentioned some desultory Observations on it in a late Letter to Dr. Jackson.²

I received a manuscript Copy of Mr. Morris's System—I have as yet given it little more than a bare Reading it having been most of the Time out of my Hands since it came. Altho' I feel myself obliged to reject it taken in a complex View as a System, I am of Opinion there are good Things in it which may be profitably used in framing a more practicable System or amending and improving upon the Plan we have already proceeded upon.³ I like, for Instance, the Idea of clearing away the Rubbish of all the old Paper Money. Whether the Plan he States for the Doing of it is quite right, requires more Consideration than I have yet been able to give it before I can form an Opinion upon it; and indeed there are Facts & Circumstances relating to divers of the Emissions of old Paper that I am not well enough acquainted with to enable me to go with Propriety into the Consideration. The farming out of the Excise, the Poll Tax, & the Duties on exporting the Staple Commodities of the Country, I have heretofore remarked upon. I do not think them in equal Degree Objectionable, but I consider them all as inadmissible considering all Circumstances. There seem to be three leading objects in view, 1st to abolish Taxes on Property, 2dly to lay aside the Use of Paper Money & 3dly the Establishment of the Bank so as to make it the very Stomach of the State. The first I cannot account for without injuring my former Opinions of Mr.

Morris's patriotism, or of his Judgment in Politics & Finance. The second & third hang together and are more easily accounted for. It is a bold Stroke to be sure, after what has lately happened; but it is honest, because it is open & undisguised, the Intention, or leading Motive cannot be mistaken. The warm Friends of the Bank will of course be pleased with it as far as they can conceive it practicable. Some of the public Creditors will also be pleased with it on the same Principles, having also an additional Motive from supposing it favourable to their own Interest; but wise Men as well as good Politicians will carefully consider the practicability as well as the plausibility of a Measure before they build their Hopes upon it exclusively. Let us suppose for a Moment that the general Prejudice against the Bank were so far overcome as that the Legislature would agree to re-establish and make the proposed use of it; still, in my Apprehension the Plan of raising the necessary Revenues (except the Branch arising from Imposts) would be frustrated, and the Discontents arising from the others might destroy Imposts also. Plans of Revenue are delicate Subjects in all Countries. It is unsafe to make large Strides and great Alterations in them, even in old established Governments, less free than ours, & whose Powers are sufficient to enforce Obedience without having previously obtained the general Assent of the People. It is still more unsafe in a Government like ours, even if it were more matured than it is by Age & Experience, the concurrent Sense & Approbation of the People being essentially necessary to the Efficacy of our Legislative Acts. It is not enough with us that a Measure be wise & good in itself; to give it Effect it must be so understood by the Body of the People; and whether their Disapprobation arises from solid Reasoning or ill-founded Prejudice, it should be generally removed before an Experiment, on which anything considerable may depend, be hazarded. To give up a System of Revenue which is well understood and generally approved, in order to make Room for one of, at best, doubtful Experiment, is therefore far without my Ideas of Prudence and good Policy. I fear it would throw the State into Confusion, and blast the tender plant of Public Credit which appears to have taken Root in a good Soil in Pens. and to be growing with admirable Thriftiness. The noxious Weeds which sprang up for want of Culture are withering under it's Shade, and may shortly be wholly eradicated.

I am glad to find a Bill is preparing to meet the Requisition of Congress. I hope it will contain some Mode to possess the State of the Certificates intended to be funded, in order to evade the Circulation of our Quota of the Facilities, as otherwise I fear the public Creditors will lose the further Benefit of the funding Act & be thrown back into the common Mass of the Creditors of the U States. It would perhaps be improper for me to say that the Facilities will depreciate. I am persuaded it is unnecessary for me to suggest the Idea to the Legislature of Pennsa. But if they judge of the whole Matter as I do, they will

guard against compelling those public Creditors, who are objects of the Funding Act, to suffer the Loss of such Depreciation as may happen. Both sides of the House seem to agree in this Principle—they agree also in the Mode as far as relates merely to this Object. Their Disagreements are on other Points. If some Friend would be so obliging as to send me a Copy of the Bill which you say is preparing, it would be a gratification to me. I have not the Vanity to suppose that my Inspection of it is necessary; but if I can suggest a single Idea of improvement I shall be happy in doing it—and even if I should find it as perfect as I wish, due allowance will be made me for a Curiosity which arises from a kind of anxiety for the Success of Measures which I have had some share in putting in Motion.

When may we expect a Reinforcement of our Delegation? It was very much my Wish to have been a few Weeks at Home before Xmass. My private Affairs require it, and the public Duties assigned would better admit of it early than later. Mr Hancock accepts the Chair & may be expected this Week. We are also led to believe that in the Course of the Week we may make up 9 or 10 States.

I have heard but little in the Way of News, except the Arrival of a Schooner from Fayall with India Goods. I understand it to be one sent from hence by Messrs. Duer & Ste[phen] Sayre. The latter went in her. At Fayall he met with an English Ship homeward bound from Canton. In her was a small English nabob (a Mr Lee) returning with the produce of his Labour. He was induced to think this Country a better Market or a safer Asylum & embarked himself & his Property in his Schooner. Mr. Sayre is gone farther a field—whether in Connection with this Nabob, or in pursuit of his original Plan, or a mixture of both, I know not.

The Town has been amused some Days with a Dispute between Mr. Jay & Mr. Littlepage, which divulges some anecdotes of History which otherwise might have remained secret, & perhaps ought to have so remained. I have sent the Papers as a Curiosity to my Son.⁴

What Prospect have we of a Provision for our Delegates living together. I feel it as important with respect to the public Business; and I feel it as of some pecuniary importance to myself. If it is not pretty soon done, I must return some Civilities at my single Expence which we might both or all (I mean the Delegation) partake of the Credit of at the same expence jointly, as it will cost each separately.

I am, respectfully, Dr. Sir, your Friend & huml Servant,

Cha. Pettit

RC (PPAmP: Hutchinson Papers).

¹ The Pennsylvania Assembly had repealed the charter of the Bank of North America September 13, 1785, but the bank's conservative supporters had made a strong showing in the autumn elections and anticipated overturning the repeal. On November 16 a petition from "divers inhabitants of the city and liberties of Philadelphia" was submitted to

the Assembly seeking a revival of the charter, but couched in conciliatory language significantly acknowledging that some modification in the terms of the charter might be appropriate. Janet Wilson, "The Bank of North America in Pennsylvania Politics: 1781–1787," *PMHB* 66 (1942): 26–27.

² This letter to Dr. David Jackson, who had served as a Pennsylvania delegate to Congress from April to November 1785, has not been found.

³ Pettit had been the principal formulator of the fiscal plan adopted during the previous session of the Pennsylvania Assembly to provide for the holders of public securities through a compromise package of new taxes, the sale of western lands, and an issue of paper money. Robert Morris was the leader of the conservatives in the new assembly who hoped to overturn that plan, especially the paper money feature which Pettit had accepted to obtain the necessary votes to ensure funding the securities of which he was a large holder. See Brunhouse, *The Revolution in Pennsylvania*, pp. 169–72, 176–79. For Pettit's efforts to modify Morris' fiscal "System" and produce a compromise acceptable to the Pennsylvania Assembly, see also his detailed letter to Nathanael Greene of January 20, 1786.

⁴ See the following entry, note 2.

Lambert Cadwalader to Robert Magaw

Dear Sir,¹

New York Decr 14. 1785.

A few Days since, I was called on by the Lady, who afterwards sent me the inclosed Letter, who asked if I recollected the State of the Timbers that stood on Mount Washington when we first went there in the Year 1776 and also that which it was in when we left that Part of the Island. I told her I could not recollect sufficiently, to answer these Questions, more particularly the latter one as I had been stationed below Morris's House at a Distance from the Fort, but that you might possibly call to Mind so much as would give her Satisfaction—and add that if she would commit [su]ch Questions to Paper as would answer her Views I would send them to you.

I shall be obliged to you to return the Answer by first Opportunity—by the Post if he goes into your Quarter.

The only Thing new here is an Altercation in the public Newspapers between Mr Jay and a certain Mr Littlepage which has been carried on with a considerable Share of Asperity on both Sides. The latter is a young Man about two or three & Twenty born in Virginia and who some years since was sent by his Uncle to Europe & placed under the particular Patronage & Direction of Mr Jay by whom he was entertained & supplied with Money but for wh Mr Jay was never reimbursed, till Mr Littlepage came here to take his Passage to Europe. A Conversation then ensued relative to the Payment of this Money, for wh Mr Littlepage referd Mr Jay to his Uncle in Virginia saying it was not in his own Power to do it. But Mr Jay hearing afterwards that Mr Littlepage actually had a sum of Money in the Hands of a Gentleman in this City instantly sued him & obliged him to pay down the Money.

This was the Cause of the Difference & produced several *Publications* which have occasioned a great deal of Conversation and as is usually the Case a Variety of Opinions. I would send them to you but they have been all bought up, and not one is to be had. Mr Littlepage is a Person of considerable Parts & genius, & is patronised by the Kings of France & Poland, the Duke de Crillon & several other great Personages in Europe. He is gone off in the French Paquet leaving a Reply to Mr Jay's Publication to which the latter it is said will give an Answer.²

I am, Sir, Your obedt servt,

Lambt. Cadwalader³

[P.S.] Please to direct to me at this Place.

RC (PHi: James Hamilton Papers).

¹ Robert Magaw (1738–90), a Carlisle, Pa., lawyer, had been commander of the 5th Pennsylvania Battalion at the time of its capture at Fort Washington in November 1776, and had remained a prisoner of war until October 1780. He resigned from the Continental Army and returned to the practice of law early in 1781. Charles F. Himes, *Col. Robert Magaw, The Defender of Fort Washington* (Carlisle, Pa.: Hamilton Library Association, 1915).

² A series of highly-charged public letters exchanged between Lewis Littlepage (1762–1802) and John Jay had just appeared in the December 6, 7, 8, 10, and 12 issues of the *New York Daily Advertiser*, precipitated by a recent action by Jay against Littlepage for recovery of a debt, but having roots in a complex relationship running back to October 1780 when Jay was American minister at Madrid and the 17-year old Littlepage was his protégé. It is clear that Jay had advanced money to Littlepage which remained unpaid, although legally the debt was charged to and acknowledged by Col. Benjamin Lewis, the latter's guardian in Virginia. The matter appears to have come to a head when Littlepage, an adventurer who had served with Spanish forces at the siege of Gibraltar, appeared in New York preparatory to returning to Europe, bearing letters of commendation from Spanish notables and seeking a congressional recommendation he wished to submit to the King of Poland. Action on his application was not only delayed by Jay, but Littlepage was arrested as a result of Jay's suit, and avoided jail only by depositing funds of the state of Virginia he had been commissioned to deliver in Paris. At that point he resorted to the *New York Daily Advertiser* to arraign Jay before the world of public opinion, having failed to obtain a response to a challenge to duel. The public entertainment continued for months, as Jay sought to combat the impression Littlepage had created by publishing a lengthy pamphlet, *Letters, Being the Whole of the Correspondence between the Hon. John Jay, Esquire, and Mr. Lewis Littlepage* (New York: Francis Childs, 1786), which was later republished, with additions, by Eleazer Oswald. Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, nos. 19,735–36. The story has been told at length from Jay's perspective in Frank Monaghan, *John Jay* (1935; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1972), pp. 159–61, 223–24, 235–43; and from Littlepage's in Nell H. Boand, *Lewis Littlepage* (Richmond, Va.: Whittet & Shepperson, 1970), pp. 77–91, and Curtis C. Davis, *The King's Chevalier: A Biography of Lewis Littlepage* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961), pp. 119–26. For a brief, more balanced account, see "Littlepage," *DAB*. For the documents related to Littlepage's attempt to obtain a congressional letter of recommendation, see *JCC*, 29:895n; and *PCC*, item 78, 14:681–85, item 80, 2:69–70, item 120, 1:515–16, 2:30–33, 72–73, item 124, 1:227–30.

³ Cadwalader also wrote the following letter, dated "New York, Jan. 1. 1786," to "Mr. Edward Tilghman, Queen Anns Coty., Maryland."

"Having been lately at Elizabeth Town in my way to this City I called on Mr. Dehart who gave me the following list of Persons who can give Testimony respecting the Situation & Circumstances of James Mitchell at the Time he left Eliz. Town to go to Indian River with his Family. The Revd. Thomas B. Chandler, Isaac Bonnell, Jane Chandler,

Philip Blackledge, Abraham Terrill, John Dennis, Abraham Hetfield. You will be pleased to procure an order of Court for their Examination at Eliz. Town & give me Timely notice that I may notify James Mitchell to attend at said place. I shall be obliged to you, at same Time to point out the Legal Steps I am to pursue in Consequence of the order of Court. I hope we shall be able to try Mitchell's Cause in the Spring." Hollingsworth Collection, PHI.

Charles Pettit to John Nicholson

Dear Sir,

New York 14th Decemr. 1785

Your Letter of the 7th Instant came to Hand by Post on the 12th. I put it into the Hands of Mr. Secretary Thomson with a Request that he would furnish me with the necessary Documents to comply with your Desire. He has since given me the inclosed Paper¹ which he thinks will be sufficient. If it be not, you will be pleased to describe what farther you may desire & I will endeavour to obtain it.

The Leisure afforded by the Want of States in Congress, has made me more industrious than I otherwise should have been, so that instead of being at Leisure myself I have been more than usually laborious. I mention this as an excuse for making my Letter short; tho' it is as long as the Cary-Note,² to which it is an Answer, deserves.

I am with Regard, Dr Sir, Your most hum'l Servant,

Chas. Pettit

Tr (DLC: Edmund C. Burnett Collection). Endorsed: "Copied from the original in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia."

¹ Not identified.

² An asterisk was inserted at this point to which was keyed the following note at the foot of the page: "If you are at a Loss for the meaning of this Cant Expression, enquire for Sampson Cary's stile of writing Letters, who formerly lived at Bristol in Pensylvania."

David Ramsay to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir,

New-York Decr. 14th 1785

Yours of the 14th is now before me.¹ Many thanks for your friendly congratulations on the present station which I hold. They are sincere & therefore as acceptable as though the occasion was of much greater consequence.

I flatter myself that Continental credit is in a convalescent State. Virginia I hear has passed the requisition. The only states we have now to fear are Georgia and North Carolina. This state we have good reason to beleive will pass the five per cent impost. If the requisition & the impost both operate they will have an immediate effect on public securities.

The subject of your oration² is very interesting not barely in a speculative but in a practical view. I admire most those disquisitions which come to our bosoms as men & as immortals. I beleive much might be done to make mankind mechanically more virtuous & of course more happy than they are at present. I hope you will introduce slavery as one principle source of vice. It appears to me that previous to the extirpation of this evil it must be made in the first instance odious in sentiment.

I sincerely congratulate you on your growing foreign fame. You are now in the most valuable dekade of human life.³ Before imagination preponderated & in the course of another ten years, judgment sometimes begins to decline. At least the compound ratio of the two is greatest about your time of life.

The printer finished my history on the 7th instant. It is now in the hands of the bookbinders. Aitkin has two hundred copies of it & he has my orders to bind in the most elegant manner one of them & to present it to you in my name. I have 1600 on board Cowper to the care of Mr Dilly. I have only reserved 1400 for the United States. I can always command the work in America, but in Europe it was expedient to supply the market at once. I feel all the anxiety of an author who is about to risque his character & his peace of mind. Many faults have already occurred & I shall hold it the highest proof of friendship to point those out that strike those of the readers who are my acquaintances & friends. Present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Rush & to Doctor Hall. With the greatest respect, I am yours sincerely,

David Ramsay

RC (PPL: Rush Manuscripts).

¹ The date of Rush's letter, which has not been found, is problematical. The editor of the Ramsay papers transcribed the date as the "12th." Ramsay, *Writings* (Brunhouse), p. 94. Although Ramsay clearly wrote "14th," he may have inadvertently repeated his own dateline. It could not have been a letter of November 14 because Rush would not have known of Ramsay's November 23 election to his "present station" as chairman of Congress. *JCC*, 29:883. Yet, it is difficult to believe that a letter written by Rush on December 14 in Philadelphia could have reached New York, more than 100 miles distant, the same business day, especially allowing for ferry crossings. There is evidence, however, that delegate Charles Pettit received from Philadelphia "this Afternoon" a "Paquet of Inclosures of yesterday." See Pettit to James Hutchinson, December 18.

² Rush had undoubtedly informed Ramsay, as he did ex-delegate John Montgomery, that he had been selected to deliver the American Philosophical Society's annual oration and had chosen as a subject "An Enquiry into the Influence of Physical Causes upon Morals." Rush, *Letters* (Butterfield), 1:378. The work was published the following year under the title *An Oration, Delivered Before the American Philosophical Society, Held in Philadelphia, on the 27th of February, 1786; Containing an Enquiry Into the Influence of Physical Causes Upon the Moral Faculty* (Philadelphia: Charles Cist, 1786). Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 19,972.

³ Rush's fortieth birthday was imminent.

Charles Pettit to James Hutchinson

Dear Sir,

New York 16th. Decr. 1785

I have lately intimated to you that I had large calls on my Industry, tho' little or nothing was doing in Congress. Corresponding with my Friends in Philada. (& you may suppose that other Matters have some Claims as well as Politics) has claimed Attention. In writing to Mr. M——s¹ I thought it necessary that every Expression as well as every Sentiment shd. be carefully examined & be, not only clearly defensible, but, especially the former, unexceptionable. I hope it will do good if it be only in aiding the Author of a Scheme that must be abandoned, with plausible Reasons to justify the Change to himself. Such Aids have sometimes a more operative Effect than direct Opposition, as it disarms Pride in a great Degree by changing the Appearance of Defeat into that of Candor and Conviction.

Last Evening (I attempted it before but was prevented from making any Progress by successive Interruptions) I formed the inclosed Draught of a Bill for complying with the Requisition of Congress.² Let it be carefully examined, corrected & put in another Handwriting than the present before it is offered to the House or even the grand Committee. When I set about it I was apprehensive it would have required more length & Time than I found necessary on Experiment. I believe it contains all that is necessary for that Bill. Afterwards I set about the other, for transferring the Certificates &c according to the proposed Plan. Here I met with much more difficulty than I expected. It requires a minuteness of organization & Thought; and as the Fabric must be original I should think Consultation necessary if it were practicable, especially with the Treasurer & Comptroller who must execute the Plan & therefore ought to understand the Machinery & to be consulted in forming it, so as to make it as simple & practicable as may be consistent with Safety. I shall, however, mark out the Lines of my Ideas to send by Monday's Post—but they will probably be rough & scarified, & I shall not have leisure to change the Patch-work into a new Dress.

Pray express my Respects to Mr Bryan, Dr. Jackson & our Friends in the House. I doubt whether I shall write to my Family by this Post.

I am Dr Sir, Your Frd. & huml Servt.,

Cha Pettit

RC (PPAmP: Hutchinson Papers).

¹ That is, Robert Morris, for whose "Scheme" see Pettit to Hutchinson, December 11.

² Pettit's enclosed "Draught," which has not been found, was a revision of portions of the *Plan of a Report of the Committee of Ways and Means* of the Pennsylvania Assembly, for which see Pettit to Hutchinson, December 23, note.

Samuel Livermore to John Langdon

Dear Sir

New York 17 Decr. 1785.

I left home the 22 Nov. & arrived at this place the 6 Decr. by way of Providence and Newport.¹ Am now at lodgings in the same house with Col Long. I had a little touch of the gout since my arrival: but am better. I mourn sincerely for Genl Whipple, 'tho' the news of his death was not unexpected.² I shall enclose you a paper. And, whenever anything interesting shall occur shall do myself the honour to write. President Hancock is expected from Boston soon.

Your Excellencys most obedt. Servt., Samuel Livermore³

RC (PHi: Langdon Papers).

¹ Livermore took his seat in Congress December 7. *JCC*, 29:899.

² William Whipple, who was a delegate to Congress from February 1776 to September 1779, had died November 28 after years of poor health.

³ Livermore also wrote the following brief letter on December 23 to Roger Alden, the deputy secretary of Congress: "Please to send me by the bearer The Journals of Congress for the years 1782, 1783, 1784 & 1785." PCC, item 55, fol. 220.

Charles Pettit to James Hutchinson

Dear Sir,

New York 17th. Decr. 1785, 12 at Night

According to the Expectation I gave you I now inclose a rough Draught of a Bill for new modelling the funding of the public Debts.¹ It is not so complete as I would wish it. The Dress may be much amended, but I have not Leisure to draw it over again & correct it, being really fatigued by the Confinement & sedentary Labour I have undergone for a Week past in which I have allowed myself too little Exercise & Recreation. It does not occur to me, however, that any Idea is omitted, which ought to be inserted, unless it be a Mode of Proof of Citizenship of the Persons named in the Certificates, or of the Mode of obtaining such as may have been received from Staff Officers as public Agents in Lieu of Money. Some such Mode of Proof *may* be proper; but it is a delicate Subject. Many of the Loan Office Certificates, which for a Time passed as Money, have passed thro' so many hands that tho' they may be ever so fairly intitled in reality, it may not be in the Power of the Holder, tho' he became so at an early period and for full Value, to make the Proof or even to know any thing about the Person in whose Name it was issued. I am inclined to think the Payment of the last Year's Intt. may be taken as a Proof for these, as far as it goes as to Loan Certificates. The Temptation was

not then strong enough to encourage fraudulent Attempts, & most of those who were confident of their Right, have possessed themselves of this kind of Proof—as to others who may apply, more exact Proof may therefore be required, especially as I have heard of some improper Certificates being imposed on the L. Officers, which were issued by Mr. Burrall for the Pay of Commissaries.

As to the Form of the Certificates to be issued, & their Denominations, it will be well to consult Mr. Rittenhouse. They ought to be low enough to accomodate the small Holders, especially those of the Country, as I conceive the more Hands they are in, especially in the Country, the better—they ought to be high enough to accomodate the high Holders without unnecessarily multiplying the Number of Certificates—and the Denominations ought to be calculated so as to hit any intermediate Sum, keeping to round Numbers, as well to avoid Trouble to the Officers as the danger of Errors in Fractions—for this latter Purpose it might be well to impress the Annual if not Monthly Interest of each Denomination on every Certificate. The Conveniencies of Quarterly dates & bringing the Interest to fall due at these Periods I conceive are obvious. It will give a brisker Circulation to the Money by more frequent Issues from the Treasury & thereby occasioning a more regular influx, & it will also tend to Ease & Regularity in the Treasurer's Duties. But I must leave the Plan to suggest its own Reasoning. Those who understand the Business will perceive them & correct it's Errors or make such Alterations as may be thought proper. If the alienated Certificates of Messrs. Burrall, Fox & Bindan,² were also excepted it would not perhaps be amiss. They are chiefly for personal Pay & the Alienations have been chiefly from, & I believe to the less worthy parts of the Community; but they are too small to be an Object for which to hazard much Difficulty or Danger.

I have seen, amongst other Attempts to make the Bank System of Payment popular, a Piece in Mr. Cary's Paper extolling the Author to the Skies.³ Even such Artifices ought to be counteracted in their own way. They work on the Passions of the ignorant, and tend to delude many of the public Creditors.

I am, Dear Sir, Your most obedt. huml Servt., Cha. Pettit

RC (PPAmP; Hutchinson Papers).

¹ Enclosure not found.

² Jonathan Burrall, Edward Fox, and Joseph Bindon were commissioners for settling the accounts of the commissary, medical, and clothier's departments, respectively.

³ Pettit is referring to a letter printed in the December 14 issue of Mathew Carey's *Pennsylvania Evening Herald* over the signature of "A Distressed Widow," dated Philadelphia, December 12.

Charles Pettit to James Hutchinson

Dear Sir

New York 18th December 1785, Sunday Evening

When I closed my Letter of last Night, which was written after 12 o'Clock, till which Time I had been hammering at the Bill it incloses, I intended that this, being Sunday, should "shine a Holiday to me." This Afternoon, however, I was favoured with your Paquet of Inclosures of yesterday. I have looked them over with some Attention, such as the Shortness of the Time would admit, & shall for the present give you only some short Notes on the Draught of the Report. Two of the Sheets being absent, I can only guess at their Contents by the general Tenor and Tendency of the Rest.

It appears to me to be a well digested Plan, and to have a proper Aim at the great Objects; but it embraces a great Variety of Articles, many of which I am not well enough acquainted with in Detail & Circumstances to trace so thoroughly as I wish; and Tho' I perceive the Propriety of bringing them all into view in considering of and forming a System of Legislative Regulation I cannot but apprehend that the interweaving the whole into one Machine, would make it too complex & unwieldy for our present Situation and Circumstances, and that it would be better to work them into different Acts & perhaps at different Times (keeping the general Systematic Plan continually in View) than to risk the Embarrassment of any one Wheel by the irregular or uncorrespondent Motions of others. At the same Time I would wish the principal Machine to be so calculated as to be capable of receiving Additions from Time to Time. I like the Idea of appropriating particular Revenues to particular Purposes—but it is an Idea more applicable to Business before us than that behind us—I mean to the creating of a new Debt, than to the picking up a confused parcel of old ones. Our Plan of last Year was to create an aggregate Fund as large as Circumstances would admit, and to charge upon it such Burthens as we thought it would bear without being overloaded, laying on the principal Objects first &, as it were, consolidating them as they were laid on, & with an Intention to add others to the Load till the whole should be taken up, and then, as our Strength should enable us, to lighten the Load by discharging the Principal. The Old Emissions of Paper Money had peculiar Funds appropriated to them which I have supposed want only to be put in Motion to be adequate to their Objects. I should therefore be desirous of putting them in Motion for that Purpose separately & independantly of the Debts of other Kinds and the Funds created for their Redemption—tho' the one may occasionally lend aid to the other. But I am going farther than I intended at this Time. I believe I have been led into it by observing that under the 9th Article Page 14, it is

proposed to appropriate part of the Impost Revenue to pay the Arrearages of Intt. on a particular Class of Debts, and to continue the Appropriation of such part till the principal of that Class shall be redeemed, and in page 26—the Arrears of Intt. on the Continental Certificates are proposed to be specially charged on the Arrea[r]ages of Taxes. I should think it better to let the aggregate Fund continue as stated in the Act of March last, & to let these Objects rest upon it in common with others as is proposed in that Bill—and so of other Matters of the like kind. The Year 1792 I apprehend is too distant a period for the final Redemption of the Paper of 81, 82 & 83. If it were fixed at April 10, 1787, the Time allowed for paying the Arrearages due to the Land Office, or a few Months after, I shd. think it long enough. The Fees from the Secrys. Office & Land Offices I should apprehend over-rated. The Profits from the Lottery undoubtedly are—indeed I doubt the propriety of counting on these Profits at all & I wish the whole of that Subject had been left out, as I am apprehensive the mention there made of the Bank is improper & will give an adversary advantage. 1st. it is not an Object of Importance in itself; but little Money will be recd.—and it rests on that single Object by a special Law which extends to no other, & 2dly. It may be doubted whether it can be considered as a State Revenue within the meaning of the Constitution. On the whole I fear it will be construed into snarling at a chained Animal.

I shall send on the Bill as I had prepared it last Night, as I believe it agrees in Spirit with the Plan of the Committee. If however they shd. think proper to alter either the one or the other, they can do it. I could wish that the Plan had been less prolix. It would perhaps have been better understood & less liable to cavilling objections.

I am much gratified by the good Opinion of our Friends, & flattered by their Confidence in my Judgment. I wish I could give them stronger Instances to found their Confidence upon, and that my Abilities were equal to my Wishes in aiding their laudible Endeavours to promote the true Interests and Honour of the State.

Though you are a little out in your conjecture, that I should be surprized at Mr. Findlay's Superiority in Argument, I am pleased with the Instance of it which you mention. In that Respect my Judgment is justified. I have discerned in him reasoning Faculties that excited my Emulation rather than Envy.

I have for some Time suspected that the Knavery of the Collectors was working under Cover of the Supineness of Government. I hope the Discovery you mention will lead to proper Exertions in developing the Business throughout the State. I fear, as you observe, it will be found that much more has been taken from the People than has been accounted for; but I am confident it will also be found that much has

remained uncollected from mere Negligence, and much from a still worse Principle.

You speak of your Amusement by certain Broils & Quarrels, of which I have heard but partially, not having seen any other Papers than Dunlaps & Cary's & the latter I have no later than Wednesday. I am not displeased that one who has so long reigned a Bully (by frightening small & being disdained by greater Characters) should be taken down. Mr. Cary writes like a Man of Spirit as well as Decency, but I have no knowledge of him personally, nor do I know anything at all of Mr. Finlay.

I observe in a late Paper, a Letter of Mr. Paine's to Mr. Fitzsimmons.¹ For what Purpose is it published? Those he means to flatter by it I presume it is no novelty to. It will hardly be expected to add any Strength to the Favourers of the Bank, and some of Mr. Paine's Friends will perhaps abate of their Esteem for him on his exposing Sentiments which they may think not well founded, and in a Manner they did not expect from him. But perhaps he thinks he has got all he was to expect from them, and that this may be a Sacrifice worthy of Acceptance elsewhere.

Pray excuse me to Mr Bryan for neglecting to acknowledge his late Favour—I need not suggest to you the proper Excuse.

Believe me, with Esteem, Dr Sir, Your most obt. huml Servt.,
Cha. Pettit

RC (PPAmP: Hutchinson Papers).

¹ This Thomas Paine letter was printed in the December 17 issue of John Dunlap's and David C. Claypoole's *Pennsylvania Packet*.

Pierse Long to John Langdon

Sir,

New York Decr. 19th. 1785

I have the Honr. to inform your Excellcy. that your several letters to the Governors of the southern States are gone forward agreeble to your directions.¹ I wish they may effect the purposes of their intention.

In my letter of the 30th Ultio. I wrote your Excellcy. that I should be oblig'd to draw for some money very soon for my necessary expenditures, and in order to lay a foundation for said draught would inform your Excellcy that the pay for my services in Congress up to the 7t instant amounts agreeble to the Vote of the Honble. General Court to Five hundred & forty Seven pounds, ten shillings, being for three hundred & sixty five days at Thirty Shillings per day—and that I have received One hundred & Twenty pounds for his Excellcy presedent Weares draught on the Honble. Treasurer, and Ninety pounds, Eleven shillings. & eight pence, which Mr. Gilman was kind enough to advance

since I have been here, which leave's a ballance due to me to sd. time of Three hundred thirty Six pounds, Eighteen Shillings, & four pence. As I shall draw my bills on my son George Long shall be obligd. to your Excellcy. to deliver the order to him that he may be prepared for payment when said bills comes to hand.

The Honble. Judge Livermore is here, he will write you this post.

I have the Honr. to be with sentiments of regard & Esteem, Your Excellencys Most Obedt. Hum Servt.,
Pierse Long

21st. I have this Day received your Excellys letters for Mr Jefferson² & Messr. Fairholme & Luther. They shall be forwarded agreeable to your directions.

RC (Nh-Ar: Executive Records).

¹ A November 16 letter from Langdon to North Carolina governor Richard Caswell enclosing New Hampshire's June 23, 1785, navigation act and a November 9 assembly resolution soliciting the various states to join them "in their Commercial opposition to Great Britain," is in *N.C. State Records*, 17:571-76.

² A letter from Langdon to Thomas Jefferson of December 7 is in Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:84-85.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York Decr. 19. 1785.

I arriv'd last night¹ & found only six States present. Mr. Hancock we hear is on the road & will be with us in a few days—he accepts the chair. The conduct of the legislature, in complying with the requisition of Congress,² in the opinion of all here, does the highest honor to the State, and at the same time that it evinces a regard for publick justice & a mind superior to little resentments, gives an additional assurance of the strength & permanence of the fœderal government. We earnestly wish to have the result of the deliberations of the house upon the commercl. propositions. I find the most enlighten'd members here fully impress'd with the expedience of puting an end to the dismemberment of the old States—doubtful of the propriety of admitting a single new one into the confideracy—& well inclin'd to a revision of the compact between the U.S. & Virga. respecting the division of the country beyond the Ohio. Mr. Jones sd. he wod. visit Fredericksburg before Ch[ristma]s. I will write him by the next post. I hope you are both well—& am very sincerely your friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ Monroe, who had left New York on August 25 to accompany the Indian commissioners to the Ohio Valley before going on to Kentucky to have his lands surveyed, pre-

sented his new credentials to Congress and took his seat December 20. See *JCC*, 29:901–2.

² For the Virginia assembly's appropriation of \$512,974 to meet its 1785 Continental quota, see Hening, *Statutes*, 12:55–56; and *JCC*, 29:767.

Charles Pettit to James Hutchinson

Dear Sir,

New York 23d December 1785

Since I received your Favour of the 20th I have successively had various unpleasant Sensations respecting the Fate of my Letters of the 17th & 18th under one Cover, with the Draught of a Bill; and tho' I reason myself out of them from the improbability of a miscarriage, they will occasionally return till I learn their safe Arrival, which I hope will be on the Arrival of the Post.

Since I have received the printed Copy of the proposed Plan of a Report¹ I have again looked over it with some Attention, & noted down some Observations as they occurred on the Reading, which I shall send you herewith. I cannot afford Time to copy nor to make any considerable Corrections in them—they must be allowed for as first Thoughts in a rough Dress. Your marginal Notes are useful as they contain Information I wished for; tho' I must mention one Point in which I apprehend you mistake the Fact. The Estimate states an average of 4 years Interest in Arrears on the Debts of the US. proposed to be funded; you suppose but little more than two. I believe the Truth lies between you, but nearest to the Estimate. You will observe it is computed to 1st Jany. 1786.

You will perceive I have taken the Liberty to recommend the Expunging of some Parts entirely, and the Changing of the Mode in some others. I have done this, not merely to accomodate it to the Draughts I made, but because they strike me as real Amendments. These being made I believe the Draughts of the Bills as far as they go, accord fully with the Plan. I hope the House will not rise without printing Bills for Consideration. As they mean to comply with the Requisition, I wish to see it done handsomely & as early as Forms properly admit, especially as the Money is called for by the 1st of May. If they do not publish the Bill this Session, the Time may be past before they pass it; besides I feel something for the Promises I have made & the Assurances I have given that it would be put in Train in the first Session. I feel also for the Influence it will have in other States, who have a watchful Eye on Pennsylvania on this Occasion; some looking for her Example, & some having Jealousies which I am sure her Legislature does not deserve. I also conceive it would be highly proper that the two Bills should proceed at the same Time or at least in the same Sessions.

I observe in the Estimate for the Support of Government £2463.15/- is allowed for the Support of the Delegation—this supposes the constant Attendance of 3 Members. If the House would appropriate one third of it, or something more to support a House & Table for the Delegation, I think it would be well bestowed & if they think proper they may deduct something from their daily Pay to make it up. It may be asked why the Delegates do not do this by Agreement & voluntary Contribution. I will not say it would be an idle Question; but I will venture to affirm that they will not be brought together as they ought to be unless the Regulation be made by the Legislature. While one can live with a Relation, another can save Expence by obscurity or Distance, & another may meet with Company & Amusements more pleasing elsewhere, such is Human Nature that even such Considerations will turn the Scale, tho' they will seldom be avowed as the Reasons. And while they are thus scattered the Interests of the State are not, nor can they be, duly attended to. The Members, for want of preconcert, must often vote in the Dark, or oppose each other & expose themselves & the State they Represent to loss of Dignity & loss of Influence. Make it both their Interest & their Duty to live together—and this may be done even out of their present Allowance, if the House deem it improper to go farther. I am mortified that it is not already done at least by Resolution. I will not deny that personal Convenience has some Share in my Motives for wishing the accomplishment of this Measure; but the promotion of the Interests of the State, in various Points of view, form the more weighty part. I have already said to Members on both Sides of the House, as much as it may be proper for me to say to them on this Subject; but tho' they give a cool Assent to this Propriety of the Measure, they do not appear to be duly impressed with the Importance of it.

3 o'Clock P.M. Your Favour of yesterday has just now given me the Relief I expected & wished for. You describe the present Situation of Matters to be as I expected from the Accounts I had received. I thought I had said enough to Mr. Morris to convince his Judgment, without touching his Passions, that the Bank was a Material that could not be interwoven into any Plan of Revenues & Funds for the State. I hope the Friends to good Order & fair, upright Measures will have patriotism enough to keep together till they prepare the Bills for Publication. I am far from being tenacious of the Form & Wording of the Draughts. I am confident they may be much amended; but I hope the main Points will be steadily pursued.

Yours with Esteem,

Cha. Pettit

RC (PPAmP: Hutchinson Papers).

¹ For this 14-page *Plan of a Report of the Committee of Ways and Means* of the Pennsylvania Assembly, see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 19,163.

David Ramsay to John Adams

Sir,

New-York December 23d 1785

Though personally unknown to you I take the liberty to inform you that the bearer of this Capt Cowper carries to London sixteen hundred copies of an original American work entitled "the History of the late revolution of South Carolina" consigned to Mr Dilly for sale. Mr Dilly has my orders to present you with a copy of it in my name. I beg that you would please to accept it as a testimony of my great veneration of your public character & as a mark of my gratitude for the services you have rendered & are now rendering to our common country.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem, your most obedient servt,
David Ramsay.

RC (DSI: Hull Collection).

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

New-York Decr. 26—1785.

Your favor of the 9th¹ reach'd me a few days since. Mine by the last post advis'd you of my arrival here; still I am with out a colleague and the representation of the States, the same. I am perfectly satisfied that the more fully the subject is investigated, and the better the interests of the States severally are understood, the more obvious will appear the necessity of committing to the U S. permanently the power of regulating their trade, whether it will be expedient to accept it for a limited time only it is difficult to determine. If it is expedient for a day, while the States bear the relation they now do to each other & to other powers, or rather while they adjoin each other & are bounded by the ocean, it will still be so. Whether then will it be expedient to avail ourselves of the present disposition so far only as to try an experiment, the success of wh., as such, must depend upon a variety of circumstances, or to delay any remedy untill under the pressure of the present difficulties it may be made complete? As an experiment in what light will it be conceiv'd & how treated by foreign powers. Will they not all wish to defeat it and of course avoid those stipulations in our favor wh. may hereafter furnish arguments for its renewal. We may with propriety also take into the consideration the diversity of interest wh. will arise in the admission of western States into the confederacy. In a govt. also so fluctuating there will never be energy, or calculation on it either at home or abroad, every thing will be in a state of incertainty. The states severally will be at a loss how to act

under it (in their respective delegations); they will fear to take those decisive measures with respect to other powers, wh. might be necessary, least their vigorous operation, may prevent its renewal—but whether these or any other considerations, may be of sufficient weight to induce us to seek only a permanent change, is what I have not absolutely determin'd on. I beg of you to give me your sentiments thereon as well as of the course you think I may with propriety take here, provided the State shod. confide it only for a limited time.

Some dispatches have lately been recd. from {Adams}.² They are as we expected they wou. be. {Pit[t]} admits that the {removal of the negroes} is a {violation of the} [treaty], that when the {number} is {ascertained} they must {pay for them}. That they will take up the subject of {the posts} with that of the {debts}. Yet he says that the {whol[e] nation} are {host[ile] to us}—that they will give us no {commercial treaty}, that they have sent {out Sir J Johnson} for {Canada} with {entrenching to[o]ls} &ca. This is the amt. of what we have, nor can I well determine how you shod. act under it. If it be practicable to carry into effect, a complete compliance on our part, let their conduct be as it may, I shod. not hesitate to adopt it. But if this is not the case, I cannot well conceive the advantage of a partial compliance, or the paymt. by instalment, as hath been heretofore propos'd. If they mean to quarrell, their ground for it will be equally justifiable, in that instance, as in an absolute failure. And if the end we seek, is to be obtain'd by further negotiation, or by bargain of one for the other, by this measure we lose the consideration we shod. have to give for it. In all the measures of this country toward us we perceive not only the utmost vigilance & attention to their own interest in opposition to ours, but a disposition to seek opportunities to injure us. They restrict us most severely in commerce, give land, & provision to our fishermen to settle within their bounds, and we have too much reason to suspect that they encourage the Algerines to attack us. In this situation to whom may we look for assistance even agnst these pirates. The monopoly of the trade of the medeteranean is in the hands of France, Britain & the Netherlands; will they or either of them, give up this advantage, for our convenience for nothing. Is it not strange in this situation that we shod. be disputing whether we shall act together or cement & strengthen the Union.

There hath been a newspaper controversy here between Mr. Jay & Mr. Littlepage of our State, upon some subject of a private nature between them.³ As I have not read their publications I am unacquainted with the merit of either party. It is however to be lamented that Mr. Jay enter'd into a controversy of the kind, since his character is too well establish'd to be call'd in question upon any unimportant or trivial occasion. Be so kind as [to] give no intimation to anyone except, Mr. Jones, of the contents of what I have wrote you in cypher. I am Dear Sir your friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

P.S. Is the revenue law in any respect chang'd—are the facilities of other States admissible in payment of taxes—or rather is it accommodated to all the purposes of the requisition? Our ministers are taking measures with the regencies of Algiers &ca. It is sd. that Mr. Consul Barclay, a Mr. Lambe & Majr. Franks are sent to these different powers for this purpose, but the latter I think is not confirm'd by an official communication.⁴

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 8:436–37.

² Words printed in braces in this text were written by Monroe in cipher. For the dispatches from John Adams that had been read in Congress November 25, see William Grayson to Madison, November 22, note 1.

³ See Lambert Cadwalader to Robert Magaw, December 14, note 2.

⁴ See Virginia Delegates to Patrick Henry, November 7, note 3.

Charles Pettit to John Nicholson

Dear Sir,

New York 27th. Decr. 1785.

... My Friends in Philadelphia have been so kindly communicative that the Plan of a Report you sent me¹ was not entirely new to me. I think it on the whole a Work of great Merit, and yet I have ventured to suggest some Corrections as proper. . . .

I observe a difference of 30,000 Dollars in one of the Estimates between this Plan of a Report, and that formed by Mr. Morris. I believe it is in the Quantity of Paper of June 1780 in the Loan Office, but I am not certain & I have not the Plan now at Hand to recur to. As I presume you furnished the Estimates for both Plans, & that you have examined both, I doubt not you have observed the Difference I allude to, & can tell me which is right in that particular.

The Civil List of the State runs higher than I had supposed, but I believe it is not higher than the Facts will warrant except in the Article of the Pay of Delegates which I imagine will fall rather below the Estimate. But I am told Deductions are under Consideration which are intended to lop off six or eight thousand Pounds. The House of Assembly are, or ought to be, the best Judges of what they will allow the public Servants they employ, and as they propose to reduce their own Pay as well as that of others, it would seem that they aim at disinterested patriotism. I wish it may prove to be so; but I do not always consider the sparing of Money, either public or private, as good Oeconomy. My Idea of Oeconomy is rather the Expending of Money properly than the saving of it improperly, or in other Words, the laying out of what our Necessities & Conveniences require should be expended, to the best Advantage & to proper Effect. It is better Oecon-

omy to pay handsomely for conducting & managing our Affairs well, than to have them ill conducted & ill managed without pay.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient Servant,

Chas. Pettit.

Tr (DLC: Edmund C. Burnett Collection). Endorsed: "Copied from the original then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia."

¹ For the query from Pettit to which Nicholson had responded, see Pettit to Nicholson, December 4, 1785.

South Carolina Delegates to William Moultrie

Sir,

New York December 27th. 1785.

The Legislature, convening in January, we think it, our duty thro the medium of your Excellency, to lay before them, and call their most serious attention to, those resolves of Congress, on which they have not yet acted & to which their assent is necessary to give validity.

Resolve of the 18th March 1780,¹ for the redemption of the Continental money. The restoration of public credit is what Congress have much at heart, but, to little purpose will they resolve, while the Individual States tardily execute or wholly neglect them.

The redemption of the money issued. The fixing permanent funds for paying the interest on the debt, and the support of the federal Government, will have a happy tendency towards restoring that faith so essential to the well being of every Government.

In our opinion the State will never have a better opportunity of sinking her quota of the money issued by Congress than the present, for the quantity at market, less'ning every day, by the States who have not sunk their quota's purchasing, it must of consequence become dearer, & the last buyer must pay the greater price. And should Congress (which there is a great probability they will) empower the loan Officers to give certificates to the holders for this money, it may so enhance the value, as to make a difference of a quarter of a million of dollars in the sinking our States quota, a Sum in our opinion, well worth the attention of the Legislature.

Resolutions of the 20th February 1782, 17th Febry. & 18th April 1783—for fixing a rule to apportion the Federal expences & for altering the 8th Article of the Confederation.²

The fixing a rule whereby the expences of the federal Government may be absolutely apportioned to each State, would be attended with less consequences & serve to allay that ferment which must ever arise from uncertainty & a supposition that any State does not pay so large a proportion as she ought.

Might we be allowed to give an opinion, it would be for the alteration of the article of the confederation as recommended by resolve

of the 18th April 1783—because, we conceive it will operate more beneficially for us than the article as it now stands, & being less complex would meet with fewer difficulties in the execution; our Eastern & Northern Brethren think the Southern States have been much favored in this mode, saying, that the whole number of blacks ought to have been taken instead of three fifths; upon the whole we feel ourselves strongly inclined to press the House to an immediate compliance with the alteration, but should their opinion be different from ours, it will then become necessary for them to Act upon the other.

Requisition of the 4th Sept. 1782³ for one Million two hundred thousand Dollars, for the express purpose of discharging the interest due on the Domestic debt. We observe that the Committee of Ways & Means in the Session of January 1785 have supposed that the State's quota of this requisition amounting to seventy two thousand dollars, might be deducted out of the Supplies furnished by the state in 1782. But in this we conceive they have not been well informed, because, this requisition being made expressly to pay the Interest due on the domestic debt, the application of it was left totally to the States—& by referring to the requisition of the 27th April 1784⁴ it will be found that Congress supposed that each State has complied with the requisition of the 4th Sept. 1782—by paying their quota's to their own Citizens, as they have deducted the whole of it out of the amount of the Interest due, thereby making it a transaction between the State & its Citizens & no otherwise cognizable by the federal Treasury than this, that if within the State the amount of Interest due before the first of January 1782 does not amount to the states quota the balance must be made good—besides, the supplies furnished in 1782 were expressly to comply with the requisitions of October 1781, for Eight Million of Dollars & cannot possibly be diverted to the payment of the Interest due antecedent to January 1782.

The Continental Loan Officer will issue to the holders of Continental certificates, facilities for their Interest, under the requisition of Sept. 27th last⁵—the State may avail itself of these facilities by receiving them in taxes & duties, for the payment not only of these 72,000 dollars but for a sum equal to the deficiency of her next years quota of the requisition. Resolution of the 30th April 1784⁶ for Investing Congress with power to regulate trade for fifteen Years.

On Commercial matters we feel ourselves much at a loss to say any thing. The injunction of secrecy laid on every Member of Congress relative to foreign information puts it out of our power to detail our European advices, we however think it our duty to say—it appears to Us, that untill some system is adopted which shall coerce a Commercial Treaty with Great Britain we need not expect one, nor any intercourse with her Islands but in her own bottoms—the variant interests of the several States, render this a complicated business. The distressed Situation of our Trade—The making a nursery for seamen of

it, for ourselves or other nations—the saving within the Union the profits arising from factorage & transportation, are questions of moment. And whether the States respectively or assembled in Congress are most adequate to the conducting the system of Commercial warfare, that will consequently ensue, on any regulations being made, we must leave to the wisdom of the Legislature to determine, but might we be supposed to be disinterested judges, our opinion would be, under proper regulations to Vest the power in Congress.

The appointment of Agents to meet those from the State of Georgia the second Monday in May for establishing a federal Court, will also be necessary⁷—perhaps, as good consequences might result from an amicable settlement as from a decision had this way—we submit for the information of the House an estimate of what we suppose will be the expence.

The recommendation of Congress in their resolve of the 2nd November last,⁸ on the application of the State of New Hampshire merits serious attention—to be provided for defence is one of the first duties of Government.

The resolution of the 7th June 1785⁹—making provision for disabled seamen & Soldiers—the propriety of this resolve is such that we trust no remarks enforcing the adoption of it are necessary.

These are all the resolutions of Congress of consequence which at this time occur to us, & we hope the House will find time to make a decision on them this session.

With the greatest respect, we have the honor to be, Your Excellency's mot. obt. and very humble servants,

(Signed) Charles Pinckney

David Ramsay

John Kean

Estimate of the Expence of a Federal Court.

7 Judges for 90 days @ 10 dollrs. each.	dollrs.	<u>6300</u>
To be borne equally So. Carolina's half		3150
4 Council, cannot be allowed less than		4000
Messengers, Clerks, Witnesses, Agents &		
Contingent Expences		<u>2850</u>
	dollrs.	10,000

The Court to settle the difference between Pennsylvania and Connecticut sat six weeks, but the Judges were allowed their pay from their leaving untill their returning home, therefore, we suppose ninety days, a moderate allowance.

Tr (ScCoAH: Governor's Messages).

¹ See JCC, 16:261–67.

² JCC, 22:83–86, 24:133–37, 256–61.

³ JCC, 23:545-46.⁴ JCC, 26:297-309.⁵ JCC, 29:765-71.⁶ JCC, 26:317-22.⁷ JCC, 28:408-10.⁸ JCC, 29:866-88.⁹ JCC, 28:435-37.

David Ramsay to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir,

New York. Decr. 29th. 1785

Mr Aitkin sent me a letter to Charleston last summer offering his service to bind a part of my books at the same rate Collins had undertaken a part to wit 2/5 each volume to be executed in neat plain binding, gilt on the back & lettered. The execution was to be equal to Belknaps history of New-Hampshire.¹ In confident expectation that he had near two hundred copies finished I wrote to him to send them to Charleston by Strong. To my surprise I received the inclosed answer.²

Will you oblige me so far as to overlook the execution of this business. I give you full liberty to take them out of Aitkins hands or to continue them or to employ any other person who will do them as cheap & as well. A Scotchman Mr Allan of this town³ has bound several to my satisfaction & he is willing to bind as many as his force is equal to. I have already paid the expence of transporting them to Aitkin in Philadelphia or I would move them round here.

Present my compliments to Mrs. Rush & believe me to be yours sincerely,

David Ramsay.

RC (PPL: Rush Manuscripts).

¹ That is, the first volume of Jeremy Belknap's *History of New-Hampshire* (Philadelphia: Robert Aitken, 1784). Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 18,344.

² For Philadelphia printer Robert Aitken's December 26 letter explaining that he could not fulfill his obligation to bind Ramsay's *History*, "my Journeyman having left me," see Ramsay, *Writings* (Brunhouse), p. 95.

³ That is, Thomas Allen, a stationer and bookseller in Queen St., New York.

Charles Pettit to John Jay

Sir

New York 30th. Decr. 1785

A Letter from Mr. John Wingrove directed to the President of Congress is under Reference, to a Committee of three Members, of which I have the Honour to be one.¹ The Committee are to assemble tomorrow Morning at 10 o'Clock in the Congress Chamber, & have notified

Mr. Wingrove that they shall then & there be ready to receive such Communications as he suggests a Desire to make respecting a commercial Intercourse with the East Indies. Mr. Wingrove's Application refers to a Letter from our Minister at the Court of London to Congress respecting him; which Letter is said to be in your Custody, either under Reference or on file. The Committee wish to see that Letter, or to be furnished with an Extract from the same, so far as relates to Mr. Wingrove.² If you can with Propriety put the said Letter or such Extract into my Hands for the Use of the Committee I doubt not you will readily do it; but if that should be improper you will please to cause the Letter to be presented to the Committee at their Meeting Tomorrow Morning.³

I have the Honour to be, Sir, Your most obedt. & most humble
Servant, Cha. Pettit

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78).

¹ John Wingrove's November 29, 1785, letter, offering "to promote the Commercial Interests of the Union in the East Indies," is in PCC, item 78, 24:575-78. The committee to which it had been referred on December 27 consisted of Pettit, John Bayard, and John Kean.

² John Adams' September 3, 1785, letter to Jay recommending Wingrove because of his "long experience in the East Indies," is in PCC, item 84, 5:649-52. For Jay's response to Pettit of this date, see PCC, item 120, 2:57.

³ For the report of Pettit's committee recommending against the appointment of Wingrove as a consul in India on the ground that only citizens of the United States were eligible to such posts, see *JCC*, 30:35, 40n. The committee's report was read January 31, 1786, and Congress directed Secretary Charles Thomson "to take order" on the committee's recommendation the following day. See *ibid.*; and Thomson to Wingrove, February 2, 1786.

Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin

Sir,

New York December 31st. 1785.

We think it our duty to Communicate to Your Excellency and the Honorable Council the intelligence We have this day received from His Excellency Governor Clinton—which is—that he has been informed of undoubted authority, that a large quantity of Powder and Lead has lately been purchased and lodged at Fishkill with a View of transporting it to the Susquehanna.

That the quantity vastly exceeds what is necessary for the peaceable and ordinary Consumption of the Country, and that there remains no doubt of its being intended during the Course of this Winter to be transported to Wyoming—the Governor is not at Liberty to give us the Name of his Informant, but assures Us, We may depend upon the Truth of his information, and added—had We not been here as Rep-

representatives of the State, he should have thought it his duty to have given Your Excellency the above Information.

We have not yet been favored with the Act passed by our Assembly respecting the Settlers at Wyoming,¹ but doubt not of the Wisdom and propriety of it.

We wish only to suggest the Necessity of the State, being well informed with respect to the views and intentions of these deluded People, and suggest the propriety of Council directing us to employ a proper person or persons to watch the Movements of these Stores and give the earliest intelligence thereof to Government.

We shall carefully attend to Your Excellency and Councils directions on this and every other Business, You may see proper to Charge us with²—and are, with the greatest respect and esteem, Your Excellency's Most obedient and very humble Servants.

John Bayard

Charles Pettit.

Tr (PHarH: RG 27). Addressed: "To His Excellency the President and The Honorable Supreme Executive Council."

¹ This December 24 Pennsylvania "Act for Quieting the Disturbances at Wyoming," is in the *Susquehannah Co. Papers*, 8:282–84.

² The Pennsylvania Council received this letter January 6 and responded the same day. In a letter signed by vice president Charles Biddle, the council instructed the delegates "to take such steps for watching the progress of the stores through the States of New York and the Jerseys, and for their eventual seizure in this state, as you will. . . think most proper." Although the council declared that the matter was being committed "entirely" to the care of the delegates, they also instructed Alexander Patterson January 12 to monitor the progress of the stores through Northampton County so that they might be seized and taken to Easton for safety. See *ibid.*, p. 285; and *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:457–58.

David Ramsay to William Moultrie

Sir,

New York December 31st. 1785

As the election of Delegates will soon take place, I request the favor of your Excellency to communicate to the Legislature, that I wish to be left out of the delegation of ensuing Year as an absence from my business a second Year would be very inconvenient.

I take this opportunity of returning my public thanks to the State over which you preside, for the honor of being at sundry times appointed to several important offices. Though South Carolina was not my Native Country, yet from the generosity of her Citizens I have shared in the honors of public Office in common with those who were born within her limits. I shall ever be ready to declare that influenced by federal policy & Continental liberality, She makes no distinction be-

tween her Native & her adopted Sons—having personally experienced her generosity in this respect, I feel the strong obligations of gratitude superadded to the many ties by which I am bound to her Citizens. The eleven past Years I have spent in her service—and to the promotion of her best Interests I devote my future life. I shall ever esteem it a peculiarly happy Circumstance that in my early Youth, I chose the State of South Carolina for the place of my permanent residence—much do I owe to her generosity & liberality.

Having finished my tour of public duty & being well convinced that there are several to whom it is convenient and who are more able than I am to serve the State in Congress, I beg to be relieved at the end of my Congressional Year & that some other Gentleman may be appointed for the ensuing twelve month, to the Station in which I have the honor at present to hold.

I have the honor to be, with great respect & esteem, Your Excellencys Most Obedient servant, (signed) David Ramsay

Tr (ScCoAH: Governor's Messages).

Charles Pettit to James Hutchinson

Dear Sir,

New York 1st. Jany. 1786

It would be ungrateful & unjust to treat so bountiful & so punctual a Correspondent as you have lately been, with neglect; and I hope Ingratitude will never find a Place in the Catalogue of my Vices. I can now, however, afford you little more than an Acknowledgment of this Receipt of your Favours of the 27th & 29th Ult—for which I return you my Thanks. These Thanks are somewhat like public Certificates—easily given & often of little Value. They are, however, Evidences of Debts, which, one Time or another, may be paid. This is the 9th or 10th Letter I have written for this Post,¹ & I would yet write some more if I could find Time for it; being still somewhat in Arrears on the several Subjects of Business, Politics & Friendship, to divers Persons who have favoured me with Communications; some of which, however, & not a small proportion, are the private Concerns of Individuals who flatter me with their Confidence as a *good natured* Servant of the Community of which they are Members. Who knows but that this obliging Disposition may procure me some Perquisites—or a Promotion to an Office of Profit? You will probably say it is strange that a Person, in apologizing for having but little Time to write on serious Subjects, should run into playful Observations of this Kind. But there are Moments when the Imagination will sometimes run a little wild. I often find that when I sit down to write to a Friend either without a Subject immediately in View, or when I suppose I have not leisure to

enter into the Discussion of Subjects that I have on my Mind, my Imagination is apt to be playful, and lead me into Dances that I had never before conceived the Figure of. But Vagaries of this kind must always have something to float upon that is pleasing in itself, or which affords a Foundation for Pleasure or Gratification, tho' the Mind may not have minutely investigated it's Properties and Capacities for affording Pleasures; and perhaps may not have examined to which of several Objects it is possessed of, to impute the Sparks of good Humour it finds to be acting upon it. Whether it be the Interest I feel in the present S[t]ate of Affairs in Pennsylvania, or a temporary flow of Spirits from another Cause that has now led me into an unpremeditated Train, I have not examined; but certain it is that I have let my Pen run into a playful Strain, & followed it so heedlessly that I have not looked a Sentence a Head of it from the Beginning of this Epistle. It has exhausted the Time I can now afford you; I can therefore recall it to Seriousness only to say that

I am much your Friend & obliged Servant, Cha. Pettit

[P.S.] Please to deliver the inclosed Letter² unobserved by any other than Mrs. Pettit. The Reason for this another time.

RC (PPAmP: Hutchinson Papers).

¹ None of these other letters has been found.

² Not found.

Charles Thomson to the States

(Circular) Office of Secy of Congress, Jan'y 3. 1786

In Obedience to the order of Congress I herewith transmit to your Excellcy to be communicated to the legislature a state of the represen[ta]tion for the last month.¹

With the greatest respect I have the honor to be yr Excy most obt & most hu Ser, CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For this enclosure and the 11 other monthly attendance lists sent to the states during the Congress of 1785–86, see Appendix.

Nathan Dane to Edward Pulling

Dear Sir,¹

New York, Jan'y 8, 1786.

.... Since my arrival here Congress has done but little business there being only seven States assembled at any time, which you know

are unequal to the great objects of the Confederacy; and a considerable part of the time only six.

Congress has lately received interesting dispatches from Europe and has many important subjects before them, they requiring the assent and consideration of nine States we have not entered into any discussion of them, and therefore it has not been practicable to collect, with certainty, the sentiments of the States on them, or to determine what part their Delegates will act in settling the interesting questions as to our conduct towards G. Britain in future, towards the Barbary powers etc., as to vesting commercial powers in Congress, settling the accounts of the several States with the Union, and carrying into effect the Continental impost system. But from the little information I have collected since here I am induced to believe that the federal Government have it in its power to carry its present important subjects into effect in time by a firm and steady perseverance.

I do think the States are at present represented in Congress by candid, and for the most part, good federal and republican men—men reasonably disposed to give up partial, or States interests for the good of the Confederacy.

It is true there are several young gentlemen from the Southern States of considerable fortunes, educated in Europe and bred to the law who come with some high ideas of distinction and the etiquette of society; but these sons of a warm and debilitating climate, and a luxurious soil, think and speak plausibly, are gentlemen, and possessed of agreeable qualities but their minds and constitutions want the energy and habits of attention and perseverance of the Northern States—they are capable by their wealth of giving aid to the Union, and I have that partiality for our Northern people, their efficient strength in the field and abilities in the forum as to believe the Southern States have much to fear from a dissolution of the present Confederacy. Enervated, disposed over a large territory but little inured to constraint they are capable of making perhaps if left to stand alone but little resistance to a foreign enemy or one near home. Nor are their best men totally unacquainted with these circumstances. These considerations must press them into Federal measures—they surely must be alarmed even at the suggestion of a confederacy of the States north of the Potomac or even the Delaware and give up their opposition to avoid such a measure.

All the States have adopted the Contl. impost except R. Island, N. York and Georgia, in the terms of the system recommended. R. Island has done it partially, N. York it is believed will adopt it this winter.² Their General Assembly is now convening and will soon enter upon the consideration of it—if the question whether the Theatre here

shall be suppressed or not and matters more popular and less substantial do not engross their attention. . . .

Tr (DLC: Edmund C. Burnett Collection). Copied for Burnett "from the collection of the late Adrian H. Joline." Addressed: "E. Pulling Esqr."

¹ Edward Pulling (1755–99) was a lawyer of Salem, Mass., and later a director of the Essex Bank organized in 1792. *Columbian Centennial*, December 4, 1799; and *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 67:175.

² For Secretary Charles Thomson's January 4 report on the response of the states to the Continental impost proposal, see *JCC*, 30:7–10.

Charles Thomson to John Dickinson

Dear Sir

New York January 9. 1786

I have received both your letters of the 23 and 30th of December last. I delivered to Mr. Duane the letter enclosed in the former and have since taken an Opportunity of conversing with him on the Subject & he promises to write to you shortly. I also called on doct. Cha. Arding for further information. The account he gave me is this. Stephen commonly called Judge Hick left his real estate to his son Thomas and a legacy of 1500 to a natural Daughter, who married a man of the name of Hick a relation of the family. The son Thomas died about four years ago having made a will by which he devised the estate to his half sister, the natural daughter of his father, & her issue, & in default thereof to her Husband and his issue & in case neither of them had issue then to R P. Hicks. The natural daughter died leaving no issue; Her husband who was a worthless drunken profligate fellow aft[er]wards married two wives who are both dead and he himself died last fall but without issue. Being told that the law which broke entails made the estate his in fee, He made a will before his death and devised the estate to a relation. But Doct Arding says that Samuel Jones an eminent lawyer [lawyer] who has seen the will & knows all the circumstances is clearly of opinion that the estate belongs to R P. Hicks. The estate consists of two farms. One called the Neck is rented on a lease of three years for the yearly rent of £200; the other farm he thinks is worth a thousand pounds but he does not know what it rents for. This is all the information I have yet been able to obtain.

The resolutions for preventing commerce or intercourse with the enemy & empowering judges or officers of the courts of admiralty to interfere you will find under the dates of Novr. 25, 1775, March 23 & April 3, 1776, March 27 & Decr. 4, 1781 & July 17, 1782.¹

Mrs Thomson joins in Love to yourself, cousin Mary, Sally & Maria.

I am Dear Sir, Your sincere & affectionate friend,

Cha Thomson

[P.S.] Mrs T has recd Mrs D's letter of 31 Decr & will answer it very soon.

RC (PHi: Logan-Dickinson Collection).

¹ For these resolutions, see *JCC*, 3:371–75, 4:229–32, 251–54, 19:314–16, 21:1152–58, 22:392–93.

Nathan Dane to Unknown

Dear Sir,¹

N. York Jan. 10. 1786.

You did me the honor to introduce me to an agreeable gentleman here and to mention a correspondence between us at convenient Seasons. I should have improved the favor sooner but I have been waiting for some thing to occur worth communicating and have little or nothing after all. Since my arrival here there have been assembled in Congress only seven States at any time and sometimes only six whence the important affairs of the Union have not come into consideration and nothing of Consequence has been agitated or considered by Congress. We admitted Mr. Temple in the form you see in the B[oston] paper—this on all hands was agreed to be the most prudent measure considering the present peculiar disposition of the two nations towards each other. Mr. Hancock soon after his choice notified his acceptance of the presidency of Congress. He was expected soon to arrive here but we have not as Delegates of the States individually or in any other way had any information from him. We are enquired of daily by many persons respecting his arrival and it has been reported from time to time that he was on his way. We yesterday were informed by the letter of a friend that on the 2d of this month he was at home confined by his ill state of health.

The disposition for vesting Commercial powers in Congress appears to me to be more general particularly in the Southern States than I expected to find it. Nine States N. Hampshire, Massachusetts, R. Island, Connecticut, N. York, Pennsylv., Maryland, Virginia & North Carolina have all except New Hampshire and R Island adopted the resolve of Congr. of Apr. 30, 1784—in the terms of it—and those two States have gone as far as the resolve required—and it is said the other States will adopt it—and I think it is an unfortunate circumstance that the system of federal Commercial powers recommended by that resolve was not better digested and more adequate to the purposes intended. There are many sensible men who appear to wish Commer-

cial powers to be vested in Congress to be exercised as occasion may require but think we ought to be very frugal in Commercial restorations and regulations and adopt them only on pressing Occasions. It is beleived here that N. York will this winter adopt or grant the Continental impost, if so Must not Georgia adopt it & R. Island alter her act for granting it, will those two small States stand out against the voice of All the rest.

We see many pieces in the Boston papers which are reprinted here and in some of the other States that reflect not a little on the conduct of our Legislature, their last Session respecting the valuation and the postponement of the late requisition, absentees &c. Massachusetts has deservedly her influence and respectability at present in the Union & in my opinion she is deeply interested in preserving them. I am sorry the General Court did not do more and that the Struggle about the valuation of the respective towns is so great but many of those rude attacks upon it can never tend to reform but only to wound the feelings of some and to irritate others to increase and expose discords and lessen us in the eyes of the world.

FC (MBevHi: Dane Papers). In the hand of Nathan Dane.

¹ Although Edmund C. Burnett suggested that Dane wrote this letter to Gov. James Bowdoin (Burnett, *Letters*, 8:292), there seems to be no solid evidence for this conjecture. In the only known letter from him to Bowdoin (June 10, 1786), Dane twice referred to the governor as "your Excellency," a phrase that does not appear in this document.

Pierse Long to John Langdon

Sir,

New York Jany. 11t. 1786

In my letter to your Excellcy. of the 30th Novr. I did myself the Honr. to enclose agreeable to your directions a return of the States—who had complied with the recommendation of Congress of the 30th April 84—which I had of the Secy. But in perusing his book of minutes, I found he had not fully complied with my request, And that it might be done in such a manner as the several States should have the information they wished, I moved Congress that the order at the head of the Secys report should be passed—and have the Honr. to enclose one of said reports for your Excellys. use.¹

With very Great Regard and Esteem, I am, Your Excellencys Most
Obt. Hum Servt.,
Pierse Long

RC (PHi: Dreer Members of Congress Collection).

¹ For the enclosed report, see the following entry, note. The "order at the head of the Secys report" passed at Long's urging was the motion of Rufus King recorded in the journals with the proceedings for January 2, for which see *JCC*, 30:6–7.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir Circular Office of Secretary of Congress, Jany. 12th. 1786.

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herewith enclosed a copy of a report which I made to Congress in Obedience to their Order of the 2d of this Month.¹

If I have omitted any of the Acts passed by your State, in compliance with the recommendations specified in the order, I shall take it as a favour if Your Excellency will be pleased to inform me thereof and transmit to me a copy of the Acts that are omitted.

With great respect, &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Endorsed: "NB—The 1st paragraph only to Pensylvania & N Carolina."

¹ For Congress' January 2 order and Thomson's January 4 report on the states "which have complied in whole or in part with the revenue System of Apl. 18th, 1783, The recommendation of Congress of the same date for an alteration of the 8th of the Arts. of Confed. and the act of the 30th of Apl. 1784, recommending the vesting of certain commercial powers in Congress," see *JCC*, 30:6–10. For the broadside copy of the report that Thomson enclosed, see *JCC*, 31:957; PCC Miscellaneous Papers, M332, reel 9, fols. 593–95; and *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 10:732–35.

Charles Thomson to John Bayard

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, Jany. 13th. 1786.

I have examined the sets of the laws sent from Your State, and find a considerable chasm. The bound Vol. contains the laws from the declaration of Independance to October 1781 inclusive—the three pamphlets contain only the laws passed in 1784 & 1785, beginning with Ch. 163, & continuing to Ch. 242 inclusive.

I shall be much obliged if by your Interest, I can have copies of those laws, which were passed from October 1781 to Oct. 1784, & what passed in the last Session.¹

With great respect &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Honble. John Bayard, Esqr., Delegate from Pennsylvania."

¹ For the laws of Pennsylvania requested by Thomson, see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, nos. 17,659–62, 18,094–96, 18,681–83, 19,161. See also Thomson to Samuel Bryan, February 3, 1786.

David Ramsay to John Eliot

Dear Sir,

New-York, Jany 18th 1786

Accept my thanks for your friendly letter by Mr Gorham containing also Mr Gardiners oration.¹ I am happy that it is now in my power to repay you for your friendly attention in furnishing me with copies of your Boston orations.² A work which has engaged my attention for five years past is now published. It contains the history of the late War in the Southern States in two octavo volumes, price four dollars. I wait for an opportunity to send a few copies to Boston for sale & I shall at the same time request the favor of you to accept one copy as a token of my sincere esteem and regard. The expense of a land conveyance would be too much. I am therefore at a loss how to get them to Boston. They are bound & ready to be sent if I could hit on a proper mode of conveyance. How many copies would you advise me to send? By what route would you propose? & to whom addressed? The work will not be in much demand with you as it is limited to the Southern war; but nevertheless as it is the first that has been published I suppose a few copies might be disposed of.

I shall endeavor to pay Boston a visit this winter or the next spring before I return to Carolina.

We have only seven States represented in Congress & of course we proceed very languidly in business. We hope for two or three more in the course of a few days. When will President Hancock come on? I long to see him & shall with great pleasure resign to him that chair which I now occupy in his absence.

I am sincerely sorry for the many restrictions under which your trade languishes. Though the Southern States suffer less than the Eastern yet they all have a great interest in vesting Congress with [com]petent powers to regulate commerce.

Present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Elliot & beleive me to be with great regard & esteem your most obed sert & affectionate friend,

David Ramsay.

RC (MH: Andrew-Eliot Papers).

¹ Probably John Gardiner's *An Oration, Delivered July 4, 1785, at the Request of the Town of Boston, in Celebration of the Anniversary of American Independence* (Boston: Peter Edes, 1785), which was dedicated to George Washington. Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 19,017.

² That is, the orations commemorating the Boston Massacre that Eliot had sent Ramsay in 1782 and thereafter, for which see these *Letters*, 18:647n.2.

David Ramsay to William Gordon

Sir, New-York Jany 18th 1786

I have at last published my work & have deliverd to Mr Hazard a complete copy in sheets to be forwarded to you of which I beg your acceptance. Unacquaintd with the roads to the Eastward I presumed Mr Hazard could forward the copy to you much sooner than I could myself. If I knew how I would send forty or fifty copies to Boston for sale; but I am at a loss what conveyance to make use of. I have sent sixteen hundred copies in sheets to Dilly in London & have advertised them in New-York three days ago. I can as yet form no conjecture about the sales; but am of opinion that the trade of an author is a very poor one in our new world. My advances will not be replaced till I have sold 500 copies & my debts contracted & yet unpaid will require the sale of seven hundred more. The edition has cost me 5,500 dollars. The printers bill is 2500 dollars. The engravings 800, the binding 4/10 a copy. In short I have no brilliant pecuniary prospects before me. I fear that your plan of requiring a previous payment will hurt the subscription for your work.¹ I flatter myself that the scarcity of dollars will be a considerable reason why my sales will be little productive. This will hold still stronger where nothing is given to the subscriber but a receipt for a book to be delivered at a future period. How many hundred citizens are there in our States to whom the advance of even three dollars would be very inconvenient? If you can accomplish the work without requiring any advance it would be much for your interest. Pardon the liberty I take in giving advice. I asked my engravers to reserve their plates for you; they seemed averse from it but said they would deliver a number of copies at a reasonable price. I wish you all success & shall recommend to all my acquaintances to become subscribers to your work; but, I fear that little profit will arise from the American sales of your books or of mine. In point of pecuniary interest I would exchange all my prospects for the profits of a few benefit nights of the New York theatre.

Present my best respects to Mrs. Gordon & believe me to be yours respectfully,

David Ramsay.

RC (NN: Myers Collection).

¹ That is, Gordon's *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment, of the Independence of the United States of America*, which was published in four volumes in London in 1788.

James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York Jany. 19. 1786.

My last¹ advis'd you of my departure hence on the 24th of August last for the westl. with intention to take a view of the indian treaty to be held at the mouth of the big Miamis, and of the country lying between lake Erie, & the head waters of James or Potowk. rivers, with those wh. empty from either side into the Ohio, thence to attend the federal court on the 15 of Novr. at Wmsburg.² But the danger from the Indians made it imprudent for me to pass the river, and the delay at fort Pitt, and upon the Ohio, the water being low, consm'd so much of the time allotted for this excursion, that I was forc'd to leave the commissrs. at lime stone & take my course directly thro' the Kentucky settlements & the wilderness to Richmond, so that I was neither gratified with a view of the treaty, or to such a degree with that of the country as I had propos'd. I arriv'd at Richmond on the 14 of Novr. & found there letters for me from the agents of the two States, with advice that the session of the c[our]t had been deferr'd. I therefore prepar'd as soon as possible to sit out for this place & arrivd on the 18 of Decr. I found in Virginia & in this town letters from you of 17 of June, the 5 & 12 of July³ & have since had the pleasure to receive that address'd by Mr. Franklin of the 4th from himself. He was here a few days since upon some private business & was so kind as favor me frequently with his company. I have also been much pleas'd with an acquaintance with Mr. Otto. He hath made an impression here very flattering to himself & favorable to the Idea you entertain of him.⁴ It hath been matter of great surprise & concern here that the dispatches respecting the barbary powers shd. have been so long in reaching you.⁵ {This Mr. Lambe was presented to some of the gentlemen}⁶ in {Congress by the late president Huntington}. At that time it was propos'd, & for wh. purpose a {report was} brought in, to carry on {these treaties} immediately from {the U.S.} & to {appoint the persons} & {dispatch them hence} to fit out {the Alliance, load her with naval stores} & {present her} to {the Emperor}. By this procedure it was presum'd we might, by telling these {powers} that we were as yet {unacquainted with them or their wants}, succeed {better than even under the mediation of France}. And the {secretary of foreign affairs having reported that this man was fit for the negotiation, the committee advised} that {he be employed}. But it was rejected. We have since heard that {he was}, from {his station in life} & probable {talents}, by no means {worthy such a trust}. We have lately heard from Mr. Adams that Mr. Barclay with Franks are sent to the Emperor & that Mr. Lambe & a Mr. Randall to Algiers. {These pirates} have already made {a great impression upon our trade} and {unless these negotiations prove successful

will materially injure it). I am happy to receive yr. sentiments upon the subject of {commercial treaties} & will with pleasure communicate mine to you more fully than I, heretofore, have done. With great propriety you have in the first instance taken it up with reference {to the powers of Congress, for upon those does the whole depend} and I entirely agree with you that they have {no original inherent jurisdiction over the commerce of the states} and that it commences & can be exercis'd only {by treaties} with {other nations}; how then will this circumstance affect us? When we propose to them to {form treaties} they will enquire do we labor under any inconveniences wh. thereby we can remove; they will examine their situation in {our ports} to {ascertain whether treaties} can obtain, fairer or more equal terms to them, are these {temporary} or so founded in the nature of {their government that they will be perpetual}. If then it shall appear that {we can give them nothing they} do not at present enjoy, and that we can {not deprive them of these advantages}. I think it will follow they will {lay themselves under no restrictions}. It wd. not otherwise be their interest to do. To obtain {reciprocal advantages} then cannot possibly {be the object with other powers} in {treating} with us, for more than {this they now possess}. But nations are often benefited as much by obtaining {restrictions upon others} in {the ports} of a particular one {which} do not apply {to themselves} as by particular stipulations in {their own favor} and upon this principle {treaties} are {sometimes} form'd as was the case in that between {Britain and Portugal}. How stand the {powers of the union} and how {their interests} with respect to {a treaty} of this kind? For instance can they {stipulate with France that British goods shall pay ten per cent higher duties here than those} of {France} in {consideration} for a {free trade} with {her islands; this certainly does not come within the provisos} contain'd in the {confederation} and is of course within the {powers} of {Congress}. Nor have I any doubt of its expedience, if it cd. be obtain'd. {Treaties} of this kind wd. be more favorable to us and successful, as to the particular objects it might seek, than an entire {prohibition of commerce} with {the powers} with {whom we} [have] none. By seeking this {power} it wd. seem as if we were satisfied with our situation {with those with whom we have treaties}, that those with whom we have not {were culprit nations} & that we wd. exercise it immediately on them. If then we are dissatisfied with our {treaties} with {France} & {the Netherlands} this right {of prohibition} can never avail us with respect to them, and in its {exercise} upon other {powers} it may give a dangerous shock to our {commerce} & a {monopoly of} it {to other powers}, and if holding {the power}, we proceeded wisely with it & endeavor'd to turn it to the best acct. we cd. and to make it a condition {with France} that we wd. put it in force {against [h]er} for such or such other considerations, yet cd.

we not obtain the same ends for less expence, for instance for the imposition of {ten per cent} upon her {commerce}. Every expedient is unquestionably inferior to the complete & absolute {controul over commerce} in {the [hands]} of {the U.S.} but this {[plan]} of {a treaty} appears to me to be a better succeedanium for the defect than any other I have heard, since it creates the restriction we wd. wish to effect {upon the offending nation} and brings us at the same time upon {the ocean} as a {commercial people}. They might be of short duration. Those {treaties} wh. stipulate to each other {the rights of the most favored nation} obtain none of these ends and appear to me to fetter us as to the powers with whom they are made. It fetters us as to the imposition of {higher duties} on them than we impose on {others}, or subjects us to a variance, while it admits on their part of a constant deviation from the spirit of {the treaty} by the explication wh. it authorises them to make of {the compensation}. Nothing hath been done on this subject since my last. In my next I may add something further on it. The {commission} will {expire} soon but another may be given or instructions form'd respecting it. I beg you to give me further yr. sentiments on it.

My several routs westwd. with the knowledge of the country I have thereby obtain'd, have impress'd me fully with a conviction of the impolicy of our measures respecting it. I speak not in this instance of the ordinance for the survey & disposal of it, but of those wh. became necessary & were founded upon the act of cession from the state of Virga. I am clearly of opinion that to many of the most important objects of a federal government their interests, if not oppos'd, will be but little connected with ours; instead of weak[en]ing theirs & making it subservient to our purposes we have given it all the possible strength we cd.; weaken it we might also and at the same time (I mean by reducing the number of the States) render them substantial service. A great part of the territory is miserably poor, especially that near lakes Michigan & Erie & that upon the Mississippi & the Illinois, consists of extensive plains wh. have not had from appearances & will not have, a single bush on them, for ages. The districts therefore within wh. these fall will perhaps never contain a sufficient number of Inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confideracy, And in the meantime the people who may settle within them will be govd. by the resolutions of Congress in wh. they will not be represented. In many instances I observ'd above, their interests will be oppos'd to ours. I will mention one wh. arises from their relative situation to other powers. Their eastern frontier will be covd. from the nations of Europe by the 13 old states, & I may say that their northern & southern, also will, for no power will march an army to attack them by the Mississippi or St. Lawrence without making a powerful impression on these States at the same time, or indeed after subduing them; In all questions in wh. we were parties, the attack wd. be on us; upon us therefore wd. the

burden & event of the contest depend, & we must be parties in all cases while they are of the confideracy. The tendency wh. at present prevails for a dismemberment of the old States not only increases their strength but will also add to the diversity of interest. At the instance of which of the States hath the right to the navigation of the Mississippi been carried thus far and {if you lop off the western parts of those states} by {whom it} was brought {about} will you not necessarily withdraw them {from that pursuit}. Whatever shall be done on this subject I will transmit you.

The subject of the mint was taken up last summer & determin'd that the unit shd. be a dolr. It was afterwards postpon'd.⁷ It will be taken up agn. so soon as we have 9 or ten states (for at present we have but 7). The proposition for recommending it to the States to vest the U S. to regulate their trade is still before Congress. What will be its fate is uncertain. Accept my acknowledgments for yr. book wh. I have read with great pleasure & improvment & be assur'd I will keep it as private as you might wish, untill you shall consent to its publication wh. I hope will be the case. I shod. suppose the observations you have made on the subjects you allude to would have a very favorable effect. Since no considerations cod. induce them but a love for the rights of m[an] & for your country. Whether I shall be able to visit you is still doubtful. My dependence is almost altogether on the bar—by my late absence I have the door open to others. The sooner I therefore return to it the better it will be for me. I feel myself returning to the same train of thoughts upon this subject as when I had finish'd my studies. I am thinking of setling at Richmd.—building an house &c. Will you be so kind as transmit me a plan. Suppose the house when finish'd to cost 3 or 4000 dolrs. (a part to be finish'd only at first). I shall I believe commence it as soon as I receive it. Be assur'd I will attend to those circumstances wh. you mention of a private nature so soon as we shall have a sufficient number of States to do it, with effect. This must be shortly. If I shall have time before the packet sails, I shall write Mr. Short. If however I shd. fail you will make my apology. Of the death of our worthy friend Mr. Hardy you have heard. He had been indispos'd of a bilious complaint which had been badly cur'd & weaken'd thereby his system to such a degree as to have fail'd under the fatigue of a ride to Kingsbridge. A vein broke or some vessel within him—wh. ultimately carried him off. His loss to me is considerable not only as a person with whom I shod. [have] been happy to have liv'd in intimacy hereafter, but in the delegation, more especially as I am unacquainted with those added to it, Colos. Carington & Henry Lee of the horse.⁸ Mr. Gerry is lately married to a Miss Thomson of this city—a polite & amiable woman abt. 22 years of age. I am with my best wishes for yr. health & happiness yr. affectionate friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC: Jefferson Papers).

¹ That is, his letter of August 25, 1785.

² Monroe was one of the judges assigned to hear the territorial dispute between Massachusetts and New York, for which see *New York Agents' Journal of Proceedings*, December 4-9, notes 5-7; and *Massachusetts and New York Agents to Monroe*, December 28, 1784.

³ For which see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 8:227-33, 261-62, 288. The letters of July 5 and 12 had been carried to New York by William Temple Franklin who also bore Jefferson's July 4 letter introducing Franklin.

⁴ In his letter of June 17 Jefferson had expressed great pleasure at the appointment of the new French chargé d'affaires. "He is good humoured, affectionate to America, will see things in a friendly light when they admit of it, in a rational one always, and will not pique himself on writing every trifling circumstance of irritation to his court. I wish you to be acquainted with him, as a friendly intercourse between individuals who do business together produces a mutual spirit of accomodation useful to both parties. It is very much our interest to keep up the affection of this country for us, which is considerable."

⁵ See Virginia Delegates to Patrick Henry, November 7, 1785, note 3.

⁶ Words printed in braces in this text were written by Monroe in cipher.

⁷ See William Grayson to George Washington, July 25, 1785, note 5.

⁸ Henry Lee and Edward Carrington took their seats in Congress on February 1 and March 3 respectively. *JCC*, 30:36, 93.

David Ramsay to Timothy Pickering

Sir,

New-York Jany 19th 1786

In addition to what I lately wrote to you¹ concerning I have since received from S. Carolina a Quartermaster certificate for 726 Dollars dated the 5th of March 1783 & payable in specie on demand signed by Mr. Pickering & Countersigned by Ed. Carrington.² I would be obliged to you for explicit information whether funds have not been provided for the payment of certificates of this date & kind: from a number of circumstances I am led to beleive that actual specie has been appropriated for that purpose by the late superintendent of finance about the time of his quitting that office. Should this be the case I will expect payment. If it is not I shall regret that public faith & credit was so far sported with as to insert promises on the face of public securities of the date of March 1783 which were not to be performed. I shall be obliged to you for an explicit answer on this subject whether funds have not been lodged in the hands or at the disposal of some public officer for the discharge of Quartermaster certificates of the late dates first mentioned?

I have the honor to be your most obedient servant,

David Ramsay

RC (MHi: Pickering Papers).

¹ Not found.

² Pickering was quartermaster general of the American army in 1783, while Edward Carrington served as quartermaster general on Nathanael Greene's staff in the southern department. For the settlement of such quartermaster certificates (with illustrations), see Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 6:582–87. For an extended discussion of certificate debt, see E. James Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse: A History of Public Finance, 1776–1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 59–68, 181–86.

Nathan Dane to Samuel Phillips

Dear Sir¹

New York Jan. 20. 1786.

Since I arrived in this place we have had only seven States at any period assembled in Congr. and for a considerable part of the time I have been here only six. We have not been in a situation therefore to enter into the consideration of the sev[eral] important matters now before the federal Government—and of course not in a condition to collect the sentiments of the several Delegations respecting them. But since you did me the honor to propose a correspondence I improve the privilege of conveying to a friend a few thoughts on subjects of common concernment that I may be intitled to claim his in return. As Congress has been sitting but a small part of the time since I have been here I have had much leisure to examine into the affairs of the union, to collect information from the several offices and past proceedings of Congress and particularly in matters of finance and public accounts and find a person wants much more time to acquire any tolerable knowledge of our federal Systems. We have adopted a Common Government that appears to me to have many excellent principles incorporated in it's formation borrowed from the British and many other constitutions, but a government complicated, unwieldy and attended with many impediments in it's administration a government situated to preserve freedom and capable of being administered only by the attention, perseverance and exertions of freemen. Many of the delegates who do not appear to have been very industrious in their political enquiries complain they have nothing to do—yet it is agreed that the business of Congress consists principally in laborious enquiries—that the objects of their consultations are extensive, attended with many facts and circumstances to be examined and weighed, and that their decisions must be made to correspond not only with the many good principles interwoven in the federal polity of the States but with the various ideas, systems and interests of thirteen internal sovereignties and sometimes all these put together must be

made to bear a certain proportion to foreign Interests and the measures of other nations. It is pretty clear that Congress during the late war did not strictly practise on the principles of the Confederation but kept one object in view the support of Independence and adopted those measures and means which appeared best calculated to obtain it. But that degree of perseverance those abilities and exertions that carried Congress thro its difficulties during the late contest would serve at present I believe for the conducting of our federal Affairs on their true principles. I confess Dear Sir that it is from a general inattention, a general apathy in the management of public affairs especially of the Union that my fears of political evils arise. Our leading characters seem to have resolved (as the powerful Grecian did on another occasion) that when Independence should be obtained they would repose. Mr. Adams in Europe it is true remains active and furnishes us with many excellent materials to work upon. Yet it seems to be acknowledged by all that this is a favourable time for making public exertions—for settling the Accounts of the States & Individuals with the Union, for adjusting Commercial affairs and for working some amendments into our governments—that the evils the defects are felt, and a general disposition prevails to accede to some alteration—that Congress is generally composed of candid men and good republican character, and that the Northern and Southern States are fast approaching a similarity in their manners, ideas and habits—that we are not embarrassed by foreign influence at present &c—in short one can hardly realize that people who reasoned collectively through all the Scenes of a war and a revolution and effected by their deliberations & concerted measures, What other nations have gained or lost as chance would have it a people acknowledged by most foreigners to be the only people in the world who reason collectively and thereby proceed on sure ground should now be incapable of effecting any general measures for the benefit of the whole. All the States have adopted the impost system of Apr. 18, 1783 except R. Island which has done it partially—N. York and Georgia.² People in this state begin to think seriously about it. Their assembly has lately convened and will be hardly pressed to come into the measure. Georgia, it is said by her Delegates, will grant it. One man has had the address hitherto to prevent it who promises to withdraw his opposition. It is curious to observe that the Grand Juries of most of the Counties in that State have presented their Legislature (as they have a right to do by their constitution) for not granting the impost as a dangerous delay and neglect.³ All the States have passed Acts for vesting commercial powers in Congress according to the recommendation of Apr. 30, 1784—except N. Jersey, Delaware, So. Carolina and Georgia⁴ and it is said they will pass similar Acts. Some of them at present object that the powers proposed by that recommendation are not adequate to commercial purposes that

more extensive powers ought to be delegated. The Southern States say they till the ground and produce their exports and find the best market for them when their ports are open to all the world but for the sake of agreeing with us they are willing the Northern States should become their carriers submodo but not so as to make to themselves an exclusive right and thereby have it in their power to monopolise at pleasure—that the Coml. powers of the Union ought to be lodged in the federal Govt. whether they can be exercised uniformly its effect on pressing occasions few doubt—but I beleive few will hold who have attended to the subject well that America at present ought to effect her trade in any manner by coml. restrictions, regulations and encouragements in Common Cases but only in those cases where it may be necessary to remove impediments put upon it by foreign powers. You can hardly conceive, Sir, how much our common measures are impeded by the unsettled State of public accounts, each State brings forward her demands for supplies furnished or services rendered during the war which she urges were necessary and for the common good tho not in pursuance of the requests or resolves of Congr. These demands in the several States may amount to near 30,000,000 dollars. Some of these demands are more Just than others. Maryland, Virginia, So. Carolina & some other States bring forward regular charges of every thing they have done during the war. The amo[unt] of Virginia is near 11,000,000 of dors. but if these charges are allowable we ought to be allowed our expenses for sea coast guards, Penobscot expedition, extra bounties, depreciation on the pay rolls of the militia, old money, depreciation on paper money, payt. made at a late day for services & supplies early in the war & not so soon as to R. Island, Pennsy., Maryland & o[the]r States who kept a better look out—but these things in part cannot be, many States have kept no Accots. We in this Case with all our exersions probably should fall in debt.⁵ For the 500,000 dr's our States money which we called in at an early period and thereby created a large State Debt and only opened a Door for so much cont'l money; coming into the hands of our citizens and dying there, for other States neglected to redeem their State money but issued quantities of it. But many of the States are urgent for a settlement and will probably oppose all requisitions of Congr. till some measures are taken more effectual for a settlement. These accounts cannot it is clear be allowed or rejected in the whole, they must be examined in their nature and extent and reduced to what is just and reasona[ble] or they will slay all federal measure[s]. It is moved by some States that have large demands of this kind that the Commissioners appointed to settle Accounts between the Union and the individual States should be authorised to settle and allow these demands according to equity and good Conscience but it is the opinion of others that they are not competent to the adjustment of such important de-

mands. The latter I think is the better opinion. It remains therefore for Congress to appoint some man or board of commissioners who will be equal to the business and have the Confidence of the parties to settle these accounts and determine how far they shall be charged against the Union and for Congr. to prescribe rules as far as it is practicable for conducting the business. This has become a matter of great importance and Serious and we must be decisive and in earnest in the business, if you shall have leisure to send me your ideas or opinion as to the best mode of settling these demands &c. I shall be happy to receive such communications.

We learn by the papers that another convention is proposed to be held in the Eastern Counties⁶—nor are we informed that the Genl. Court did any thing respecting those disturbances the last Session or whether they thought it practicable to do any thing. I hope those Conventions may not be productive of much trouble and expence to the Commonwealth but I fear it. The situation of those Counties between us and the British provinces is unfavourable. The reason we have to believe that the British are privy to all that is done there makes the affair of more consequence. All kinds of information from Europe tends to prove that Great Britain would not have many Scruples of Conscience about disturbing our peace, that haughty nation feels sore and wounded & might be induced to buy peace in Europe at a dear rate in order that she might get back but an inch of our Territory. I do not imagine that those Counties at present wish to become a part of the British Governmt. The people in General perhaps have no direct motives for their conduct—a few who have local or personal advantages in could put the machine in motion but if the towns & individuals who are opposed to the separation lay still and do not in the conventions or in some manner Make their sentiments and opposition known the field will be left to those ringleaders and they and the world in Genl. will believe the people in those Counties Unan[imously]. They will petition Congr. to be made a separate State. The question for a while lay undecided. Will these people keep themselves attached to and attend on the Govt. of Massa. in the meantime & pay taxes or will they not be hatching up Govt. among themselves & keep their money at home. Congr. undoubtedly will not agree to make them a separate State, the sd. States will not wish to throw another voice into the northern interest and we shall Join with them in this instant—and the idea of making separate states is genrally reprobated as produce of the worst evils to the Confederacy. The Assent of nine States is required at any rate—but may not a doubt be started on the Confederation whether Congr. have a right to divide a State at all—or whether any provision is made or the idea held up in that orig. compact for the dismemberment or separation of a State. If not then those people are violating the very constitution of the Society. It is

fully agreed that the 2 & 3 art[icle]s are a guarantee of the States to each State of its territory, sovereignty & jurisdiction and that Congr. are bound at the reasona[ble] request of any State to give her aid & assistance in this Case for her preservation. 13 States formed the body politic and no other States can be admitted unless provision therefor was made in the orig Compact the confedr. The 11 art. provides that Canada may be admitted &c “but *no other Colony* shall be admitted into same unless such admission be agreed to by nine States”—by the 9 art[icle] Cong have a right to decide disputes between States respecting boundaries, Jurisdiction & right of soil in a given form. This supposes a prior right of which Congr. is to Judge—provided that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the U States. These are all the Clauses I find in the Confedn. relative to this Subject—it is Clear and has been determined by Congr. 1781 that the 2 & 3 arts are a positive guarantee of the States to each State of her territory and Jurisdiction. If so they will not dismember a State by the implied construction of any other article. The above recited proviso in the 9 art is restrictive but of what? The art provides that where two or more States dispute their boundaries or extent of their jurisdiction or w[he]n two or more States claim the same thing Cong. Submodo shall divide that, say which shall have the territory or Jurisdiction contested but must not Cong in this Judl. capacity adjudge it to one or the other of the parties or can they adjudge it to belong to neither but to the Union at large as not being a part of any part[icular] State. Was not this proviso prudently brought in here to prevent Cong. Claiming contested territories and Jurisdictions? but on the other hand that the subject in contest should be adjudged to one party or the other Claiming it, this proviso therefore if it has any meaning at all inforces and comes in aid of the 2 and 3 arts. What can be intended by the words “but no other Colony” in the 11 art connected as they stated with the word Canada (a Colony) in the same sentence. The framers of the Confedn. must have had some meaning when they used those words & their meaning at that time ought to be our rule. The people who used those words had objects in view—the parts of any origl. State that might petition for a separation. Those words will not lead the mind to such objects in the scituation in which they stand in that article but were there not other Colonies at that time, Nova Scotia, East and West Florida &c in our neighbourhood whose admission into the union was then in contemplation. Is it not a fair construction to confine the meaning of the words other Colonies to those Colonies therein being or to such territories as at first were capable of being hereafter admitted into the Union without supposing the dismembered parts of States were in view—if by this article Congr. have a right to Erect the province of Main into a separate State an acknowledged part of the territory and Jurisdiction of Massachusetts they may do the same as to

any part of any State in the Union and thereby in substance destroy the sovereignty of the State reserved and Secured & guaranteed in the 2 & 3 articles, nay further it would be in the power of nine State[s] to ballance the union at pleasure by dividing old States and makg new ones. Can it be supposed that if such a power was intended by the 11 art so destructive of the sovereignty and independence of each state, so repugnant to the 2 and 3 arts that the framers of the Confedn. would have expressed themselves as they did in the 11 articles. With so much apparent indifference in the contest respecting Vermont the parties appear to have been aware of these difficulties. The people of Vermont therefore claimed their independence on a fact they laboured hard to prove that they were a separate Jurisdiction and no part of N York prior to the formation of the United States the body politic, that they were detached before N. York become a part of this body politic the confederated States. The Legislature of N. York in 1782 determined that Congr. had no right by the Confedn. to divide a State or make a new State out of any part of an old one upon the Clauses above recited⁷ and then seem to have exerted near their whole Strength to shew that Vermont has been an acknowledged part of the State of N. York since N. York formed a part of the present Union—and I think it may pretty clearly be inferred from the doings of Congress that in their opinion the question rested & turned on this matter of fact—for after Congress seems to have determined in their minds that Vermont should be admitted into the Union by prescribing the conditions on which it should be done and by appointing a Committee to confer with the people thereof and to adjust the terms and mode of their admission they resolved to guarantee to N. Hampshire and N. York accordg to the Confedn. certain lands and the Jurisdiction thereof.

But whether Cong. have this right or not of dismembering a State by creating a new one by the assent of 9 States is a nice question and perhaps the legality of the Conduct of the 8 Counties rest upon it for if our frame of Government our Confederation has made a constitutional provision for dividing a State, admits of a separation it will be fairly urged that it by implication admits of the means as of meetings, consultations and petitions to effect and obtain the end the object provided for in the confedn. but if [*in*] the end such a separation is not provided for then all their measures for that purpose are in violation of the constitutions and rights of the Society. I wish this matter to be fully examined, it may be attended with beneficial effects to the Union and particularly to Massachusetts if it should become the prevailing opinion that no state can be divided but by a new article in the federal compact agreed to by all the States. That is by the power that formed it and can new model the fundamental principles of our

Community. These rising States that now create so much trouble would be convinced their Struggles would be in vain. This is a matter perhaps too nice for people in General but if the more thinking should adopt the opinion it may have a good effect and the people in those Counties &c checked in their pursuits. A power so capable in its nature of being abused in America as that of Dividing States, Counties, towns, &c ought in my opinion only to be exercised by those who have a right to form the Society de novo and vary its original features—and I believe the more thinking men throughout the U. States are in a humour to be reasoned into this opinion. Some of the other states obliquely hint to us that we have had members in Cong. who cherished Vermont and now we are punished. But I believe the union would readily assist the State in carrying her reasona[ble] laws into execution against any part that should revolt. But what further laws or reasona. rules to control the conduct and actions of the peoples of those Counties the Government ought to make is undoubtedly a matter of serious consideration if they withhold their taxes or disturb the administration of government among them they no doubt are punishable by the laws in being but our treason laws made to bind the subject to his allegiance and to punish him for withdrawing it was made in a time of war and do not appear calculated to preserve allegiance in General or to prevent the evils we now feel. I wish those laws had been revised before the disturbances in the E. Counties had taken place and made to apply to every part of the State with Justice, moderation and yet with energy than the Government in it's conduct could not have appeared pointed. These laws might have been revised and constructed on the principles that no set of men have a right to assemble for the purpose of dismembering the State and pointed out a mode of trying and punishing them for so doing. They might have pointed out a mode of stating greivances (a very diffit matter) and of redressing them. It is certainly of consequence for the State so to conduct her self as to keep Justice on her side and convince the other States of the justice and equity of her Cause but whether the General Court ought now to direct the revising Committee to reverse the laws against treason &c and amend them on general and dispassionate principles—to appoint a respectable Committee to enquire into the real situation and disposition of the people of those Counties, their Conduct and Grievances if any and for devising means to redress greivances and punish misconduct, to ascertain facts, to inform the uninform'd, to prevent the false impressions made by designing men, to devise means for them to obtain Justice more promp[t]ly and at less expence under the present government, and to adopt measures speedily. Accordingly I leave to your consideration and to the Consideration of others in

the legislature the longer they remain in their present situation the less aid we shall have from them and the more the people may become alienated and disposed to Join some other government—but I have said six times as much as I intended already and I fear enough to weary your patience. I wish Sir you would write me about our eastern land affairs. We shall have but little business to do untill Spring I believe for want of a sufficient number of States assembled—and may possibly attend those eastern affairs—or do my endeavours that another person may be appointed in my place as may best serve the Interest of the Commonwealth.

I am Sir, with esteem & respect, Your friend and Humble servant,
N. Dane

FC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). In the hand of Nathan Dane.

¹ Samuel Phillips (1752–1802), founder of Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass., was an Essex County justice of the peace, a delegate to the Massachusetts constitutional convention of 1779–80, and a Massachusetts state senator, 1780–1801. He had succeeded Samuel Adams as president of the senate in 1785. *DAB*.

² See *JCC*, 30:7–9.

³ Dane's observation on Georgia grand juries was undoubtedly inspired by an item printed in the January 18 issue of the *New York Daily Advertiser* which contained extracts from recent presentments from Wilkes and Liberty County grand juries. The former, the fuller of the two, reads as follows:

"We present as a great and dangerous grievance, the refusal of this state to grant powers to Congress to lay an impost of five per cent on all foreign articles of commerce imported into this state. We conceive it highly dangerous to leave Congress in a state of responsibility disproportioned to their powers, as this must in every instance unavoidably tend to lessen public credit. During the late important war which terminated in the final establishment of our liberty and independence, the care of the war was confided to Congress; 'twas to that august council the eyes and expectations of all were turned: to them we looked up for our political salvation. Full and ample powers were granted to them by the legislatures of every state in the union to obtain unlimited loans from France, Holland, and other European powers which loans were actually obtained on the faith of Congress, as the representative body of the United States. For these reasons we take the liberty of recommending to the honorable the legislature to invest the United States in Congress assembled with full powers to levy an impost of five per cent on all goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into this state from any foreign port, island, or plantation."

For the background of these presentments, which were inspired by grand jury charges issued by Georgia chief justice George Walton, see William Samuel Johnson to Roger Sherman, April 20, 1785, note 4. Walton's charges to grand juries while on circuit through a number of other counties were also quoted and discussed in the September 29, October 6, 13, November 3, 24, and December 1, and 8, 1785, issues of the *Gazette of the State of Georgia* the preceding autumn.

⁴ See *JCC*, 30:10.

⁵ The following sentence seems to belong at this point, although Dane wrote it in the margin without designating where it was to be inserted.

⁶ Delegates from the three counties of the Maine district had convened in Falmouth in October 1785 to discuss separation from Massachusetts as a solution to their problems and grievances, and upon adjournment issued a call for a second convention to convene on January 4, 1786. For discussion of the beginning of the Maine separatist movement, see Ronald F. Banks, *Maine Becomes a State: The Movement to Separate Maine*

from Massachusetts, 1785–1820 (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1970), pp. 12–25.

⁷ See *JCC*, 22:172.

Samuel Livermore to John Langdon

Dear sir

New York 20th Jany. 1786

I am honoured with yours of the 3d instant and am very clear in sentiment with you that Congress should be invested with power to regulate trade. 'Tis also the sentiment of many others here. But we are embarrassed for want of a fuller representation, there having been no more than seven states here since my arrival: consequently the most important business can't be done. The whole business of finance goes on heavily as you will see by perusing the enclosed, which was printed for the members of Congress.¹

The legislature of N York are now sitting, it is expected by some, but much doubted by others, that they will accede to the 5 per Cent duty, upon which the whole system of Apr 1783 turns. Communications from Mr Adams give but faint hopes of a treaty of commerce with G Britain; altho I am led to believe his negotiations on that subject have been spirited and judicious.

The surveyors of land for our western territory returnd having done very little for fear of the indians. However a treaty is on foot which it is hoped will set the matter right. Much is said in favour of the soil, climate, produce &c—*that when surveyd it will meet with a quick s[ale].* I wish it may.

I have the Honour to be Your Excellencys most Obedient servant,

Samuel Livermore

RC (MH-H: bMS Am1649.5).

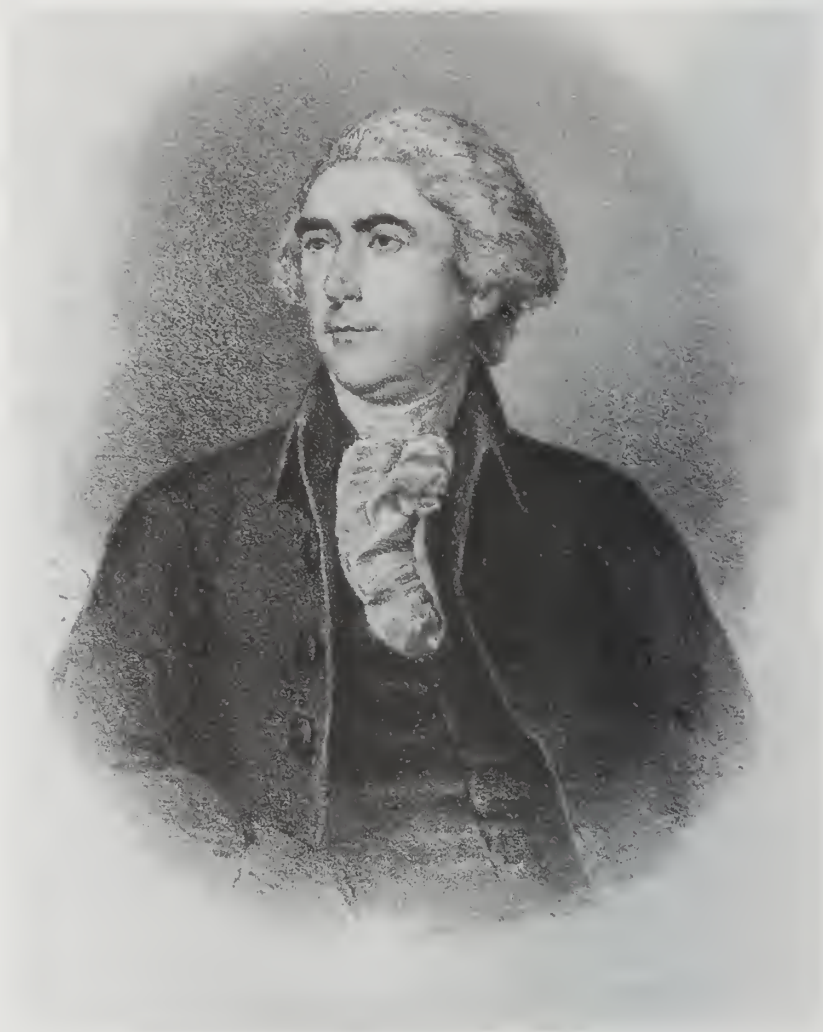
¹ Apparently the January 4 report of the secretary of Congress on the states' compliance with Congress' April 18, 1783, revenue recommendations and its April 30, 1784, request for power to regulate commerce, for which see *JCC*, 30:7–10, 957.

Charles Pettit to Nathanael Greene

Dear Sir,

New York 20th. Jany. 1786

I have chosen to mention a Matter of Business in a separate Letter,¹ as you may have Occasion to shew it to others. I need not say more on that Subject. I have written to Col. Mitchell by this Opportunity² a pressing Letter about his Accounts as DQMG. It is highly necessary that so large & important a Branch of our Accounts should be rendered in and settled. It is farther necessary with respect to the Ac-



Charles Pettit

counts of others, as from his Situation in Philadelphia, from his grasping Disposition, and from the Influence he obtained with our Brother Cox, his Office extended its Ligaments into the Accounts of so many others that their Accounts cannot be settled without some Reference to & Explanation from his. Mr. Denning, at best, makes but slow Progress in the Business, and I believe rather easily permits even small Obstacles to impede and lay by an Account. The Course of Depreciation so frequently overwhelmed and unhinged the Rules established by Congress for the Settlement of Accounts that the different Commissioners are at great Loss for want of established Principles & Rules for their Government. Various Applications have been made to the Board of Treasury, to the Superintendent of Finance, while he was in Office, and to Congress, to establish such Principles & Rules as may be more easily & uniformly understood; but the Circumstances to be weighed & measured by such Rules are so various, numerous & heterogeneous, that they get lost in a maze of Difficulties whenever the Subject is entered upon, and therefore cannot be brought to enter on any radical Measures, and it is with great Difficulty they are brought occasionally to form a Resolution of Expediency only; & when they do pass such a Resolution it is generally either of little Extent as to it's Object, or operative by a Reference to a train of former Resolutions occasionally passed on pressing Emergences, with limited and perhaps different Aspects. Hence every Commissioner is left too much to his own Discretion & Judgment in forming, as it were by Inference, the Rules by which he is to decide on various Matters that come before him. Some have Resolution enough to exercise this Discretionary Power so as to let few Obstacles impede their Progress. Others, more timid, or less inclined to dispatch the Business, boggle at many Things which the former pass pretty easily over, and shelter themselves behind the Letter, or a narrow Construction of some Act of Congress. The Commr. for the Quarter Master's Department,³ seems to be of the latter kind, tho' I believe a well meaning Man; but he is engaged in other Pursuits, being at this Time a sitting Member of the Assembly. The Commr. for the commissary's Department⁴ makes better progress. He is more liberal in the Construction of his Powers, and attends to no other Business. I believe his Conduct is also more acceptable to his Superiors as well as to the Accomptants. I have Reason to believe the Plan will soon be altered so as to form one Office for the Accounts of the 5 Departments, which are now under 5 distinct Heads acting independantly of each other.⁵

The last Election in Pennsa. made considerable Changes in the Legislature.⁶ The Attack on the Bank inflamed the Industry of Mr. Morris &c. They made great Efforts throughout the State. In the City they succeeded by about 1100 to 1000. I was absent & did not meddle with it, tho' I was placed at the Head of the losing Ticket. They had some Success also in other Places, & for some Time the Cry of Victory was

on their side on a Supposition of a decided Majority. The Choice of Speaker & Clerk first convinced them of their Mistake. They still had Hopes that Mr. Morris's masterly Talents in Finance would bear down all Opposition in Business of that kind, which in fact is now the leading Object of Legislation. I had conversed with him on the Subject, & I left Philadelphia in great Expectation of the Parties harmonizing in Measures relating to it, as he agreed with me in the Objects to be accomplished & promised to adopt the Means I had in view as far as his Judgment would permit on a candid Consideration of them. He framed his Plan so as to embrace the Objects I had proposed, even more extensively than I had thought it prudent yet to aim at. But on a Supposition that this would draw in both Sides of the House, and enlist all the Public Creditors in support of his Measures, he made a bold Stroke to restore the Bank by interweaving it into the Machine of the State in such Manner as to make the latter dependant upon it; and, in order to accomodate the Revenues of the State to Bank operations, he proposed such modes of raising Revenues as I conceive are wholly inadmissible even under a british Constitution, much more so under ours. He proposed to abolish our Ordinary Mode of Taxation on Land & Stock, *ad valorem*, and to lay on a Poll Tax of one Dollar per Head on Males fit to bear Arms—A Duty on Flour & Grain exported—The Revenue of Excise to be trebled, and farmed out to the highest Bidder—and an additional Impost on the Import of specified Articles, so high as in my Opinion would either introduce smuggling, or drive the Trade from our Ports to those of our bordering Neighbours. He sent me his Plan, & in polite & even flattering Terms asked my Opinion of it fully and freely. I gave him my Opinion with Frankness & Candor. My Friends in the House asked my Assistance; I gave them all that I could at this Distance. Mr. Morris's Plan was rejected by a large Majority (12 to 5) in the grand Committee of which he was Chairman, and another Plan reported to and adopted by the House, without any Aspect to the Bank, founded on the Revenues established last Year, and pursuing the same Principles of funding then adopted, under a new modification to meet the Requisition of Congress, and extending the Plan to some other Objects which were last year in View but could not then be embraced. Bills were accordingly published for Consideration one for complying with the Requisition of Congress, and another for paying to our own Citizens so much of our Quota of the Contribution as is allowed to be discounted for Interest on the domestic Debt. This is done by opening a State Loan to receive in Certificates of certain Descriptions (such as were admitted under the funding Act of last year) and giving State Certificates on Interest in lieu of them. By which Means the State will be possessed of the original Continental Certificates & can discount the Interest on them at the Continental Loan Office according to the Terms of the Requisition, & the State will then pay the Interest to it's Citizens in it's own

Way & in such Money as it exacts from them in the Collection of Revenues. Mr. Morris's plan proposed this mode of transferring the origl. Certificates also by a State Loan—but he made the Bank the Loan Officer for this Purpose, & the Treasurer for receiving all Revenues & making all Payments from the State: The Plan adopted does all by the ordinary State Officers & leaves the Bank unnoticed. The House adjourned the 27th of Decr. to meet again the 3d Tuesday in February. The Session was lengthy and produced much warm Debate, but did not result [*in*] Business in proportion to the Time expended. By aiming at too much Mr. Morris's Strength declined, and his opponents gained ground. Genl. Wayne & Genl. Hand, who were considered at least as warm if not able Partizans, resigned their Seats towards the Close of the Session. Another (tho' but a simple Vote) also resigned to avoid a Scrutiny on his Election, which it was supposed would not support him. Hands Place is supplied by one on the same side, but the other two will afford contested Elections & the Success of the Parties is at least doubtful, tho' great Industry is used in Hopes of a more Successful Attempt to revive the Bank.

If my Passions were much engaged in Party Matters in Pennsylvania, I should feel some Disgust at the Mode of my re-election to Congress. While it was supposed Mr. Morris & his Friends would have a Majority in the House, they affected to count on me for one of the Delegates. I thought it would look ill in me to refuse under their Choice when I had even left the House of Assembly to serve under the Choice of the other Side. After the House had met & were found to be nearly balanced, various Conferences were held to compound the Choice in such manner as to afford some Gratification to both Parties. Those called Republicans were more particular in expressing their Wishes & Expectations that I should serve, than the others. I did not, it is true, wish to be outvoted, but I really wished to be left out of the Nomination & to remain at home to attend to my own Affairs. I therefore meddled no farther with it than to express this Idea. On the Day of Election, however, The Republicans left me out of their Ticket, and made a strenuous Exertion to carry an entire Set of their own. They succeeded in getting in one (Genl. St. Clair) by 34 out of 63 Votes, and afterwards, by a Manœuvre, got in Mr. Wilson to the exclusion of Dr. Jackson, who, as I have been informed, was jockeyed out of one or two Votes which turned the Scale. Col. Bayard & myself who were highest had but 39.

I know not how far this History of Pennsylvania Politics will be entertaining to you; but we are apt to think our Friends feel an Interest in what we are engaged in. It is, perhaps, well for Mankind, especially in republican Governments, that there are such Dupes as me, who when they are called into the public Service engage in it with all their Might, and sometimes conceit they have the Weight of the State on their Shoulders. I have been drawn in to take a leading Part, and I

have felt an Ambition as well as an Interest to continue till I get certain Points accomplished. The Restoration of Public Credit has been my principal Object. I have the Satisfaction to see it thriving, and by it's being more thrifty in Pennsylvania than in the other States, I cannot but flatter myself I have been of some Use in the Business. If it is a Delusion, it is a pleasing one, and stimulates me to continue my Endeavours. I can perceive the Example of our State operating in divers others, and even in Congress. I hope it's Influence will increase & raise up a spirit of Emulation in every State.

I am persuaded Georgia will profit by your Residence in it.⁷ The State is young, and the People but little informed of the Affairs of the Union, and of their Relationship to the fœderal Family. I hope much from the Information of Mr. Baldwin who spent the last Summer in Congress & set out for Augusta in December. He is a Man of Learning and sterling good Sense. If you are not acquainted with [him], you have a Pleasure to come on which I congratulate you.

You will gratify me much by a renewal of your Correspondence. I wish to learn from you the State of Politics in your Country; and I feel an Interest in the Welfare of your Family and the Success of your Affairs. Present my respectful Remembrances to Mrs Greene, and my Affectionate Regards to George, and believe me sincerely, Your Friend & most obedt. Servant,

Cha. Pettit

RC (MiU-C: Greene Papers).

¹ This letter, which is also dated January 20 and is located in the Greene Papers, MiU-C, reads:

"Dear Sir, You may remember that I informed you last Summer (& I believe I inclosed you a Letter from Mr. DeBerdt on the Subject) that one of the Bills you transmitted to him on my Account for about £180 Sterling would probably be protested. You then mentioned such Circumstances respecting that Bill as gave you a Confidence it would be paid in London, notwithstanding the unpromising appearances I suggested to you; and I was flattered with a Hope that your Confidence was well founded. I have lately received two Letters from my Son which shew that we have been disappointed in our Expectations. The following are extracts from those Letters. Philada. Decr. 29, 1785. 'Mr Hawkins told me a few Days ago the Bill that was returned to Genl. Greene, and which he told you there was a prospect of still being paid, was still unpaid, and Mr. DeBerdt wrote there was no probability that it would be paid.' 16th Jany. 1786. 'Have you heard any thing from Genl Greene about the Bill he sent to Mr DeBerdt which was returned?'

"This Mr. Hawkins was a Clerk to Mr DeBerdt & is now, or is to be, his Partner—his Business in this Country is to make Collections, in which he is industrious & importunate. We owe Mr. DeBerdt some Money, and I am really anxious on various Considerations to discharge it. Having [his order. . .] to contract our Business, & having at the same Time met with various Disappointments (some of which I communicated to you last Summer) we have fallen in Arrears in our Remittances in a Manner that hurts my Sensibility, especially as I am so much engaged in Matters that require a Mind free from other Embarrassmen[ts]. We have lately been taken in by some rascally swindling Jews, which suspends £1000, & will terminate in some Loss, which adds to our other Difficulties. I must intreat you, my dear Sir, to have this Money replaced as early as possible, either in Mr DeBerdt's Hands or ours, together with the Interest & Damages, which I doubt not you will recover from the Drawer of the Bill; the former we are actually pay-

ing, and the latter, tho' the best that can be had, will be short of a Compensation for the Injury we receive by a Disappointment.

"You authorized me to receive some Money from Mr Hooper for a Horse you left in his Care, which, together with the Bills, you supposed would reimburse me for the Bills drawn on me by Mr. Saunders for your Use. I have written & spoke to Mr Hooper on the Subject. I have not his answer now with me, & therefore I cannot give it to you in his Words; but the Amount of it was, that nothing was to be expected on that Account, for Reasons that he had given or would give to you.

"I need not repeat Expressions to convince you of my Necessities, nor can it be necessary to excite your Attention. My sincere Regards attend you & Mrs. Greene, being, Dear Sir, Your Affectionate Friend & Servant, Cha. Pettit."

² This letter to John Mitchell, former deputy quartermaster general, has not been found.

³ William Denning.

⁴ Jonathan Burrall.

⁵ For the development and adoption of this plan, see Nathaniel Gorham to James Warren, March 6, note 1.

⁶ For discussion of the Pennsylvania political scene at this time and the context of the developments recounted here by Pettit, see Brunhouse, *The Revolution in Pennsylvania*, pp. 176–81.

⁷ Greene had just recently established his residence at Mulberry Grove, a confiscated loyalist estate near Savannah, but his Georgia career was destined to be a short one. He died there June 19, 1786. *DAB*.

Rufus King to Winthrop Sargent

New York

22. Jan. 1786

I thank you, my dear sir, for your polite favors of the 20 Ult. and 2 instant, and assure you that I have not ceased to remember the conversations which passed between us when last I saw you, indeed it was too interesting to be forgotten; but no occasion has since presented itself whereby I could have gratified my disposition to promote your Interest. Congress have in contemplation a plan of sending consuls to several parts of Europe, but the system is so undigested and imperfect that it will bear no denomination at present—whether the consuls who may be appointed will receive a fixed Salary, or be empowered to receive fees from the Ships of their country, which may arrive where they reside, or whether they will go out upon the plan of the Dutch consuls who receive neither salary nor Fees, but are the consignees or Factors of their countrymen in the places where they respectively reside, is wholly undecided. The probability is, that they will obtain neither salary nor Fees. I know your commercial antipathies, & fear that nothing in this Line, would meet your approbation, was it obtainable—excepting this employment of consuls, I do not know a single Office under the United States, now vacant, which is worth your attention, unless the Office to which Majr. Slaw was some Time since appointed, and is about leaving, would be.¹

This appointment lies with Genl. Knox, he is your friend—I will converse with him on the subject and write you soon, in the mean Time believe me very sincerely, Your friend & humbl. servt.,

Rufus King

RC (OHi: Sargent Papers).

¹ Sargent (1753–1820), of Gloucester, Mass., a 1771 graduate of Harvard College, had risen to the rank of major in the Continental Army in 1783, and was later appointed secretary of the Northwest Territory in October 1787. *DAB*. Samuel Shaw resigned as secretary in the war office March 4, 1786. The office apparently held no appeal for Sargent, however, and he was appointed Continental surveyor of western lands for New Hampshire June 27, 1786. See *JCC*, 30:100n, 355.

Nathaniel Gorham to George Minot

Sir

New York Jany 23d 1785 [*i.e.*, 1786]

Agreeably to the appointment of the General Court—I have taken my Seat in Congress.¹ I have therefore to request you to inform the Honl House thereof—that they may at their next meeting proceed to the choice of some Gentm. as a Speaker in my room. I am with every possible sentiment of respect for the House, Sir, Your most Huml Servant,

Nathl Gorham

RC (MB: Chamberlain Collection). Addressed: "Mr. George Ricd. Minot, Clerk of the House of Representatives, Boston."

¹ Gorham took his seat in Congress January 17. See *JCC*, 30:20. However, he probably left Boston for New York on December 29, later claiming compensation for "services as a Delegate in Congress" from December 29, 1785 to November 25, 1786, travel time included. Gorham Accounts, December 2, 1786, M–Ar.

In a December 26 letter to Dr. Richard Price, Gorham stated that he was planning to "set off tomorrow with Mr. Hancock the President to take my Seat in Congress" (Miscellaneous MSS, NHi), but Hancock's inability to make the trip apparently delayed his departure.

James Monroe to William Short

Dear Sir

New York Jany. 23. 1786.

Since your arrival in Europe I have receiv'd one letter from you only, & that I found here upon my return from my late excursion westward. I have however frequently heard of you thro' other channels & particularly, young Mr. Adams, in August, & lately by Mr. Franklin.¹ I am happy to hear of yr. health as also of the acquirement

you have made of the french language. Lately in Richmond I saw Sr. Peyton Scypwith. He was well & mention'd you very affectionately. B. Randolph & many other of your friends made very particular enquiries after you also. Wilson Nicholas intends to remain at home a few years, to erect some buildings, improve his estate, & give his seat in the legislature to his brother Jack, whom I also saw in Richmond & who harangues very freely & in the most respectable companies, upon commerce, religion, war & ca. Mercer is in the Assembly, hath a son, & hangs between the bar & politicks with the weight of a wife at his heels. You desire information whether it is the intention of Congress to extend their foreign appointments. At present I believe it is not. The idea seems to prevail that Secretarys of legation are absolutely useless. The motive or cause which originally gave birth to the office in Europe does not apply here. There a nobleman held the office in quality of his rank in the court, tho' destitute of the necessary talents to discharge its duties, in consequence of which it became necessary to appoint a person who did & annex him to the legation, but with us this is not the case. We shall appoint the man, the minister, in consideration of his talents only. Why it hath been adopted at all, arose from a ridiculous & servile imitation of the usages of Europe in the first instances & the last from a cause wh. I cannot explain to you out of cypher.² The only argument in favor of it is, it will teach young men to form ministers themselves, yet I doubt whether this is not rather visionary than real, for I question much whether service in our different publick offices will not be equally or more instructive. Many very important subjects will be before Congress in the course of this winter, particularly the subject of a *mint*, the commerce of the States, a plan of militia, the division & disposition of the western country &ca. As yet we have but 7 States present but expect a full representation in a few weeks. You have heard of the death of our amiable friend Mr. Hardy—his loss is universally lamented, but more particularly felt by myself in the delegation. Let me hear from you when at leasure & believe me sincerely yr. friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe.

P.S. I forgot to mention to Mr. Jefferson that while in the State I heard that his daughter Polly was in good health—that I have Martin attending on me—being inform'd by him he was at liberty to engage for himself.

RC (DLC: William Short Papers).

¹ See Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, January 19, note 3.

² Apparently an allusion to the appointment of William Stephens Smith as secretary to the London legation, for which see Elbridge Gerry to John Adams, March 5, 1785, note 2.

Roger Alden to John Pierce

Sir,¹

Office of Secy of Congress, Jany. 26th, 1786

Mr Thomson directed me to transmit the enclosed papers,² and that Mr Campbell will be referred to You, to receive such papers from them as You may think proper. He has applied for them before—and soon as Mr Thomson was acquainted with it, he left them in the Office to be delivered to Mr Campbell. I think it would have been more polite, for him to have spared some expressions in his note to Mr *Thomson*, because *he* did not know what he wanted from the method in which he made his first application.

Your friend & humble Servant,

R Alden³

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78). Endorsed: "Note—Mr Pierce—of the papers belonging to Mr Campbell."

¹ John Pierce, former paymaster general of the Continental Army, was at this time commissioner for the settlement of army accounts.

² Not identified, but for Capt. Duncan Campbell's efforts to obtain a settlement of his Continental accounts, see *JCC*, 21:787, 28:245, 30:354n, 358, 372n, 632–33, 659–60, 668, 34:537, 627; and *PCC*, item 62, fols. 91, 149.

³ Roger Alden was the deputy secretary of Congress.

Nathan Dane to William Prescott

Sir¹

New York Jany 26. 1786.

I this day received yours of the 14th Instant, inclosing Major Swan's letter; he is right in his Statement of the Affair between him and me, as one of the Committee on the Subject of Eastern lands—the Islands he agreed to purchase not containing so much land as was expected it appears, I suppose, by the admeasurement of them, that he advanced too much; whence, if he is right in the quantity there is to be returned to him £119.2.9—in orders on collectors or sheriffs or £238.5.6 in State notes, and the like from Mr. Phillips. I wish to pay him immediately the ballance to be returned to him tho' by this I shall be in advance to the State on account of that Eastern business. Major Swan appears to leave it optional to pay the £119.5.9 in orders or the £238.5.6 in State notes—it will be most convenient for me to pay him the £238.5.6 in State notes, having a considerable part of them by me and for reasons I have given him. I wish you therefore to take what State notes I have in the house which Mrs. Dane will find in the file of notes and give you and wait on Doctor Fisher with the inclosed letter who I think will lend me notes to make up the sum wanted till I return. I don't wish to trouble Mrs. Dane with buying notes, &c.—get notes

with as little Interest due as you can—and draw, by taking orders on cattalogs what interest you can on my notes—and add the residue of the Interest to the principal &c. I suppose there is no doubt but that you can borrow the Notes necessary to make up the sum of Dr Fisher, if not get them of any of My Friends—Andrew Cabot, &c—to whom they shall be replaced on my return—and as soon as you can obtain the necessary sum pay it to Mr. Swan taking of him the proper receipt. If Mrs. Dane can, without much trouble, buy notes sufficient, with what I have, to make up the said sum of £238.5.6 which I am told can be bought for about six shillings & 4 pence in the pound it would be convenient for me—and raise the money on any of the securities, notes, and bonds, due to me—&c. Farley soon, I think, will pay that order. Your Humble Servant,

N Dane

RC (MHi: Dane Papers). Addressed: "To Wm. Prescott Junr."

¹ William Prescott (1762–1844), a graduate of Harvard College and former schoolmaster, was a lawyer in Beverly, Mass. William Prescott, *The Prescott Memorial: or a Genealogical Memoir of the Prescott Families in America* (1870; reprint ed., Asheville, N.C.: Ward Publishing Co., 1983), pp. 75–76.

South Carolina Delegates to William Moultrie

Sir, New York January 28th. 1786.

Our last to your Excellency of this present month detailed every particular which, occurred to us necessary to be laid before the Legislature.¹ Nothing very material has since taken place.

The Inhabitants of these middle States are embarking with Spirit in the East India trade. Three or four Vessels have either lately sailed, or soon will sail to that part of the World. Our trade there, will be free from an inconvenience to which European connexions expose us, that is, an interference in our Governments. To favor this Commerce, Congress yesterday appointed Major Shaw Consul of the United States to reside at Canton.²

We are informed by Mr Carmichael, that the Emperor of Morocco has lately treated some of our Captive Citizens with more lenity than formerly.³ We fear that this change, has taken place more from motives of policy than those of justice or humanity. To purchase his friendship will be expensive, & perhaps more so, from a few Acts of mercy previous to the commencement of pacific negotiations.

We beg the favor of your Excellency to send us by the first opportunity a certified Copy of the Law of our State under which the Sloop Chester was condemned.⁴ The Minister of the United Netherlands has made repeated remonstrances on this condemnation; a Copy of the

Law is necessary for the information of Congress before an Official answer can be given to his Note on this Subject. We are in possession of the proceedings of the Court of Admiralty but this is incomplete for the purpose desired without a Copy of the Law under which the proceedings of the Court were held.

We have the honor to be, with great respect your most Obedt. and very humble servants,

(Signed) Charles Pinckney

David Ramsay

John Kean

Tr (ScCoAH: Governor's Messages).

¹ Apparently the delegates' comprehensive letter of December 27, 1785.

² John Jay's January 20 recommendation to appoint a consul to reside at Canton, China, and other Asian ports had been read the 23rd. On January 26 Charles Pinckney moved that a consul to Canton be appointed, though without "any Salary, fees, or emoluments of Office," and he nominated for the position Massachusetts merchant Samuel Shaw (1754-1794), who was elected the following day. See *JCC*, 30:25n.2, 28-29; and *PCC*, item 80, 2:125-26, item 190, fol. 5.

³ William Carmichael's July 25 letter with enclosures regarding the Moroccan release of Capt. James Erwin and the crew of the brigantine *Betsy* and their arrival in Cadiz had been submitted to Congress on January 23. See *JCC*, 30:25n.2; *PCC*, item 80, 2:129-30, item 88, fols. 400-421, item 185, 3:148; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-89*, 3:299-302. See also Pierse Long to John Langdon, October 14, 1785, note 6.

⁴ On January 24 Pinckney had been appointed to a committee instructed to examine "the [November 24, 1785] report of the Secy for foreign Affairs. . .relative to the capture of the *Sloop Chester*." The Dutch-owned vessel, which had been seized in June 1777 during a voyage from British Honduras to Rotterdam by the South Carolina privateers *Fair American* and *Experiment* and condemned the following year by the state's court of admiralty, had become the subject of protracted arbitration between Congress and the South Carolina government and Dutch minister Pieter van Berckel and the owners of the sloop represented by Anthony Ameloo and Adrianus Dubbeldemuts. The case had first come before Congress in December 1779 when the committee for foreign affairs directed the first of numerous petitions requesting relief to the standing committee on appeals which took no action. When van Berckel brought diplomatic pressure in November 1783 his request was referred to a committee which reported four times before Congress decided on June 2, 1784, that it could not take up the matter since no appeal from the decree of the South Carolina admiralty court had been "lodged with the secretary of Congress within 40 days." Congress advised the Dutch minister to seek a copy of the proceedings of the state court to determine "whether any and what illegal proceedings were made use of to procure the condemnation." The report was then referred to the Committee of the States which deferred action until the next meeting of Congress. On March 18, 1785, Congress assigned the case to secretary for foreign affairs John Jay who reported November 24 that the South Carolina court should not have proceeded to judgment without allowing the principals to appear and argued that the captors may have violated Article 4 of their bonds which should be put in suit.

When Pinckney's committee reported July 24, 1786, Congress finally empowered the court of appeals in cases of capture to reverse or affirm the South Carolina decree. Alexander Hamilton represented the Dutch owners before the court at its November meeting and the case was heard in April 1787. The court ruled on May 3 that there was insufficient cause to hear the appeal since there was evidence that the *Chester*, originally of British registry, had been sold to the Dutch appellants to avoid capture and that the

vessel would have been condemned despite the irregular procedures of the South Carolina court. See *JCC*, 15:1406, 25:815, 27:400, 509–12, 528, 28:157n, 181n, 30:26n, 262n, 423–24, 31:964; PCC, item 45, fols. 93–255, item 80, 2:325–26, 3:1–3, item 99, fols. 179–88, 241–54, item 120, 2:303, 418, item 124, 1:222–24, item 186, fols. 137, 167, item 190, fols. 19, 22, 80; Records of the Supreme Court of the United States, Record Group 267 (case no. Dall. 41), DNA; *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 3:397–401, 426–27, 431–33, 436–37; Henry J. Bourguignon, *The First Federal Court: The Federal Appellate Prize Court of the American Revolution, 1775–1787*, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* 122 (1977): 293–95; and *The Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Julius Goebel et al., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964–69), 2:892–903. See also Charles Thomson to Moultrie, July 26, 1786, note 3.

Charles Thomson to Joseph Brown

Sir, New York Jany. 28 1786

I had the honor of laying before Congress your letter of 12 Sept last together with the two framed Impressions of Genl Washington & genl Greene, which were well received.¹

There was also delivered to me a box addressed to general Greene of which I have informed him.²

Be pleased to return my respectful Compliments to Doctr. Price.

I am Sr., Your most obedt humble Servt, CT.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Mr Joseph Brown, George Yard, Lombard Street, London."

¹ Brown's September 12 letter to the president of Congress, along with a previous one of May 9 and letters of May 9, 10, and August 3 to Thomson explaining the arrangements he had made to ship these framed prints to New York, are in PCC, item 78, 4:457–76, 485–92. Brown, a merchant and former member of the Common Council of London, hoped that Congress' reception and display of the prints would create a demand for "Eighty or a Hundred" of them at one guinea each. For the referral of the case to Thomson and his report on the subject, see *JCC*, 29:885n, 906.

² See Charles Thomson to Nathanael Greene, December 2, 1785.

Lambert Cadwalader to John Cadwalader

Dear Brother-¹ New York 29 Jan. 1786

On Sunday last I recd. a Letter from Mrs. Dagworthy informing of your Illness in Maryland and that the Danger was so imminent that Dr Jones was gone to your Assistance. I continued in a most painful State of Anxiety from that Time till Friday Evg. when Walterstroff returned to N York from Philada and brought me an Account of your Recovery.

From the Acct. I had recd. of your Situation, which was very alarming, I almost gave myself up to Despair, as I thought there could be no Hope drawn from the Strength of your Constitution in a Case where a

Circumstance of this Kind is so unfavorable. I hope to God you will take great Care of yourself as Persons who have had this Disease are very liable to a Relapse and this in your present State may prove fatal.² I am oftentimes very uneasy about you as I know you rely too much on your Constitution and very often expose it to very severe Tryals without any real Necessity. This may be assigned as the Reason why so many Persons of a strong vigorous Make either do not reach the usual Term of Life or become liable to the most dreadful chronical Diseases.

I send you herewith inclosed the Letters which passed between Mr Jay & Mr Littlepage while *abroad*.³ You have no Doubt seen the first Newspaper Publications wh have given Rise to a most violent Quarrel between them and occasioned considerable Parties in this City. The latter came out just before I got to Town & were so much in Demand that I could not get them, otherwise I would forward them by this Opportunity.

Littlepage is a young Virginian who in the Year 80 went over to Spain recommended to the particular Care & Patronage of Jay who was then at the Court of Madrid. The former being a young Man of Parts and of an ardent Temper could not think himself happy in a State of Retirement with Jay but being desirous of making a Campaign he went to the Siege of Minorca & returned with considerable Eclat. Having made an Acquaintance with several Persons of Distinction on his first Excursion he received Encouragement to go to the Siege of Gibraltar where he distinguishd himself in the grand Attack upon that Place. On this Occasion he became acquainted with all the principal Men of Rank in the Army, particularly the Prince of Nassau with whom he has since been on his Travels thro several Parts of Europe. He came over lately to America with Letters from some of the first Personages in Europe to Congress in his Favor, and expected to have returned with some Testimonials of their Approbation, but Jay having called upon him for the Money he had supplied for his Expences in Europe Littlepage referred him to his uncle, who was his Guardian, for Payment, wh. Jay would have been satisfied with, but hearing there was a Sum of Money in a Merchants Hands in N York belonging to Littlepage, he instantly sued him which brought on the Quarrel. It seems there had been some Difference between them while abroad which Jay could not forgive—Littlepage appealed to the Public, abused Jay personally in the Street & challenged him. The Latter replied with great Sharpness twitting him with the Favors he had recd. of him in Spain. Littlepages letters are written with great Spirit and Accuracy & in a Brilliancy of Style seldom to be met with. Jay's Language is not so pure as I could wish. Of the Merits of the Men you will judge by the Letters I now send you. I think you will see a very unfavorable Portrait of Littlepage who seems to me to possess more Understanding & Abilities than Steadiness, and Rectitude of Mind.

Let me hear from you by Post. My Love to Willy & the Children.
Your ever affectionate, LC

RC (PHi: Cadwalader Papers).

¹ John Cadwalader (1742–86), though raised in Philadelphia, was a resident of Kent County, Md., and had been a member of the Maryland House of Delegates in 1780–82, and of the Maryland Senate in 1783. A cavalry officer at the beginning of the revolution, he had declined an appointment as brigadier general and commander of the Continental Cavalry in 1778. See *DAB; Bio. Dict. of Md. Legis.*; and these *Letters*, 10:625.

² Despite Lambert's hope, John succumbed to this illness on February 10.

³ For the controversy between John Jay and Lewis Littlepage, see Cadwalader to Robert Magaw, December 14, 1785, note 2.

David Ramsay to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir,

New-York. Jany 29th 1786

Will you be so obliging as to inform me when I shall desire my nephew¹ in Charleston to repair to Philada. for the purpose of proposing himself as a candidate for a medical degree. I wish his absence to be as short as possible as my affairs are chiefly in his hands. A vessel is advertised to sail on the 10th of February from this port. Before that period I flatter myself you will be able to ascertain the time when he ought to come & also communicate to me that I may inform him when he ought to be in Philada.

My book has been for some time advertised both in New-York & Philada but the amount of sales is short of my expectation & still farther short of the expences incurred. The sale of five hundred copies is necessary to reimburse my actual advances & seven hundred more must be sold before my contracts can be discharged which I have entered into in order to complete the work. Present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Rush & Doctor Hall² & beleive me to be with great respect your most obliged & very humble servt,

David Ramsay

RC (PPL: Rush Manuscripts).

¹ That is, John Ramsay, son of David's brother William, who received an M.B. from the University of Pennsylvania medical school in 1787 before leaving to study medicine in England. Ramsay, *Writings* (Brunhouse), p. 61n.

² James Hall, Rush's medical partner.

Nathan Dane to John Choate

Dear Sir,¹

New York Jan. 31. 1786.

I at this time improve the privilege of writing to you agreeable to

proposals not so much because I have interesting information to communicate but I wish to promote our correspondence. The general tranquillity that prevails throughout the U States affords but few daily occurrences—and there having been since my arrival here at no time more than seven States assembled in Congress we have been able to form no very interesting determinations—however we have turned our inquiries & Congress its attention in some degree to the important matters which at present attract the attention of the several parts of the Union—and endeavour to put them in a train of Decision. I mean the matters respecting the finances, the Commerce of and unliquidated demands upon the United States—to carry some better federal System of revenue into effect than our present—to regulate our trade on a broad and uniform basis—and to settle those demands of States and individuals upon the union which at present create so much uneasiness & inequality & tend much to obstruct federal measures—are objects in my opinion of the first consequence. Whenever measures are adopted on these heads these subjects that extend to effect the various interests of the States & parts of the Confederacy present & future they undoubtedly ought to be the result of strict laborious enquiry, candid discussion and impartial but deliberate determinations. The present time of peace and leisure is certainly favourable to these objects. The danger is that if we neglect to improve our federal polity in these important points and to adopt some different Systems till compress'd & compelled into the measure by war or a Common danger the states will then act precipitately and adopt undigested measures unequal to the purposes intended or by unguarded expressions give up what they never proposed to do.

We have the good fortune to live in a Country where the people by it's laws and it's polity are Governed by consent and by informing their understandings and fairly convincing them of the Justice, propriety and good policy of the measure to which their assent is requested. Information therefore concerning federal proceedings, the proceedings, reasons, & opinions of indiv. States, and matters of common concernment are not only their due but necessary to the perfection of Government. No people in the world I believe ever adopted the best forms of government best adapted to their genius and circumstances. In the first instance they have been the productions of attention to their effect in administering them to present defects and judicious amendments. The machinery of Social compacts is delicate and cautiously to be touched especially such combined ones as our's. And the greatest danger perhaps we run is that of incorporated in some early period in material part of it the hidden seeds of its destruction. Every combined government has its parts to be ballanced, in which the stress, the secresy, the difficulty of preserving it lies. Had the Romans been attentive to this idea they never would soon after the abolition of the Kingly office admitted plebian leaders an accession to the patri-

cian order and by the allurements of honors inticed them to shift parties. They never would have admitted an uncontrollable executive in a Roman dictator, or military Commands that drew after them the rable, the profligate and the corrupted of the Roman people. Had the Barons of France four hundred years ago reasoned well on this subject they surely would not by their oppressions have forced their tenants to throw their weight into the King's Scale & thereby give him a power that ever since has been, is and probably ever will be uncontrollable. Perhaps accidental circumstances, and hasty assumptions of power first in the King then in the barons and then in the Commons of England, rather than reason & reflection, sounded the alarm & brought forth exertions that have preserved in some degree an equilibrium there. But we have a ballance, an equipoise of power in our Government I think to attend to different from any that has ever appeared in the annals of mankind—a Just division of power between a federal head and the Legislatures of the States. There may be at some future period a Scope for Jealousy and a field for Struggles but I doubt whether there can be much competition at present. It is true Congress hold the weapons of war & the palms of peace—but the respective States hold the purse strings of the Union, the power of creating Congress annually, recalling its members at pleasure and regulating the rewards of their Services. Whence we seldom see a member of Congress depart from the opinion of his State even tho he may be fully convinced that that opinion is founded on mistaken facts and would be given up by the State had it possess'd itself of the true State of things and of the information he has. He will ever harbour doubts whether it is in his power to induce his constituents to alter their opinion & think with him; whence the very honor of members is often concerned in giving their States true information in the first instance and getting early their well founded opinion. However I have but little doubt that it will be always safest to leave the ballance of power inclining in favor of the respective Legislatures it being then not quite so far removed from the people—but powers that have a foreign or Common influence cannot be uniformly ex[er]cised by Legislatures totally independent of each other—nor can they be exercised by Congress to the best advantage of the Community in the mode in which that body at present possesses them. Yet I hold it unsafe even to attempt an alteration in our Confederacy except in those parts where we are pretty clearly convinced of the defects. I feel happy in the reflection the whole confed[er]ation was not submitted to revision as proposed by our State.² Such a measure must have implied more than at first the State might be aware of—that she disliked it in all its parts and had given a kind & legal toleration to every quibbling party to attack it some where & among the variety of the proposed amendments the Community must have

been divided & confused—nor do I think we are ripe for or ought to attempt without further experience any more amendments in the Confederation or federal System radically than are now proposed by investing Congress with the avails of the revenue system of Apr. 18, 1783—by the proposed alteration of the 8th art. of it and by vesting them with well defined powers to regulate trade—either by a perpetual new art in the Confedn. or by temporary laws.

As to another idea that has been started by some that Congress ought to have a controuling power to bring back to their duty the parts of States that may revolt & set up for independence, it is here held by Congress & the best informed Statesmen that the Confedn. is now sufficient for that purpose, that the 2 & 3 articles are a guarantee of the States to each State of it[s] Jurisdiction and territory & when called on are held to assist it agt. any part that may revolt—that the 11 art does not is held by many & I believe will be by all who examine the Confedn. carefully extend to authorise Congress to divide an original State and make a new one out of an acknowledgd part of it. So much aware of this have N. York & Vermont been in their disputes that the principal point contested by them has been whether Vermont has or has not been a part of N. York since N. York became part of the Confederacy. But how shall we carry into full effect the amendments I have hinted at which a majority of the States have adopted as recommended by Congress. This is a work of time & enquiry but would not the perseverance that enabled us to combine & unite several parts of this body politic in 1774-1775 &c against the efforts of Great Britain enable us now to bring over a few little states to understand the Common good of the whole. The States make no difficulty about the Contl impost except R. Island, which has adopted it partially, N. York & Georgia, which stand out. We are informed that one man in Georgia has had the influence principally to prevent it's passing there whose conduct is disagreeable to the people & the grand Juries have generally indicted their assembly as guilty of a dangerous evil for not adopting it. This State is divided in opinion and the opposers of the System must be hard pressed soon by the States of N. Jersey & Connectt. Congress have it in contemplation in a few days to make a pressing application to their Legislature now setting on this head. It is thought the rest of States will accede to the proposed alteration of the 8th Art. of the confederation without difficulty execept N. Hampshire & R. Island about which there are some doubts. All the States have vested Congress with a large Coml. power as they recomd. by their resolve of Apr. 30, 1784, except N. Jersey, Delaware, So. Carolina & Georgia.³ *(N. Jersey has not done it at present because as it is said their powers are not extensive enough. The gentlemen who come from S. Carolina say they are willg to confine their carrying trade to Am[erica]n bottoms sub modo, that is to lay a*

heavy tonnage & light duty on foreign vessels coming to their ports & light ones on Amn. vessels but don't wish the Northern States to have it in their power to monopolize the whole carrying trade of the Southern ones on any terms the carriers may please to make). However they rather think their State will comply with the recommendation. I hope our State will not think of rejecting the late requisition of Congress, if so respectable and so federal a State as Massa. does, A number of States will think themselves quite excused for not complying with it—no State as yet has rejected it—but several have adopted it. I should be very sorry if federal measures in our State should be impeded because some State demands are not settled. To obtain a vote in Cong. for the late requis[ition]—our State & others were obliged here to croud on the Southern States who Complain loudly of unsettled accounts. But my letter would be too tediously long to detain you with many observations that might be made on this head. I have written to Capt Wales on the matters of accounts giving a genl view of yours. Be kind enough Sir to give my best respects to your Kinsman the Hon. Dr. Choate. I should have done myself the honor of writing to him but I am unexpectedly prevented by this post.

With respect & esteem your Sincere friend & Humble Servant,
N. Dane.

FC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). In the hand of Nathan Dane.

¹ John Choate (1737–91) of Ipswich, Mass., was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1781, 1783, 1785–86, 1788, a justice of the sessions court, and subsequently a delegate to the state convention of January 1788 which ratified the federal constitution. E. O. Jameson, *The Choates in America, 1643–1896* (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1896), pp. 65–66.

² For the Massachusetts delegates' failure to submit to Congress the assembly's request for a revision of the Articles of Confederation as instructed, see Massachusetts Delegates to James Bowdoin, August 18, note 2, and September 3, 1785.

³ See *JCC*, 30:10.

Nathan Dane to Jacob Wales

Dear Sir¹

N. York. Jan. 31. 1786.

When I left Boston we proposed I remembered to let each other know what should be doing in our respective Situations. I feel pleased with an opportunity to perform on my part—so far as I can by suggesting to your consideration some things on a subject interesting to the States and will probably be kept in view. I mean the subject of Public accounts by the present unsettled situation of the proposition of Massa. respecting the revision of the Confederation havg rec'd no notice what the State did on that subject the last Session I am this day naturally led into some observations in a letter to my friend Jno.



Nathan Dane

Choate relative thereto & some other federal affairs. The present State of the last requisition of Congress in Massa. and from a few objections I heard made by some gentlemen to passing or complying with it in that State because certain public accounts were not settled and certain Demands as yet allowed by Congress, has Induced me to pay close attention to those subjects the short time I have been here. I am persuaded had those gentlemen who make those objections the information one here can obtain and a true idea of the State of public accounts they would not make them. We entered into the late war while our governments were unorganised, untried and unsettled—the affairs of the States were in the hands of Congress, thirteen Legislatures or State assemblies and a variety of Committees &c. The business of our defence of raising troops, supplying them, arming them, &c fell of course into the hands of Committees & men new in the business assigned them—of necessity often shifted & obliged to purchase as they could. States and Counties & towns often attacked or threatened by the savages or the British were obliged to save themselves and the parts of the Confederacy to arm, supply, and defend themselves agt. the immeda. danger as they could and not pursuant to the requisitions of Congress or perhaps there was no requisition existing that reach their Case *(some Counties so divided in some States into Whigs & Tories that a third power was necessary to turn the ballance)*. The hardships of our army were great at times whence it became necessary to give large bounties to induce men to go into the field—some States were too weak, & too much oppressed by the distresses of the war to supply punctually their quotas of men and money others perhaps too neglect whence a third Class of States were obliged to hire men &c at a high & unequal rate to supply the deficiencies of theirs.

From these and other Causes the late war was immensely expensive to America—an expence annually that at any future time may keep 100,000 men in the field. The expence has been a constant inequality and it is an arduous task to restore a tolerable equality. 241,562,775 old Emission dollars issued from the Continental Treasury—36,000,000 before there was any depreciation. The worth of the whole sum issued estimated by the Contl Scale of depreciation at the times it respectively issued amounted in silver to the sum of 65,000,000 dollars nearly 122,000,000 of which paper dollars by the two requisitions for sinking that money hath been redeemed & paid in to the Contl treasury worth estimated by the same scale at the times of payment not exceeding 4,000,000 silver dollars—whence of that kind of money to the amount of 61,000,000 silver dollars comparing the values when issued &c in part redeemed remains sunk in the hands of individuals to the amount of about 1,000,000 of which remains as a surplusage a burden on Massa. whence to the amount of 60,000,000 silver dollars has sunk in the hands and fell as a burden on the individual holders. On what States or Counties or towns the loss of this last men'd sum fell most

heavily is difficult to say probably on the Northern States where it long retained at all stages of it its value & met with receivers of it. The 4,427,470 dollars new Emission that issued in exchange for the old and the states that rec'd it could be no losers—another inequality was occasioned by the old money the States as R. Island, Pennsyla., & N. Carolina who made out their accounts of supplies & services & got their pay early before money depreciated—gained great advantages that we and some other States lost—but it so happens that some of the states whose interest is with ours in this instance is against ours in the redemption of that money. Some States as Virginia issued such immense quantities of State paper money that that and Contl paper sunk to nothing almost together so far that it passed I think at a 1,000 for 1—so that the continental money which died in the hands of their Citizens cost them little or nothing—and on this score of paper money the States all seem to agree we have Just demands that the money remaining in our hands ought to be redeemed but at what rate is the question, the various ideas of the States are according generally as they voted the money when it died from 75 to 1,000 for 1. One or two held to the Contract of Congress of 40 for 1—but this money is but one source of inequality among many to be settled. We say that our sea Coast men were a great expence, our Penob. expedition, that we furnished the army with men to supply in some the difficiencies of other States at 300 dollars a man, that our militia received no depreciation—that fixing the prices of specific articles supplied the army under the requisitions of Feb. 25, 1780 & Nov. 4, 1780² the estimate was made to our disadvantage but other States appear to themselves to have demands they say that make your Cause good—that every State has exerted it self in some way or other—& has great demands for services & supplies, that the whole accounts must be settled together. Connecticut urges that her territories lie near the Enemy for many years whereby her Citizens were harrassed & her militia often in arms. N. York, the Jerseys, Virginia, the Carolinas & Georgia say from the year 1776 to the Close of the war their subjects & militia were never scarcely at rest what of the Savages on one side and the British on the other—if they were feeble in their defence it was not their fault but their misfortune whence they say they expended immense sums in paying their militia who acted in repelling the Common danger as well as their own for which they have no legal demands on the Union by virtue of the resolves of Congress not being furnished pursuant to their immeda. request but from the necessity of the Case & founded only in equity. Virginia has an account of more than 10,000,000 drs. regularly kept, the Jerseys & the Carolinas large accounts. Other States for the like services have kept no acco[unt]s—I believe Massa., Connecticut & N. York have not—the States that have kept these accos. often bring them forward. Motions are made that Comrs. be

authd. to settle them and they seem sometimes disposed to oppose all requisitions & federal measures unless they can be allowed these demands. Massachusetts, N Hamr. & some other states return the general argument that the demands must be all taken up tog[ethe]r—if at all, that there is no equity in a partial allowance of them. Tho these Claims in their nature may be some what similar to ours on acco. of sea coasts men & Penobt. expedn. yet our Claims on acco. of the old money and extra bounties given to men beyond our quota in actual service are within the purview of the Resolves of Congr.—but the States who do not see their way clear to acknowledge the accounts of Virginia & others like them go further & say there apparently was no economy in their expenditures if just in part that the States which make such Claims for supplies to & services of militia &c did not comply with the requisitions of Congress. Had they done it there would not have been occasion for such supplies & militia services—that they suffered property to be taken by distress for the army which they ought to have collected by lawful assessments but these things they deny in turn & the debates are of but little effect. They urge that indiff. men be appd. to settle all the demands of the States which arose during the late war in equity and good Conscience that this is reasona. & that it is an arg[umen]t agt. some States that they think the ballance would be against them o[the]rwise they would agree to such an appointt. The answer of those States is that it has been the uniform conduct of Congress not to allow any State the expence she was carried to incurr in her own immeda. defence not pursuant to the requisitions of Congress—and that therefore some States have kept no acco. of such expences & must consequently suffer—by such an appointt.—that an unthought of debt and unjust one because unequ[a]l would be brot upon the Confederacy. Many other things are said argued about State demands, they give Congr. much uneasiness. The voice of nine States in 13 is required on all the matters almost to carry any measure and as there are not often more than 11 or 12 States on the floor they must be nearly unanimous to effect any thing. But I think every possible Step will be taken to adjust these demands that have such a tendency to impede our measures. Considering therefore these demands of the Several States are the result of a glorious war of necessary & particular exertions and the unavoidable confusion in the measures of a people passing from one government to another, shall we say, shall each State say here we'll pause, here we'll Stop the wheels of Govern. here we'll put an end to paying just demands on the Union for interest or service till our demands are allowed by the Govern. formed of the States parties on the whole by that Govern. which by our pause, our checks, we have unhinged—but these are things I could not believe did I not hear men declare it to be their determination—if such men understood the nature of these demands and the

extent of them in the several parts of the union & will compared [*sic*] political evils, I think they would soon alter their opinion—that we ought vigorously to push our demands on the union every possible opportunity. There can be no doubt but it is too early to take desperate measures to right ourselves. Other States will catch at the example and we shall bring ruin on our own heads independent of dissolving the federal Govern^t & embroiling ourselves in numberless quarrels with each other & exposing ourselves to every foreign power. We have a large proportion of the Continental securities in our State on which the So. States often complain they are paying us interest on the nominal value. If we by an imprudent step should imbarass the requisition or means of supplying the federal Chest we ourselves shall suffer most—but it may be asked what shall we do with 3 or 4 weak or obstinate States who contribute nothing scarcely to that chest. My answer is persevere in working the society into health and order cautiously but industriously proceeding in ascertaining and defining the powers of the bodies & persons who govern and the rights of the governed—and the day must come when the delinquent States must be shaken off and left to their misfortunes or they must be compelled to fulfil their several engagements & pay their quotas. But they visibly feel their dependence on & advantages in being connected with the others & are I believe endeavouring to be less diffident than they have been.

I have Sir in this letter reposed that confidence I ought & have written on this subject openly & freely. With esteem & respect, Your Humble Servant,
N. Dane³

FC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). In the hand of Nathan Dane. Addressed: "Capt. Wales."

¹ Jacob Wales (1746–1821), a captain in the 10th Massachusetts Regiment, 1777–1780, was a resident of Winchendon, Worcester Co., Mass. Heitman, *Historical Register*, p. 414; and *Vital Records of Winchendon, Massachusetts* (Worcester, Mass.: Franklin P. Rice, 1909), p. 218.

² See *JCC*, 16:196–200, 18:1011–18.

³ This day Dane's colleague Theodore Sedgwick, who had just returned to his home at Stockbridge, also wrote a letter to the Boston merchant Caleb Davis containing the following passage on Continental issues.

"I am just returned from New York. The delegates of this Commonwealth have yet done nothing respecting the instructions of the General court which were designed to procure a revision of the articles of Confederation, the reasons of the delegation of the last year are particularly stated in their letter on that subject. Whether those reasons are or are not conclusive the general court will determine. But can it be the wish of the general Court to submit whether the great Outlines of the feoderal constitution founded in democratical principles shall be subjected to a *chance of alteration*? and may not laying the subject open to free discussion give birth to new hopes of an aristocratical faction which every community possesses? I only propose these queries to your private consideration & make them to you in perfect confidence. At the same time I am as clearly of opinion as any one can be that it is greatly the Interest of the northern States, that Congress should be impowered to regulate our commerce, without it I do not see indeed that we can possibly be protected at home or respected abroad." Davis Papers, MHi.

David Ramsay to Certain States

Sir, New York January 31st. 1786.¹

In conformity to the resolution enclosed it becomes my duty to write to the Executives of the several States which are at present unrepresented in Congress.²

Three months of the federal year are now compleated and in that whole period no more than seven States have at any one time been represented. No question excepting that of adjourning from day to day can be carried without perfect Unanimity. The extreme difficulty of framing Resolutions against which no exception can be taken by any one State, can scarcely be conceived but by those whose unfortunate situation had led them to experience the perplexing embarrassment. Was the convenience of the present members only concerned your Excellency would not have been troubled with this Letter. Sorry I am to add that the most essential interests of the United States suffer from the same cause. The languishing State of public credit is notorious both in Europe and America. What an additional wound must be given to it when it is known that no plans can be made for the payment of our debts, without the Unanimous Consent of Nine States, and that only seven States have yet come forward with a representation. The disposition of our Western territory, An American Coinage, Commercial arrangements with European powers, particularly great Britain, and a variety of other matters are of immense and pressing importance, but for want of an additional number of States nothing can be done.

I forbear to mention to your Excellency that even in private life where two persons agree to meet at a given time and place for the adjustment of their common concerns, the one who attends has a right to complain that he is not treated with common politeness by the other who breaks his appointment. I say nothing of unequal burden imposed on the States who are present. They incur a heavy expence to maintain their delegates, and this expence is rendered inefficient, because that out of the other six no two have come forward to concur with them in dispatching the public business. Least of all would I insinuate that the present States might be justified in resolving that as they had attended three months to no purpose they would in their turn relinquish the public service, and leave the other States should they come on, to suffer a similar mortification to what they have long experienced of meeting and adjourning from day to day without having it in their power to enter on the most important and pressing national business.

The remissness of the States in keeping up a representation in Congress naturally tends to annihilate our Confederation. That once dis-

solved our State establishments would be of Short duration. Anarchy, or intestine wars would follow till some future Cæsar Seized our Liberties, or we would be the sport of European politics and perhaps parcelled out as appendages to their several Governments.

In behalf of Congress in the Chair of which I at present have the honor to sit I beseech your Excellency by the regard you have for our federal Government to use your utmost endeavours to induce the delegates of your State to give their immediate attendance in Congress.

I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient and Most humble Servant.

David Ramsay

RC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). Addressed: "His Excellency the Governor of North Carolina."

¹ The copies of this letter that Chairman Ramsay directed to Delaware, Georgia, and Rhode Island are dated February 1. Executive Papers, De-Ar; Feinstone Collection, PWasD; Letters to Governors, R-Ar.

² The enclosed January 30 resolution directed Ramsay to write "the Executives of the States of Rhode Island, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia." *JCC*, 30:29. For the recent attendance of the delegates, see also Charles Thomson to the States, February 1.

Rufus King to John Adams

Dear Sir

New York 1. Feb. 1786

Seven States only have been represented in congress since October, of consequence very few questions of national importance have been under the examination of this Assembly. The meetings of the Legislatures have probably detained many of the Delegates, but it is expected, that Ten States will, within a short period, be represented. There is some ground to expect that several of the Southern States will do what is right on the subject of the commercial powers of congress. I inclose a Report made by the Secretary, some weeks since in pursuance of an order of congress for that purpose.¹ It explains itself, and will give you true information upon several very important points.

New York & Georgia are delinquent States relative to the Revenue system—their Legislatures are both in Session, and it is greatly to be desired that they should comply with the impost plan, before they adjourn. Maryland will undoubtedly pass an Act granting the impost conformable to the Recommendation of congress of the 18th of April 1783. Their not having before passed such an Act, does not evidence any disinclination, because it is known to have happened from a mistake.

I shall do myself the Honor to write to you by a private hand, who leaves this City in a few weeks for London—the conveyance being secure I can then write with more freedom. Mr. Gerry is still here, although not in congress, he returns soon to Massachusetts with a most amiable Wife, whom he has married here.

With perfect respect & esteem I have the honor to be my Dear Sir
your most obedient servant, Rufus King

RC (MHi: Adams Family Papers).

1. See Charles Thomson to the States, January 12, note.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, February 1st. 1786

In obedience to the order of Congress I herewith transmit to your Excellency, to be communicated to the Legislature, a state of the representation for the last month.¹ I am sorry that this goes unaccompanied with any Journals of the proceedings of Congress. So few States have attended that for these three months past little has been done besides adjourning from day to day.

On the 30th of last month the States present impressed with the urgency and importance of the several objects of general concern which demand the immediate attention of the United States in Congress Assembled, directed their Chairman to write to the Executives of the States of Rhode-Island, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, to state to them the inconveniencies arising from a want of a sufficient number of States to proceed on the business of the Union and earnestly press them to send on their Delegates immediately.²

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be Your Excellency's
&c. CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For this enclosure and the 11 other monthly attendance lists sent to the states during the Congress of 1785–86, see Appendix.

² See David Ramsay to the States, January 31.

Charles Thomson to John Wingrove

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, Feby 2. 1786

In Answer to your letter of the 29 November last, I have it in Charge to inform you, that a standing resolution of Congress passed the 16

March 1784 prevents a compliance with your wishes.¹ For your further satisfaction I enclose you a copy of the report of the comee. to whom your letter was referred.² I am Sr with much respect yr &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For Wingrove's letter to Congress and the congressional resolve to which Thomson refers, see *JCC*, 26:144; and Charles Pettit to John Jay, December 30, 1785.

² See *ibid.*, note 3.

Rufus King to John Adams

Sir

New York 3 Feb. 1786

Mr Wingrove who some months since arrived here from England with a recommendation from you to Mr. Jay, submitted to congress a plan for an american commercial establishment in the East Indies—the project was referred to a committee of congress, who were of Opinion that the commercial intercourse between the United States and India would be more prosperous if left unfettered in the hands of private adventurers, than if regulated by any system of a national complexion. The opinion received the approbation of congress, and of consequence Mr. Wingrove is frustrated in his project of an India Establishment.¹

I am extremely sorry that Mr. Wingrove has made an expensive Voyage without benefit, and the more so as he appears to be modest, and intelligent. He has been well esteemed by several Gentlemen of congress, to whom he has been presented—and it is with sincerity that on his request I have written the foregoing—and am with every Sentiment of Respect Dear Sir Your obt. servt.,

Rufus King

RC (MHi: Adams Family Papers).

¹ For Adams' recommendation of John Wingrove, and the congressional response to Wingrove's plan to promote American commercial interests in the East Indies, see Charles Pettit to John Jay, December 30, 1785; and the preceding entry.

Charles Thomson to Samuel Bryan

Sir

Office of Secretary of Congress, [February 3, 1786]¹

I have received your letter without date² together with the box containing twelve setts of the laws of Pensylvania viz the bound volumes containing the laws from the declaration of Independence to Oct

1781 & the three pamphlets containing those passed in 1784 & 1785 beginning with ch 163 and continuing to ch 242 inclusive. As it is the design of Congress that one set of the laws of each state should be retained for the use of Congress, & that the legislatures of the other 12 states should each be furnished with a set, I must request the favour of you to send me another set, and as I wish to have the copy in this Office compleat, I shall be much obliged if you can possibly procure & send me a copy of the laws that passed from Oct 1781 to ch 163 with which the first pamphlet begins.³

I am Sr

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ Date supplied from the preceding entry in Thomson's letterbook, his letter to James Mott of this date, which was entered on the same page above this letter to Bryan.

² This letter, signed "Saml. Bryan, Clerk of the Genl. Assembly of Pennsylvania," is in PCC, item 69, 2:511-14.

³ See also Thomson to John Bayard, January 13, 1786.

Charles Thomson to James Mott

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, Feby. 3. 1786

I have received your letter of the 24th of Jany with the box containing 13 Volumes of the bound edition of the laws of your State and 13 setts of three pamphlets containing laws passed in 1784 & 1785 beginning with ch. 32 and continued to ch. 114 inclusive.¹ As I wish to have the copy in this office compleat I shall be much obliged, if you cannot send 13 copies, at least if you send me one of the laws wanting namely those preceding ch 32.²

I am, Sir, Your obedient humble Servt,

C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Mr James Mott, treasr. New Jersey."

¹ Mott's January 24 letter enclosing these volumes is in PCC, item 68, fols. 661-64.

² Responding to Thomson on February 13, Mott explained that the sets of New Jersey laws he had sent were actually complete and that Thomson had been misled by the ambiguous numbering system adopted by the legislature. *Ibid.*, fols. 665-66. And Thomson acknowledged Mott's explanation in the following brief February 24 reply. "I have received your Letter of the 13th and am pleased to find your Laws complete. My mistake was occasioned by the Numbers in the Pamphlet commencing at 32." PCC, item 18B, fol. 25.

Mott also sent additional installments of New Jersey laws following the next two sessions of the legislature with letters dated May 20 and July 14, which Thomson acknowledged on May 29 and July 18, for which see PCC, item 68, fols. 671-74, 679-82, item 18B, fols. 54, 75.

Nathan Dane to Samuel Holten

Sir.

New York Feby. 4. 1786.

I had the honor, on the 1st Inst., of receiving yours of Decr. 6 Ult^o. by Capt Landais. Your letter introducing him to me is quite sufficient to entitle him to my notice and attention. It was very unfortunate for him to have his Conduct examined and decided upon by gentlemen who were so particularly circumstanced, as, at least, to appear, to be interested in criminating him.

I should do myself the honor and pleasure, Sir, to proceed to give you some accounts of affairs here, had I any thing new or worthy your notice to write. Having had only seven States assembled in Congress, at any time since I arrived here, until last Tuesday—Congress has completed no business of importance. We begin now to bring into consideration the more interesting affairs of the Union, and to put them in a train for decision.

I am Sir, with much esteem & respect, Your Obedt. Humbl. Servant,
N Dane.

RC (NN: Emmet Collection, no. 9405).

Rufus King to James Bowdoin

Sir

New York 5th Feb. 1786

I do myself the Honor to transmit to your excellency, a copy of an instruction of congress to Mr. Adams, relative to the subject communicated to the Delegates of Massachusetts by your excellency's Letter of the 4th of November last;¹ and am with perfect Respect, your excellency's most obt. Servt.

Rufus King

RC (TxU: Hanley Collection).

¹ For this instruction to John Adams, concerning the British confiscation of the property of several Boston merchants in 1775 and 1776, see *JCC*, 30:31–34. Bowdoin's November 4 letter to the Massachusetts delegates, with the petition of the Boston merchants and voluminous supporting accounts, inventories, and affidavits, are in *PCC*, item 74, fols. 231–345. The instruction was not actually sent to Adams by John Jay until February 22, for which see *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:515–25.

Samuel Livermore to John Langdon

Dear sir,

New York 5th Feb. 1786.

By the vote of the genl court of November last for supporting your

delegates in congress it is provided that the President shall draw orders on the treasury &ca. I suppose it was intended that the delegates should draw their orders on the President, and that the president should, on such orders or bills being presented to him, refer the same to the treasury for payment. Upon this plan I shall take the liberty to draw a bill on your Excellency for 150 dollars as soon as I shall be able to find a purchaser, making such bill payable on or about the first day of March, at which period, that sum and more will become due, according to the tenor of the aforesaid vote. My cash is in a manner expended—and a delegate cant live here (*with credit*) without plenty of cash.

I have nothing new—eight States in Congress—Mr Ramsy chairman—Mr Hancock not arrived. I expect this will find you in Session with the genl Court and wish you great success in the publick business.

I am Your Excellencys most obedt servant, Sam Livermore

RC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

John Bayard to John Nicholson

My Dear Sir

New York Feby. 8th. 1786

My Son James forwarded me your Letter of the 3d Inst. I have not been unmindfull of the Debt, I owe the State for Duties, it has lain as a heavy weight on my Mind, & I have been steadily attempting to fall on some plan to discharge it, but hitherto all my endeavours have proved ineffectual. I was in hopes long before this to have been able to take up on Interest a sum of Money for this and other purposes. I also depended on receiving a large sum from Carolina but am disappointed in both. You may recollect I requested you to enquire for me & engage monies for this purpose. I am very sensible My Dear Sir of your former kindness in not pressing payment nor exposing to the public my being in Arrears, at a time when party Rage might have made it injurious. I can truly say it is my most earnest wish to discharge this debt as soon as in my power. But My losses in the Vendue Business, together with my having my whole Capital locked up in the public Funds prevents me. I have now near three Years Interest due on my Loan Office Certificates, wch. amots. to £800 P Ann. & a Large sum wch. I expect from Carolina &—I believe between two or three thousand pounds would pay all I owe in the World—thus circumstanced what can I do. I am willing to Mortgage any part of my real Estate, or my Certificates, to produce the money.

I know your situation is delicate nor would I wish You from Freindship to me to do any thing that would subject you to censure or a Neglect of Your Duty as a public Officer—but if the Money can be ob-

tained on any equitable plan, I will most cheerfully embrace it. I am told there is yet remaining between £5000 & £6000, of our late Emission that has not been taken out of the Loan Office by our Back Counties—wch. will be to be Lett without the restriction mentioned in the Law.

I would gladly take up £1000 or £1500 of this money & mortgage my House in Arch Street. Pray let me beg your freindly Inter[cession] with the Loan Officers in this Matter.

I shall be glad of a Letter from you in answer to this by post¹ & be Assured I shall ever entertain a gratefull sense of Your freindship to me on this Occasion.

I am My Dear sir, Your Sincere Freind, John Bayard

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ For Nicholson's March 4 response, see Bayard to Nicholson, March 11.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York Feby. 9. 1786.

I have recd. yours of the day subsequent to the adjournment of the assembly.¹ Since my last the subject of the impost has been taken up; a report made on it some time last year was recommitted & a report being brought in to the following effect viz: that it be earnestly recommended to the States of New York & Georgia, the only States who have fail'd in some degree or other to comply with the recommendation of the 18th of April 1783, to take it into their immediate Consideration, especially that part wh. respects the impost, & to comply with the same²—stating Further that the plans authoriz'd by the confideration have fail'd or are highly inexpedient, viz: requisitions, loans, or emissions of paper bills of credit. It implies a relinquishment of the supplementary funds, and admits the necessity of a further reference to the States & especially R I. to extend their powers upon that subject so as to come up to the recommendation—being taken up it was delay'd & protracted by its advocates, particularly Mr. Pinckney & ultimately (there being but 7 States present for it) postpon'd to take up a motion of his own, to the same effect, but in different language; this is now under consideration & will probably pass to day.³ This subject hath imploy'd Congress for several days, so that nothing else hath been before them since the arrival of Mr. Lee.⁴

I have confer'd with Mr. Scott upon the subject of his lands upon the Mohawk river.⁵ I enclose you a draft of a patent in wh. he owns an undivided right to about 8,000 acres. He wishes to sell—his terms are, in short payments, by wh. he means abt. one third immediately & the other two thirds in annual payments 20/ New York currency. I have heard that similar lands may be obtain'd still cheaper, even of the

same tract—but of this I am not yet ascertain'd. I believe it will make no difference as to the quantity in the price. He has he says given orders to his agents to dispose of none untill I hear from you. If you are inclin'd to purchase & can spare the time I think you had better come here since perhaps you woud. be able to make a better bargain than any of yr. friends; he says he will have the land divided & sell if you prefer tracts ascertain'd; but I understand this woud. in case you had yr. election, raise a few shillings the price. If you shod. decline coming I need not inform you that you may command to any purpose you may please any services I can render you. In this instance you had better associate with me Colo. Grayson who will probably be here in a few days. Yr. affey,
Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ For Madison's letter of January 22, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 8:482–84.

² In response to John Francis Mercer's motion of December 17, 1784, to consider measures for carrying into effect Congress' recommendation of April 1783 for a 5% impost, Congress had appointed a committee on which Monroe served that had reported March 15, 1785, although no action was taken at that time. The committee's report was recommitted on January 27, 1786, to a new committee chaired by Monroe which recommended that the non-complying states of New York and Georgia be urged to take the impost into "immediate consideration." See *JCC*, 28:162, 30:44–49; and *PCC*, item 24, fol. 124, item 190, fol. 81.

Before an entreaty could be sent to Georgia governor Edward Telfair, however, ex-delegate Abraham Baldwin, who had left New York in December, reported to Secretary Thomson on February 14 "that the State of Georgia has at length taken up the subjects which have been so long and so frequently recommended by Congress." Not only had the legislature passed an act "vesting congress with powers to levy the 5 per cent impost," but it also addressed the problems of keeping a full representation in Congress, altering the 8th article of Confederation, meeting the requisitions of 1782, 1784, and 1785, supplying a supplementary fund, providing for disabled soldiers and sailors, conforming with provisions regarding state loan officers, and printing copies of its legislation to be distributed to the states. The legislature, however, chose to defer the cession of its western lands until "the dispute between this state and South Carolina was settled and the accounts of the late war finally adjusted." It also decided not to "enter the lists" on Congress' request of April 30, 1784, for authority to regulate foreign commerce until the result of the appeal to alter the 8th article of Confederation was known. Baldwin assured Thomson that "the strength and influence in this state is most decidedly in favour of liberal measures to support our national character and policy. In riding through the different states on my return I was fully convinced that the same disposition generally pervades them. There is no place where the clashing of state interests is so strongly marked as on the floor of Congress. There is scarcely a measure that can be carried in congress which cannot also be carried with the legislatures, if a few individuals could be selected in each who should feel themselves in some measure responsible for the state, and would go through the labours of bringing them to a decision." Baldwin concluded that private business and interests often crowded federal measures from the legislative docket and that without local sponsorship the latter "fall from neglect." Thomson Papers, DLC.

³ No action was taken this day, but Charles Pinckney's motion had been considered February 7 and 8. *JCC*, 30:49–54. During the course of debate on the 8th the board of treasury reported on a note and letter of November 30, 1785, from French chargé d'affaires Louis Guillaume Otto to secretary for foreign affairs John Jay regarding U.S. indebtedness to France. Jay had submitted both documents to Congress on December 28

and they were referred to the board on the 29th. After considering the board's report on February 8 Congress referred it, Pinckney's motion, and Monroe's February 3 report to a new committee, consisting of Rufus King, Pinckney, John Kean, Monroe, and Charles Pettit, which reported February 13. On the 15th Congress adopted its proposal "that the resolves. . . of the 18th of April, 1783, recommending a general system of revenue, be again presented to the consideration of the Legislatures of the several States, which have not fully complied with the same." But Congress also warned the states of the danger involved in not adopting a sound revenue system: "the most fatal evils will inevitably flow from a breach of public faith, pledged by solemn contract, and a violation of those principles of justice, which are the only solid basis of the honor and prosperity of Nations." See *JCC*, 30:54–59, 62–68, 70–76, 958; *PCC*, item 120, fols. 2–29, item 185, 2:148, item 190, fols. 78, 82; *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 1:192–98; and Charles Thomson to the States, February 15, 1786.

To placate the French chargé, Pinckney moved on March 1, according to Charles Thomson's committee book, that Jay notify Otto "that C have rcd. his late Meml. &c." The editors of the printed journal mistakenly assumed that "the business was that of a postal convention between the United States and France," apparently based on Otto's November 28 communication which Congress dealt with on February 25 and again on March 29. But Jay's March 9 report, which is not in *JCC*, makes it very clear that the "Meml. &c." were those of November 30, 1785. The secretary for foreign affairs repeated Pinckney's full motion which was meant to reassure the French court that Congress had its indebtedness to France "under their Consideration, and that they will use every Endeavour to comply fully with their public Engagements." Jay counseled, however, that "it will always be more proper to convey what Congress may think proper to communicate to a foreign Sovereign through their own Minister at his Court than through his Minister residing at theirs." He therefore proposed that copies of Otto's November 30 communications be sent to Thomas Jefferson, "with orders to assure his most Christian Majesty that Congress are using their utmost Endeavours to fulfil all their Engagements, and that altho they regard all the public Creditors with an equal eye, yet as they find themselves particularly called upon by Gratitude as well as Justice to convince his Majesty of their Regard for both, they are determined to make the stipulated Payments with as much Punctuality and as little Delay, as circumstances not in their power to controul, may permit." Jay further suggested that he be given permission "to acquaint Mr. Otto with the Substance of the above Instruction that he may be relieved from the anxiety which the apparent Silence of Congress on the subject would naturally give him." There is no evidence that Congress responded to Jay's suggestion, but it referred his report to a committee consisting of Pinckney, Rufus King and John Laurance that had been appointed March 2 to consider the Board of Treasury's report of "17 July" (i.e. July 30, 1785) on a note from the marquis de Barbé-Marbois concerning French loans and on the board's recent February 8 report on Otto's communications. The committee was discharged on April 10, however, and its documents referred back to the board of treasury, which does not appear to have issued a specific report in response, but warned instead in its June 22 report on the requisitions for 1786 that "we consider it merely as an expedient to evince the dispositions of Congress to do all the Justice in their power to their Foreign and Domestic Creditors, 'till the States feel the absolute necessity there is of furnishing the United States with adequate means to Support their Rank and Character as a Nation." See *JCC*, 29:599–606, 30:80–82, 90, 108n, 141–44, 366; *PCC*, item 124, 1:280–81, item 190, fols. 86, 88, 94; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 1:184–92, 204–5.

⁴ That is, Henry Lee of Virginia, who had taken his seat February 1. *JCC*, 30:36.

⁵ For the beginning of Madison's speculation in New York lands, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 8:491n.3. See also Monroe to Madison, July 15, note 3.

Charles Pettit to John Nicholson

Dear Sir,

New York 9th. Feby. 1786

Your Favour of the 26th Ult. has just come to me by Post—and I find by the Post Mark that it was entd. in the Office at Phila. the 6th Instt. Writing now in the Midst of Business in Congress, you must not expect the particular Information I might otherwise run into on the Subjects you mention.

Mr. Swanwick applied to me by Letter last Summer on the Subject of the altered Certificates he had purchased, & transmitted to me an Application to Congress, which I put in and prosecuted to a Reference, where it rests, no Report having been made as far as I now know or recollect.¹ I am inclined to think the Mode you mention (which I think is what Mr. Swanick proposed) will be the lightest Mode of getting rid of the Business. But as yet we have not States enough to proceed in it.

When Mr. Morris's Application came in last Summer it was delayed for farther Consideration & has not yet been acted on. I am apprehensive you have insisted on more than will be deemed proper on an Investigation—a more dignified and liberal Line of conduct is expected from a State than from an Individual. I am inclined to think that whenever this Commutation shall be adjusted it will probably be nearly in the Ratio of the profit on the Specific Articles required from the State of Pennsa. taken complexly, & not by selecting either the *most* or the *least* profitable, or paying any Regard to Rations, & their component Parts. It may be said that it was the Duty of the State to have furnished the whole of the Articles required of her, the whole Demand being one entire Demand & the parts being apportioned to each other so as to consist with the Conveniency of the State on the one Hand, and Justice to the United States on the other. If therefore the State should attempt to avail herself of a little Profit by selecting a particular Article more advantageous than the rest; would it not be deemed a Departure from that Line of Honourable & Liberal Construction which ought to be preserved among States?

But some important Papers are reading which demand my Attention. Let me however observe that I have long waited impatiently for a Relief. I left home at a Disadvantage to save the State from the Disgrace of remaining unrepresented, perceiving that my Colleagues could not be expected to attend immediately; but I was induced to believe that I might be relieved in 3, 4 or 5 weeks at farthest, that I might return to give some Attention to my own Affairs. I have since been flattered from Time to Time that one or the other of the Gentlemen

were coming; but I am yet chained to the Oar tho' the Detention is really very inconvenient to me. If a Relief does not shortly come, I fear I shall be obliged to commit the Honor of the State & embarrass the Business of Congress by leaving the State for a Time without a Vote. Out of 3 Gentlemen appointed I could not but hope that at least one of them would have followed us within less than the 3 Months which have elapsed since their Appointment. If my Convenience affords them no operating Motive, I should hope their Zeal in the service would have imposed some Obligation on them.

I am Dr Sir, your most obedt. Servt.,

Cha. Pettit.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ There is no mention of this case in the journals of Congress and no such "Application" from Swanwick is in the PCC. John Swanwick was receiver of Continental taxes for Pennsylvania.

Nathan Dane to Samuel Adams

Sir

New York Feby. 11. 1786.

When I had the honor three months since of proposals to communicate such interesting matters as our respective situations might afford or require I did not expect from a want of a fuller representation of the States in Congress that so little during that time would occur in the administration of federal affairs worth communicating. This inattention and delay in many of the States is not only a burden and expence to those who attend but ruinous in their consequences to the federal Government itself. It appears to me that a government formed as our[s] is on the broad basis of liberty and in the administration of which the rights of every man is considered as valuable to him and his assent to be had by himself or representative to every measure nothing but candor, political industry, and perseverance can effect the ends and purposes of it. On it's valuable principles the people at large are to be lead & persuaded to adopt measures and in many instances a great majority but men never will assent till they are informed, and convinced of the Justice & propriety of the measure or system proposed. Congress since the year 1780 have submitted to the consideration of the States several important systems & propositions to which they have asked their consent. The adoption of these are consider[ed] as essential to the preservation of the union and to enab[le] Cong. to administer the Govt. of the Confederacy for the benefit of the people and for obtaining the ends of its institutio[ns]. Most of them are adopted by a majority of the States yet none of them carried into effect. Some States are foun[d] who have objections to the one or the other of them. R Island, and N. York and Georgia to the impost sys-

tem—many of the States have objections to adopting the supplementary funds. N. Hampshire, R. Island, &c. object to the proposed alteration of the 8 art[icle] of the Confedn. Delaware, So. Carolina & Georgia have not granted Commercial powers to Congress agreeable to their recommendation of Apr. 30, 1784. It is to be presumed that the objections made by those States to adopting those federal measures are esteemed by them to be substantial and will be so considered till they are convinced of the Contrary. This Congress and the other States must do a task undoubtedly that requires attention & perseverance. But many other important matters, too many to name particularly, have lain long before Congress undetermined because some of the States do not keep up their representation. A government whose power is quite defective in two material points that wants power to regulate the Commerce of the union and to call forth its resources for the purpose of doing Justice that wants attention and, to a certain degree, energy in administering the powers it possesses must decline. If the States do not give more power to Congress the States must invent some means of obliging their delegates to attend that the powers at least may be exercised by that body timely and to effect which it possesses by the Confederation and the States must adopt and enforce the principle that Delegates are amenable to Congress so long as they are continued in the delegation by their State. Perhaps it will be difficult to get another requisition thro Congress till certain public accounts are settled and the great inequalities occasioned by the late war in the advances of some States & delinquencies of others are put more in a way of being ratified.

I hardly need mention to you I hope our General Court will readily adopt the late requisition of Cong. I take it for granted they see the expediency of doing it, we must yet pursue these ineffectual measures of requisitions which for 4 years past on an average have brought into the federal Treasury only about 600,000 Drs. a year and for the last year not more than 400,000. The people of this State especially the Dutch and their legislature reason on such narrow principles that it yet remains doubtful whether they will adopt the impost or any other federal system of revenue that the other States will approve of. But Massa. is considered as a federal State and her example has great influence on most of the States in the Union. If she should reject that requisition I doubt whether there are not many states who would think themselves excused in rejecting all federal measures. I wish our people to be possessed of an idea I am quite confirmed in since I have been here—that the governt & state of Massa. is considered in the other States as very respectable and worthy of their imitation. The influence she had in bringing on the late important revolution the world yet Stand astonished at—her conduct during the war and her conduct since the peace meet generall[y] the approbation of

thinking men. It is acknowledged that we have passed some imprudent laws & done injustice in some cases but that our systems of Government, of laws, of finance and modes of administering Justice are on the whole the best & have in the [main] strong and lasting features. The part she has held in federal measures, the public characters she has produced, the strength of her discernment in most Cases and the disinterestedness with which her merchantile interest have adopted on public motives the impost systems & coml. regulations to their present disadvantage convince the other States that she reasons on extensive principles and sees her situation in an extended point of view.

Another thing I want our people to bear in mind is that they stepped forward in the late revolution, had a principal hand in forming the Confederacy & bringing the U States into existence, that they had a large share in forming this body politic so far as it is formed and it's parts organised—that we have a thousand Struggles yet to make before our complex machine of Government can be compleated and acquire a tone of energy sufft. for obtaining the ends intended. It must be cautiously mended in some parts & put into practise & operation in others. I think the [a]mendments proposed and adopted by some of the States are Judicious and ought to be steadily pursued. Other nations who have been so fortunate as to get good governments after the labor, experience and attempts of Centuries have thought themselves well off. Why should we despair because in this infant State of our national existence we find some perhaps material defects in our federal polity. We are at a loss how to govern our Commerce—and how to call forth our resources for federal purposes. More than 4/5 of the Community have agreed that powers should be vested in Congress for these purposes in a certain degree. These are important subjects and if we attend to the progress of our ideas on them we shall conclude in favor of succeeding finally. Many years ago when the articles of confederation were under the consideration of the States it was proposed by the State of N. Jersey that Congr. should have full power to regulate trade internally & externally & to lay Duties of impost &c.¹ These propositions were then rejected by almost every State in the Union. Even their Delegates in Congress appeared pointedly against them—but experience has faithfully taught us that we were then mistaken—and we may ventur to affirm that more than 3/4 of the Community have changed their opinions—since for more than 8/10 of the union have adopted the impost system—and 9 states including the largest have granted to Cong Coml. powers as fully as they recomd. it to be done. Will not experience, the industry and influence of so large a part in time bring those who now stand out to adopt the same sentiments. I think if Cong., federal States & federal

men seriously persevere & pursue prudent and sound policy their success is certain. All the States have & will without difficulty adopt the impost except N. York—All have and will give those Coml. powers without difficulty except So. Carolina, her member here say she will. Those two States may stand out perhaps some years but if the federal part of the Community pursue steadily their measures people will grow very uneasy with those States for it will be natural for people to impute nat[ur]al calamities to the failure of the measures which on the conviction of experience they now adopt—and Clouds of Danger must gather over the heads of those States. Connecticut and N. Jersey who import thro. N. York complain loudly now that their articles of Consumption are taxed by N. York to her sole emolument. They will grow uneasy, make severe laws of retaliation and soon Connecticut, Vermont & N. Jersey must press N. York & annihilate her if she is not protected by the federal Govert.—but the Condñ. of that protection will be that she become a federal State. But I believe things will not go so far as to produce any great convulsion in the Government. Men soon will feel deeply interested in these points probably able writers on the subjects will appear and the people be convinced. It is sometimes said that the people of America at the Commencement of the late war had every thing at stake and had stronger motives to unite them & call forth their exertions. I much doubt it. The motives might Appear more plausible than the motives that federal men must urge for the purposes of amending & strengthening our Common Government—but they must to every man of reflection appear less substantial. The U States have by the most manly & astonishing exertions raise themselves to a point of view that attracts the eyes & attention as it were of the whole world. They have taken rank among nations & formed connexions with many of them. We have ventur[ed] on our own political abilities and Struck out a form of Govern[ment] in some measure novel, a govern[ment] but little understood by even our Allies—viewed with curiosity by most nations & by some supposed to be chimerical—our enemies in the B. Dominions are & probably will [be] very industrious in all parts of the world in making us appear chimerical, faithless, restless and ridiculous as a nation disunited and unable to support the system we have adopted. To dissolve our union under these circumstances, to become hostile to each other and a prey to the nations of Europe to me would be infinitely worth [*i.e.*, worse] than annihilation. But this is not all we have a good government in the main to preserve one that is bottomd on excellent principles.

FC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). In the hand of Nathan Dane. Addressed: "Hon. S.A."

¹ For this representation of the New Jersey Assembly, which was debated in Congress June 25, 1778, see *JCC*, 11:647–51; and Livingston, *Papers* (Prince), 2:344–45, 352–53.

Nathan Dane to Thomas Dwight

Dear Sir,¹

New York, Feb. 11, 1786

I should have wrote to you before this had my situation furnished me with any thing worth communicating—for want of a fuller representation of the States since I have been here but little business of Consequence has been done by Congr—and but few interesting subjects brought forward or examined. We have of Course been confined to the dull but necessary business of examining the past doings of Congr. on their Journals and collecting information from the files of the several appendent offices. I have nearly the same opinion of our federal affairs I had when I left you at Boston—except in this the federal Government may not be administred, even with so much attention and energy, even as I expected—while in fact the machinery of it is of such a nature as to require in those who administer it the greatest candor, industry & perseverance. Many of the gentlemen in Congress from the Southward have recd. polite educations and possess abilities that at first appear brilliant and plausible but not very well adapted to the man[a]ging of our forms of Government. Their information in the essential parts of it does not appear to me to be suffy. extensive nor their ideas well and maturely digested. Their arguments, proportions and observations often at first appear plausible but they seldom bear that Strict inquiry they must & will undergo in Congress. The many amusements and multitude of social forms—the unsubstantial etiquette of society in this City are not very favourable to the industry of men not naturally inclined to it.

I hardly need tell you I hope our Genl. Court will pass the late requisition of Congr. and adopt it. I think they must be convinced of the necess. of doing it. I wish them to be possessed of this idea and what is to their honor—that the example of Massa. has a very Great influence upon the other States—if She should pass over or reject that requisition there are many States in the Union which would think themselves quite excused for doing nothing federal. The policy laws and conduct of each State is considered merely relatively and is esteemed good or bad as they appear in the comparison with those of the other Sta[tes]. Massa. is generally considered as the moving Cause in some measure in the late & great revolution—the deliberate and firm manner in which She has conducted her policy, formed her laws & regulated her finances & administred Justice since the peace and the disinterested manner in which her merch[ant] interest have urged the impost systems &c—& the part she has held in the fed. Governt, compared with most of the other States have given her a degree of respectability that every other State acknowledges. We are considered as a federal State

& expected in some degree to move among the first. But it may be asked shall we always bear the burden of labor and expence in conducting our Common affairs. My idea is that the large States, Massa., Connecticut, Pennsyla., Virginia &c, are disposed to unite and to mature and Strengthen government & will have it in their power to induce the small & at present delinqt. States of Georgia, N Carolina &c to alter their conduct, that those small States must soon feel their dependence on the union & see their danger and ruin in withholding the assistance.

Be kind enough Sir to give my respects to Mr. Merrick—to Mrs. Archebold & the family & our particular freinds whom you will see in Boston where I expect this will find you. Let me know if you have leisure, how you do, how affairs go in Massa. &c.

Your affecta. friend,

N. Dane.

FC (DLC: Miscellaneous MSS). In the hand of Nathan Dane. Addressed: "Mr. Tho. Dwight."

¹ Thomas Dwight (1758–1819), of Springfield, Mass., had graduated from Harvard College with Dane in the class of 1778 before turning to the law. He was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1794–1803, and to the United States House of Representatives, 1803–1805. *Bio. Dir. Cong.*

Nathan Dane to Theodore Sedgwick

Dear Sir.

New York Feb. 11. 1786

I received your letter dated on your way home. I should have wrote you before this, but I have been waiting for a fuller representation of the States in Congress, and for the more important business to come forward—neither of which have taken place as I wished. There were only seven States assembled till the first instant—since we have had eight. Dr. Johnson proposes to go home next week, which will, reduce us to seven—for we have no evidence, to be depended upon, that any other Gentleman from Connecticut, or that the delegates from the States unrepresented will be here at present. We have done little or no business since you left us—and formed no interesting determinations. This inattention, this negligence, & torpidity in some of the States, in administring our government, will ruin us, if suffered to continue. But as I hope a better mode than this of conversing with you on the subjects of politics & public affairs soon, I forbear making any observations on them at present—in point of fact nothing new or unusual has taken place. We have reason to think there is little or no probability that this State will adopt the impost—the people here seem to be contracting their ideas in Matters of government, instead of enlarging or expanding them.

Mr. Gorham remains at Mrs. Ellsworth's, & Mr. King has moved to Mr. Osgood's—things are at our house as you left them. As to Mr. Hancock we have not heard a word from him as Congress or as individuals.

Your affectionate friend & Hum Sert.,

N. Dane

P.S. I shall do myself the honor and pleasure to write you again as soon as there shall be any prospect of the interesting business of Congress coming forward.

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

Pierse Long to John Langdon

Sir,

New York February 11t. 1786

Presuming that the Journals of Congress are transmitted monthly by the secy. and that you had seen their determination on your request for Cannon &c. has made me silent thereon. But admitting a possibility that you may not have received them induces me to enclose a copy of the resolution which passed on the same.¹

Congress are officially informed that two agents were sent to Algeres and Morrocco in the begining of October with sufficient power to conclude a treaty of amity with those Nations—and hope by the next packett to hear its Effected.

The Commissioners for treating with the Indians on the Ohio, have mett some of their chiefs, and they expect that a full & compleat meeting of them all will be before the winter expires. Those whom they have seen are perfectly satisfied with the terms of the former treaty—and are disposed to make further sales of territory to the United States and live in peace with us in future.

In my letter of the 19th December last I requested of your Excellency an order on the Honble Mr. Gilman for the Ballance of my last years wages and that it might be drawn in favor of my son. But by a letter from him which came to hand a few days ago, am told their is no money in the treasury. I hope your Excelly will not take it amiss in my drawing on you for as much as will enable me to discharge the debts I have already contracted & pay my expences for a month or two to come—at present I have not 10 dollars at my Command. I have the Honor to be Very Respectfully, Your Excellys Most Obt. Hume Servt,

Pierse Long

RC (NjMoHP: Lloyd W. Smith Collection).

¹ For Congress' rejection of New Hampshire's request for cannon November 2, 1785, see JCC, 29:866–68; and Long to Langdon, September 18, 1785, note 1.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York Feby. 11. 1786

In my last I mention'd to you, the subject of the impost was reviv'd & that a report of a Committee had given place to a motion of Mr. Pinckney, the latter being still before the house. The report, and motion with a report from the Bd. of treasury to the same effect have since been committed, in which State the business now lies.¹ I inclose you a paper containing the report. It is doubted whether in any event this State will adopt it. Those members elected in opposition to such as were turn'd out, for their opposition to the measure, have I hear imbib'd their sentiments & act under them. They are it is said possess'd to great amount (I mean the leaders of the party) of publick securities, and doubtful of their payment by federal exertion, seem inclin'd to pursue the course Pena. latterly did & provide for it, by establishing State funds. The more extensive the funds of the State, & the more fully they exclude the citizens of other States & foreigners from such provision, the better of course for the party. I am sincerely yr. friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe²

[P.S.] If you visit this place shortly I will present you to a young lady who will be adopted a citizen of Virga. in the course of this week.³

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ See JCC, 30:54–59, 958; and Monroe to Madison, February 9, notes 1 and 2.

² Monroe also wrote a letter to Madison on February 16 which has not been found, but from Madison's March 19 reply containing a partial quote from Monroe's letter it is clear that he proposed a joint purchase of confiscated loyalist land in the Mohawk Valley and questioned whether "it will be better to correct the vices of the Confederation, by recommendation gradually as it moves along, or by a Convention. If the latter should be determined on, the powers of the Virga. Commssrs are inadequate." See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 8:493–94, 504–6.

³ Monroe is referring to his impending February 16 marriage to Elizabeth Kortright, daughter of New York merchant Laurence Kortright. See Harry Ammon, *James Monroe: The Quest for National Identity* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971), pp. 61–62.

Charles Pettit to John Nicholson

Dear Sir,

New York 11th Feby. 1786

Since I wrote to you by the last Post I have examined into the State of Mr. Morris's Application respecting the Balance of his Account as Agent for the State in procuring specific Supplies. It has been referred to the Board of Treasury who have reported a Resolution to authorize them to appoint Mr. Milligan or such other Person as they

may think proper on the Part of the U.S. to settle the Commutation with such Person as may be appointed on the Part of the State. I have avoided calling it up for a Decision, because I wish it to be settled by Compromise.¹ If the Principles were agreed upon I suppose the Calculation would not be difficult; and as far as I understand the Matter the Principles suggested in my last Letter are such as I should recommend.

I presume you have frequent Opportunities to Carlisle & therefore trouble you with the inclosed Letter to forward thither.

I am, Dr. Sir, your most hume Servant, Chas Pettit

RC (NjMoHP: Lloyd W. Smith Collection).

¹ For the board of treasury's report on Robert Morris' memorial concerning the settlement of his accounts as Pennsylvania's "Agent for the purchase of Specific Supplies" during the war, see *JCC*, 29:885–86. The memorial, undated but read in Congress September 23, 1785, is in *PCC*, item 41, 9:343–46. For the settlement of this issue September 5, 1786, in accordance with a subsequent recommendation of the board of treasury, see *JCC*, 31:634–35; and John Bayard to Nicholson, September 18, 1786.

David Ramsay to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir

New York Feby 11th 1786

Please to deliver the inclosed¹ to Doctor Noyes in which are nine letters of introduction in which Mr Frazier² is also included. Yours by Col Oswald³ is come to hand & it has been the means of making us acquainted & I shall be happy to render him any service in my power.

Aitkin writes me word on the 4th that only four copies of my book had sold.

Congress are doing very little. Last week Harry Lee made the 8th State, before we never exceeded seven. No state to the southward of Pennsylvania is represented excepting South Carolina & Virginia. Of course we can do none of the more important business. We are [*at*] present framing a new recommendation to pass the impost & to enable us to pay our debts. There is a languor in the States that forebodes ruin. The present Congress for want of more states has not power to coin a copper. In 1775 there was more patriotism in a village than there is now in the 13 states.

Present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Rush & believe me to be with much respect & esteem, Your most obedient servt,

David Ramsay

RC (PPL: Rush Manuscripts).

¹ Not identified.

² Apparently horticulturalist John Frazer (1750–1811) who made an extended trip to South Carolina to collect botanical specimens. Ramsay, *Writings* (Brunhouse), p. 98n.

³ That is, Eleazer Oswald who published Philadelphia's *Independent Gazetteer, or Chronicle of Freedom*.

Rufus King to James Bowdoin

Sir,

New York 12. Feb 1786

I have delivered to Mr. Rufus Amory a copy of the Laws of Pennsylvania & New Jersey, forwarded by the executives of those states for your Excellency to Mr. Secretary Thomson.¹ Mr. Amory engages for their careful delivery. I also inclose a copy of a Letter yesterday received from the commissioners appointed to run the line between Massachusetts & New York, this paper explains itself.²

With perfect respect, I have the honor to be your Excellencys Obedt. Servt,

Rufus King

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters).

¹ For Congress' July 27, 1785, resolve for distributing sets of "the legislative acts" of the several states to the delegates of each state, "to the end, that every state, being thus informed, may have the fullest confidence in the other states, and derive the advantages which may result from the joint wisdom of the whole," see *JCC*, 29:582–83.

² Enclosure not identified, but for the appointment of these commissioners, see Charles Thomson to John Ewing et al., December 10, 1785.

Nathan Dane to Justin Ely

Dear Sir,¹

New York. Feb. 13. 1786.

Since my arrival here I have taken an opportunity to converse with the Secretary at war respecting the powder you mentioned to me being at Springfield in a perishable situation—&c. He tells me great pains have been taken to try the quality of it, to dry, Cleanse & keep it in order, and that from a late examination of it it is found to be, with sifting some parts of it, in good order, and will retain it's strength.

As to other affairs here I have been waiting for some interesting business to be compleated by Congress that I might have something to communicate to my friends worth their attention—but for want of a fuller representation Congress has compleated, or even brought forward or examined but very little business—daily occurrences we have but few—federal affairs appear nearly as I expected to find them. Gentlemen who have been, since the peace, in our Legislature & attended to the affairs of the Union, I believe have in general a pretty Just idea of them; whence I make but few general observations about them, to my friends in that situation. However there is as little energy and perseverance in administering the federal government as I expected. The States must

find means to compel their members to attend. The non attendance of some States not only weakens the government by rendering it dilatory and inefficient in it's administration—but throws an unequal expence on those States which do attend.

The policy of our State is extensive, manly & liberal and her administration Just, wise and excellent compared with many of the other States particularly this.

How far the States have adopted the Continental impost System, the proposed alteration of the 8th Art. of the Confederation, and have vested Congress with commercial powers, you will see by official papers transmitted to our Legislature.² They must all I think if properly pursued be finally adopted.

Your friend & Humble Servant,

N Dane

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ Justin Ely was a merchant in West Springfield, Mass. Mason A. Green, *Springfield, 1636–1886, History of Town and City* (Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols & Co., 1888), p. 340.

² See Charles Thomson to the States, January 12.

Charles Thomson to Cyrus Griffin

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, Feby. 13. 1786

Your letter of the 6 of Jany. was duly received and communicated to Congress, in consequence of which they passed a resolution a copy of which I have the honor to enclose¹ and am with Sincere regard, Your Most Obedt. & Most humble Serv²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ Griffin's letter, which is not in the PCC, was referred on January 24 to a committee which reported February 8. It apparently contained a protest against Congress' July 1, 1785, decision to discontinue the salaries of the judges of the court of appeals without vacating their commissions. The enclosed February 9 resolve reasserted that it was "necessary that the salaries of the said judges should cease," but in a conciliatory gesture also affirmed "That Congress are fully impressed with a sense of the ability, fidelity and attention of the judges of the court of Appeals." *JCC*, 30:26n, 60–61. See also Thomson to Griffin, March 1, 1786; and Thomson to the Court of Appeals Judges, July 5, 1785, and June 29, 1786.

² Also this day the following circular letter to the states was sent by the secretary for foreign affairs, John Jay.

"In obedience to the order of Congress I have the Honour of transmitting to your Excellency herewith enclosed, a Copy of an ordinance of his Catholic Majesty of 28th May last, directing what Flags should in future be used by the Navy and Merchant Ships of Spain, with a design of those Flags annexed." PCC, item 120, fol. 2:103.

Jay had received a copy of the enclosed decree from the encargado de negocios of Spain, Diego de Gardoqui, December 29, 1785, and recommended January 3 that translations of the decree with copies of the design of the flags be distributed to the states. Congress adopted Jay's recommendation January 6. For Gardoqui's letter, His Catholic Majesty's decree, and the design of the flags, see PCC, item 97, fols. 104–17.

Rufus King to Theodore Sedgwick

My dear Sir,

New York Feb. 15. 1786

Eight States only have been represented in congress since you left us, of consequence no Business of importance has been before this assembly. Perhaps within a few days an additional State will be represented, but this is rather a Hope, than expectation.¹ Congress yesterday agreed to a report on the subject of their pecuniary Embarrassments, and most earnestly *recommended* to the States the Adoption of the Revenue System of Ap. 1783.² Possibly the alarming Facts stated in this act of congress may rouse the states to the Adoption of those measures, which alone will prevent convulsions in the federal Government.

I pray you to hasten your return here as soon as your engagement will permit—it is true that our acquaintance is not of long duration, and that the Habits of our intimacy are few. But I think we shall discover motives sufficient to produce a mutual Esteem & Friendship, and I wish to know you more, that I may love you better.

Although, an entire Stranger I entreat you to present my most respectful Homage to your Mrs. Sedgwick, and to be assured that I am with sincere esteem & Respect, Affectionately your's,

Rufus King

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

¹ In fact, the following three days Congress failed to muster a quorum. See *JCC*, 30:77.² See the following entry.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir Circular Office of Secy of Congress. Feby. 15th. 1786.

I have the honor of forwarding to Your Excellency herewith enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress Assembled, respecting the System of General revenue recommended in the Act of the 18th April 1783, and a schedule of the French & Dutch Loans, shewing the periods of their redemption with the annual Interest payable thereon, until their final extinction, for which provision is yet to be made:¹ I also enclose a copy of the Act of the 18th April 1783.²

As the United States in Congress assembled are exceedingly anxious, that the several States should come to a decision on this subject as soon as possible, Your Excellency, I hope, will take the earliest opportunity of laying the enclosed papers before the Legislature of Your State.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For the enclosed "Act" of this date, which had been adopted because of the treasury's inability to service the interest on the foreign debt, see *JCC*, 30:70–76.

² See *JCC*, 24:256–61.

Henry Lee to James Madison

My dear sir

New York 16h. Feby. [1786]

By way of introduction of a correspondence, with a character I love & respect so sincerely, I enclose a report passed yesterday by Congress, the only material business done lately & which proves the dreadful situation of our federal government.¹ The report speaks so fully on the subject that I withhold remarks which might [my?] solicitude for the public gives birth to.

We have received some advices from our agent in Madeira which afford some ground to hope success will attend our negotiations with the Barbary powers tho when you consider the enmity which certainly prevails in the British cabinet towards us, their influence with those pirates and our scanty purse, I profess my fears preponderate.² Indian affairs do not wear a promising countenance—an additional evil to our many evils, if the spring should open with a war with the savages.

Only eight states are represented. Grayson joined us two days ago, & Monroe becomes Benedict this evening.³ My best wishes attend you, farewel my friend. Yours truly,

H. Lee Junr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ See the preceding entry, note 1.

² Letters of December 5 and 12 from John M. Pintard, the U.S. commercial agent in Madeira, were submitted to Congress on February 15 by the secretary for foreign affairs, who was ordered to report. See *JCC*, 30:76n, 293n. Pintard's letters are not in PCC, but for John Jay's May 19 report, see PCC, item 81, 2:115–18.

³ A reference to Monroe's impending marriage to Elizabeth Kortright, for whom see Monroe to Madison, February 11, note 2. The allusion to Benedict is to the character of that name, a confirmed bachelor who married, in Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*.

Henry Lee to George Washington

My Dear General

New York 16th Feby. [17]86

You desired to hear from me now and then, when I left Virginia. I obey your wishes with pleasure, & must assure you, that I continue to feel the same unabating zeal to administer to your happiness, which my public duty formerly commanded from me. I wish that my commu-

nications may be always agreeable; I apprehend your solicitude for the honor & prosperity of a nation formed under your auspices will illy relish intelligence ominous of its destruction. But so circumstanced is the fœderal government, that its death cannot be very far distant, unless immediate and adequate exertions are made by the several states.

The period is hurrying on, when no longer delay can be permitted. The late returns from the continental receivers in the different states prove unanimity in one point among the members of the Union—no money. Congress impressed with the lamentable effects which await the United States from their adherence to Temporary and disunited exertions, again have addressed the states. I enclose it.¹ If success attends, we may divert the evils which menace our existence & may still enjoy that happiness which we so arduously contended for. But should the same supineness continue in our councils, jealousy instead of patriotism direct the measures of our governments, consequences most distressing must certainly ensue. Part of the principal of our foreign loans is due next year, & no certain means yet devised to pay even the interest.

Our agents have arrived in Morrocco, and Algiers, & we have some hopes that their negotiations may be successful.

It is very doubtful how our commissioners may succeed with the indians. We have too much reason to fear a war, which among other evils will encrease our finance embarrassments. People here are very inquisitive about the progress of the potomack navigation. The moment that business wears the prospect of certainty, rich emigrants from all the eastern states will flock to our towns. The assembly of this state are in session, & will emit 200,000£ paper. They are violent enemies to the impost, & I fear even the impending and approaching dangers to the existence of the Union will not move them. Please to present my respects to Mrs. Washington & accept the best wishes, of your friend &c. ser,

H. Lee²

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ See Charles Thomson to the States, February 15, note 1.

² Lee may also have written the following brief letter, dated only "Congress Hall—Wednesday," to James McHenry about this time. On the evidence of the letter, it was written sometime after February 1, when Lee arrived in New York to attend Congress, and before March 14, when the "claim" mentioned would fall due.

"Since I came here I recd. the enclosed lettr. It gives me much pain as Mr Lang tells me that security agreeable to the Creditors will with difficulty be obtained. I know Mr. Lebbs & beleive him to be perfectly honorable & free from this charge. I want effectually to aid him & I have but little cash by me. I hold a claim due on the 14th March, & should be much obliged if you could aid me with 8 or 1000 dollars till then when it shall be returned, & in the meantime the note shall be placed in yr hands. Yrs. truly,

H L."

"P.S. You will say nothing about my wishes I trust & Mr Lebbs situation please also to hold secret for it is not generally known." McHenry Papers, DLC.

ject for your perusal.¹ These are the productions of the reports and inquiries of several Committees, and much enquiry in Congress, and I believe every word is finally Seduced to the Standard of truth strictly. These measures were adopted at *this time particularly* to induce the Legislature of New York, R. Island and Georgia, now in Session, to adopt the general impost. The inclosed paper will give you a pretty just idea of the State of our finances, and shew the necessity of pursuing some amendments in our federal polity, with attention and industry. These papers will be officially sent to our General Court²—you will see they are requested in Consequence thereof to adopt the Supplementary funds a part of the revenue system of Apr. 18, 1783, and at present so inseparable a part, that no part of that system can be *carried into effect* till the whole is adopted. Appearances in this state, as to the adoption of the General impost, are not very favourable. This State is pursuing a policy rather contracted, unfederal, and not agreeable to the other States, of which I think, she will severely repent at some future period. She is about issuing paper money, assuming a part of the Continental Domestic debt, for making distinctions between her own Citizens and those of other States—and between Commutation, & other Securities &c.

Whether our State ought to adopt the supplementary funds of the revenue System of Apr. 18, 1783 She will consider—I am inclined to think, that it would be for the interest of Massachusetts, that all the States should adopt them. The proceeds of these funds and the general impost will not exceed the purposes for which they are designed—the discharging of the interest, and gradual discharge of the principal of the national debt. As the impost may operate more fully on the Commercial States, the supplementary funds are situated to operate equally on all, and as the mode of collecting them when they shall be adopted will be certain they may be equally certain and efficient in their operations and productions. But there are at present several delinquent States in the Union, which contribute but very little to the support of federal measures. They are and have been always led and drove by Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and some of the great States much to their trouble and prejudice, and it may be much for the interest of the States who move in federal measures, to have some efficient system of revenue adopted that will afford effectual means of supplying the Common Treasury—and by which these delinquent States may be held more effectually to contribute their proportion. Some States will withhold their aid till the bonds of the Union are Strengthened, and the federal Government shall become more energetic in its administration and fixed in it's principles.

I need hardly mention to You, Sir, I hope our General Court will adopt the late requisition, I know of nothing that would shock the Union more than her rejecting it would. She is considered as a federal

State and respectable not only for her extent, but for her wisdom, her abilities, her Steady, and wise policy compared with the other States, the example of her disinterested conduct in federal affairs has great influence on them—and I wish also the number of our Inhabitants to be forwarded to Congress this Session of the General Court. I believe we have yet many struggles to make to preserve our Union and to put the Confederacy on a respectable footing. The principles of it are certainly good, but it is combined, and it's administration require much attention, perseverance and industry, and clearly ought to be amended in two or three instances. All the States have vested Commercial powers in Congress agreeable to their resolve of Apr. 30th, 1784 except Delaware, South Carolina, and Georgia and it is said they will do it—and in this business we probably shall find less difficulty in obtaining the Object in view than in matters of finance. Many other important matters lie before Congress undetermined for want of a fuller representation of the States, or in which further measures should be taken. Congress since I arrived here has done but little business on this account, and therefore we have had but very little worth communicating to our friends—this delinquency in some of the states not only creates an unequal expence to those which attend, but is very injurious to the union. About the 1st of Decr. Congress received an answer from Mr. Hancock accepting the chair of Congress. I believe that Congress as such, or any member of it in N. York have not heard from *him* since.

With much esteem and respect, Your Humble Servant,
N Dane

P.S. I take the liberty to inclose to your Care a letter to Mr. Ely supposing it will find him in Boston—by handing it to him you will greatly oblige me.³

RC (MHi: Davis Papers).

¹ Although Dane's enclosures cannot be positively identified, they undoubtedly included part or all of the proceedings found in *JCC*, 30:44–48, 61–68, 70–76.

² See Charles Thomson to the States, February 15.

³ Undoubtedly Dane to Justin Ely, February 13.

Rufus King to Samuel Holten

My Dear Sir

New York 19th Feb. 1786

Not more than Eight States have been represented in congress since you left us, and for the greater part of the Time no more than Seven.

Few questions of much importance have even been drawn into examination. Nothing of importance has taken place in the department of foreign Affairs; except the probability that Mr. Barclay was at Mo-

rocco in November & Mr. Lamb at Algiers; there is grounds to expect an amicable Treaty concluded between each of these powers and the U.S. before this period.

Butler, Clark, & Parsons were on the 26th of November hutted with the Troops at the mouth of the Great Miami, and if we may credit their Letters they had a good prospect of concluding a Treaty with the western Indians to their satisfaction, and to the Benefit of the U.S.

Mr. Gorham & Mr. Dane are with me; Brother Gerry returns with his wife in about a fortnight. Monroe was married on Thursday last to miss Bitsy Kortright, and soon returns to Virginia.

The Gazettes will give you the Act of Congress of the 15 instant concerning the revenue System of the 18 of Apl 1783—when you read it you will know it.¹ Adieu, my Dear Sir, believe me to be with sincere esteem your friend & servant,

Rufus King²

RC (MeHi: Fogg Collection).

¹ See Charles Thomson to the States, February 15.

² King also wrote the following letter this day to Thomas Ivers, the treasurer of Massachusetts.

"I yesterday drew on you as Treasurer for Six hundred and Sixty Six Dollars and 2/3 payable to Melancton Smith Esqr. or Order Ten days after Sight. Mr. Avery informed me that he had some time since communicated to you that he had a warrant in my favor for this Sum; and that I should be obliged to draw for the same. I assure you Sir, that I have delayed this measure as long as possible, and hope at this Time you will find it more convenient to pay this Bill when it shall fall due, than if I had drawn some months earlier." Miscellaneous MSS, NhD.

Charles Pinckney to Roger Alden

Mr. Alden

[February 20–24? 1786]¹

I will be much obliged to you to send one of the messengers to me as soon as seven states are convened.

If there are any letters be so good as to send them to me and the Journals I requested, if they are printed.

Your obedient C.P.

RC (DNA: PCC, item 49).

¹ Date conjectured from Deputy Secretary Alden's reply, in which he enclosed "two copies of the Schedule of the foreign loans" sent from the office of the secretary "last week," which clearly refers to Secretary Thomson's circular letter to the states of February 15, 1786.

The full text of Alden's reply, which is in PCC, item 49, fol. 111, reads: "I shall be careful to inform You when seven States are represented. The Journals are printed, but the bound volumes are not recd in the office. I enclose two copies for the last month, and two copies of the Schedule of the foreign loans. The letters for South Carolina and Georgia were sent to Philadelphia last week to be forwarded by the first packet that sails from that Port.

"In the distribution of the Journals, I am only an Agent—and restricted by positive orders, in the execution of which, I can use no discretion nor can I be justified in any Act of impartiality—and a Gentleman of Mr Pinckney's good sense and delicacy, I am confident that his knowledge of the fact, will impute my conduct to necessity and not to want of a disposition to oblige him when I say that I cannot comply with his request."

Stephen Mix Mitchell to William Samuel Johnson

Dear Doctr.

N York Feby. 21. 1786.

Nothing of Consequence has occurrd. since your Departure.¹ The Assembly of this State after puzzling themselves some Days, about the time they should elect Delegates to serve for, the constitutional right they had to elect &c &c &c, Finally determined to erase from their journals all their proceedings on that Subject since the commencement of their present Sessions, consequently their former Members joind. us this Day.²

Intelligence from N. Carolina announces the Election of Delegates, your discreet freind Mr. Cummins is among the elect.³ No great hopes of a reinforcement from Maryland soon. Genl. St Clair joind. us yesterday in room of Mr. Pettit returnd. home, & Mr. Wilson is to be here this week, so you see your Return speedily is indispensable, & indeed you are a very Wickd. Man to run away & leave me a young Pullet in the Care of so many gay Gallants, who at the hazard of every particle of puritanic Credit I was possessd. off have led me to the Concert, in future I shall not have the Impudence at an Election of Deacons to appear on the hustings.

Will you suffer me to beseige Mr. Wilson, on the score of our western Cession, as soon as I can feel out his hobby-horse? You know we are two bonny scotch Lads & very national, the weak things of this world often confound the strong; would it be amiss to obtain his Influence in our favor, even by a little verbal abuse of Wyoming?

The Night after you left us our freind Monro was married & next morning decampd. for Long Island with the little smiling Venus in his Arms, where they have taken house, to avoid fulsome Complements during the first Transports & we have not as yet seen him in Town.

'Tis a Cleric rule that all Collegues share the avails of the livings among them, hope you will judge this a good rule among Collegues of every Discription, & that I shall soon see you here with a long bag of fees, the moiety of which will officially belong to me.

Feby. 22d. This morning no Congress, New York have again reconsidered & come to a Vote to elect Delegates to continue a certain time, tis very probable they may reconsider this Vote before the Day arrives

in which they have agreed to make the choice, which is the beginning of next week.

Have as yet heard nothing of Mr. Sturges,⁴ & do not expect to see him this Evening if he comes in the Stage, as it stops in the Bowry; since you left us, Cape has given his Creditors a french Farewell & his furniture is this Day selling at Auction by the Sheriff, this deranges the place of rendezvous for the Stage.

Please to give my most respectful Compts. to Mrs. Johnson & family & beleive me your most Obedient & very humble Sert,

S. M. Mitchell

RC (CtHi: Johnson Papers).

¹ According to his diary, Johnson left New York to return home February 16. He resumed his seat in Congress March 9. Johnson Diary, CtHi; *JCC*, 30:96, 100, 108.

² These unusual proceedings were the subject of the following letter to Leonard Gansevoort from John Lansing, speaker of the New York Assembly, of February 24, the date the state's 1785 slate of delegates (John Haring, John Laurance, Zephaniah Platt, Melancton Smith, and Peter W. Yates) was reappointed.

"The papers will advise you of the Event of our Election for Delegates but it will not apprise you of the Circumstances attending.

"While you was here you had an Opportunity of observing the Difficulties that attended the Business. Every Step by promoting Discussion created new Embarrassments. After much Trouble to reconcile Opinions on the Mode of conducting the Business, it was agreed that the Delegates should be elected for the foederal Year & until ten Days after the next subsequent Meeting of the Legislature. The propriety of this Measure was doubted by some & others pretended to doubt to promote their particular Views & insinuated the probability of the next Legislature avoiding our proceedings. These Sentiments with an Opinion industriously propogated that the Opposition to Yates was merely the Effect of party & a Diversity of Opinions on the Money System gave a Complexion to the Business.

"Upon the Examination in the Senate Yates had only four Votes—he was however nominated by a Majority in the Assembly. Upon the ballot Yates carried it by a Majority of one—& Colonel Schoonhoven gave a casting Vote. It was however perhaps more the Effect of Accident than Design in him." Miscellaneous MSS, N.

³ That is, William Cumming, who, however, did not return to Congress and resigned his seat August 3, 1786. Burnett, *Letters*, 8:406, 410.

⁴ Jonathan Sturges did not take his seat in Congress until July 12. *JCC*, 30:396.

David Ramsay to George Washington

Sir

New-York Feby 22d 1786

I beg that you would do me the honor to accept a copy of a book I have lately published & which is herewith transmitted.¹ I only regret that my remote situation precluded me from comprehending the operations of the middle & eastern States in which you were the principal actor. Should the perusal give you a moments pleasure I shall be happy. At all events I beg you would accept it as a token of my grati-

tude for the important services you have rendered our common country & as an evidence of the particular esteem in which you are held by your Excellencys most obedient & very humble servt,

David Ramsay.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ That is, Ramsay's *History of the Revolution of South Carolina*.

Charles Thomson to Nicholas Van Dyke

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, Feby 22. 1786

I had the honor to write to your excellency on the 15 of April last, the 28 & 31 May, 9 June, 28 July, 3, 22, 24 & 29 Aug, the 6 Sept, 7, 15 & 25 Oct, 3, 7, 9, 14 & 18 Novr, 3 Decr & 3 Jany & 1 & 15 Inst, all which I hope you have duly received though I have not been favoured with an Answer to any of them.¹ In pursuance of the Act of Congress of 27 July which went enclosed in my letter of 28 I have received the laws of sundry states. I delivered to Mr Bedford for the use of your legislature a copy of the laws of Massachusetts which arrived in Sept. But as your state has not been represented since Novr I have not had an Opportunity of delivering those I have since recd. I shall be much obliged for the favour of answer² & am with the greatest respect, Your Excellen

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Govr of Delaware."

¹ These letters, except that of November 3, 1785, to Van Dyke, are circular letters to the states.

² Van Dyke's April 14 response is in PCC, item 70, fols. 785-88. See also Thomson to George Read, March 1, 1786.

Nathaniel Gorham to Caleb Davis

Dr Sir New York Feby. 23d. 1786.

The affairs of the Union do not bear such an aspect as you or I can be pleased with. Our foreign creditors begin to be very serious in their applications respecting the provisions necessary for their reimbursement & the prospect of gaining the impost or any other permanent system of revenue to answer those demands appears to be distant. Congress have lately been considering the Impost & have agreed upon an address to the States on that subject (which you have undoubtedly seen before now).¹ This is more particularly designed for New York whose Legislature is now in Session.

But from what I learn there is very little prospect of their compliance. They appear so far as I am able to judge the most of them to be men of very narrow and partial views—and as they have now an Impost for State purposes which produced them on the last settlement with their Collector, the sum of eighty thousand pounds this Currency—one half of which is raised from the Citizens of Connecticut & New Jersey. They are very unwilling to give up—and on the other hand the two latter S[tates] complain most loudly of the Conduct of N York. There is good reason to suppose that they will never agreed to Tax themselves on another requisition of Congress after the present untill N York does th[em] justice in this respect. The failure of a compliance with the requisitions you will easily se[e] works a dissolution of the federal Government & with that an end to all our National importance & happiness.

I hope you will therefore take care and procure a compliance on the part of Massachusetts with the present requisition. The Delegates have no power to take the necessary measures for constituting the Federal Court;² If I am not mistaken a resolution on that subject passed the General Court the last Session. If so I wish you to se[e] that it is sent forward, & if it did not pass last Session do let it be brought before the Court that they may come to some determination on the business—as New York continue to sell the best Lands in those parts it will in a little Time be an object of no importance wither we recover or not—as people are fast settling the Lands & it will be very difficult to remove them; or to make them repurchas. Ten States have complied with the recommendation of Congress respecting their being impowerd. partially to regulate the trade of the Union. The non-compl[y]ing States are Deleware, South Carolina & Georgia. There is now before Congress a report of a Committe to call upon those States for their compliance³. . . & there is good reason to suppose they will comply—but the powers requestd are not compleatly addequate to the purpose.

The State of Virginia seem to be sensible of this & have appointed a Committe to meet the other States in Convention to consider the business⁴—as the Eastern States are particularly interested in having an effecient power in Congress on this head.

I hope you will appoint a Committe to meet them. Wither their letter comes in form before you rise or not—more especially as the overture comes from a Souther State. We have Men among us who have sufficient Commercial knowledge, but are some what antifederal in their opinions—you will therefore judge how necessary it is to send Men of good Federal ideas. & that if they are not so they may overthrow the whole plan. I wish you to favour me with a Line on State politic & wither you have compleated the valuation & what are the proportions of Boston & Charles Town. Please to inform me what is

the State of Mr. Hancocks health & the prospect of his coming forward. I will trouble You no further at present but to assure You that I am Your most Hum servt,
Nathaniel Gorham

[P.S.] Rhode Island, Connecticut, N York, Deliware, Maryland, North Carolina & Georgia is at present unrepresented in Congress, New York having recalled their Members on Acct. of some informality in their election, but chuse again this day. Doctor Johnson of Connecticut went home [a] few days since, but will return next week. So many States being delinquent in their representatives procrastinates business exceedingly—& no question can be agitated on the Old Money or any other subject of the kind untill nine States appear.

RC (MHi: Davis Papers).

¹ For the distribution of this congressional broadside, see Charles Thomson to the States, January 12, note.

² That is, the court that had been scheduled to convene at Williamsburg on November 15, 1785, for the purpose of hearing the claim of Massachusetts to lands in western New York, which had to be postponed indefinitely because of the resignation of some judges and the inability of others to meet at that time. For the December 1, 1785, resolution of the Massachusetts General Court granting the state's congressional delegates power to appoint such judges, see *JCC*, 30:184–85.

³ This report had been submitted on February 13 but was not read in Congress until February 28. It was adopted March 3. See *JCC*, 30:40n, 87–88, 93–94; and *PCC*, item 190, fols. 82, 84.

⁴ For this January 21 resolution of the Virginia House of Delegates, which eventually resulted in the Annapolis Convention of September 1786, precursor of the Philadelphia Convention of May 1787, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 8:470–71.

Charles Thomson to Certain States

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, Feby 24. 1786

On the 15 of this Month I forwarded to your Excellency An act of Congress of that date touching the system of general Revenue recommended in the Act of 18 April 1783 and a schedule of the Dutch and French loans shewing the periods of their redemption with the annual Interest payable thereon, copies of which I now enclose.¹

I am sorry to inform you that your State is still unrepresented. Early in November I intimated to your Excellency that there were sundry Matters which might require the attentive consideration of a full Congress. The state of the representation which I have transmitted monthly will shew that since the first Monday in Novr there have seldom been even seven states represented and never above eight so that it was impossible to take up the great business of the Confederacy.² What the result may be of this inattention of the states to the Concerns of the Union, is uncertain; but I hope your Excellency will use

your Endeavours to urge the Attendance of your Delegates as speedily as possible that the bad Consequences, if any, may not be imputed to your State.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's
Most Obedient & Most humble Servt, Cha Thomson

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors). LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Governors of—Rhodeisland, Delaware & North Carolina."

¹ See Thomson to the States, February 15, 1786.

² See the appendix to this volume.

Charles Thomson to Caleb Harris

Office of Secretary of Congress, Feby 24. 1786

The above is a copy of my letter of 28 May 1785 to which I have not been favoured with an Answer.¹ As it has been intimated that you decline the Office I should be glad to have your Answer that I may make report thereof to Congress.²

I am, Sr, Your obedt humble Servt

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For this notification of Harris' appointment as Continental surveyor for Rhode Island, see Thomson to the Continental Surveyors, May 28, 1785.

² Harris' March 8 response to Thomson, accepting this appointment and apologizing for not replying to his previous letter because of illness and uncertainty over whether he could perform the duties of the office, is in PCC, item 78, 12:433–36. However, Harris resigned the post in a letter of May 16, and Congress immediately appointed Ebenezer Sproat in his stead, for which see PCC, item 56, fols. 177–80; and Thomson to Sproat, May 22, 1786.

Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

Feby. 25th. 1786.

Memorandum of Papers and Letters delivered out
of the Office of Secretary of Congress.

Transmitted to the board of treasury all the papers presented to Congress by Mr Francis Cazeau.

Mem[oria]ls 9th Jany, 1st of Octr. & 16th Decr. 1784. 25th May, 19th May, & 16th Decr. 1785.¹

Letter & report of Wm. Barber Commr. of Accts, July 27th. 1785.²

Report of Mr John D. Mercier, Auditor. April 1st. 1784.³

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, November 7–15, 1785.

¹ None of these memorials is in the PCC, but for Congress' response to them, see *JCC*, 26:147-50, 410, 28:344, 386, 29:649, 671-72, 30:41, 288-89, 293n, 31:457, 514n, 520-21, 526-27. Letters from Cazeau of January 12 and February 13, 1785, are in PCC, item 41, 2:282-84, and item 78, 6:242-50.

² Not in PCC, but for the report of the board of treasury on Barber's letter, see *JCC*, 29:671-72.

³ See PCC, item 137, 3:519-21.

John Kean to John Jay

Sir

Feby. 28th. 1786.

Congress by their resolution of the 3d May 1784 resolved that instructions should be transmitted to the minister of the United States at the Court of Madrid,¹ to use his best endeavours in behalf of the State of So. Carolina, to obtain adequate compensation for the service performed by the So. Carolina frigate in co-operating with the Spanish general and forces, in the expedition against and reduction of Providence & the Bahama Islands, in the year 1782 &ca.

The office of foreign affairs being deranged I believe that this resolution has not been attended to, I shall be glad to receive any information respecting the matter.²

With great respect, I am, Sir, Yr. Obt. Servt., John Kean

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78).

¹ See *JCC*, 26:332.

² Jay transmitted the resolution to William Carmichael in Madrid March 14, explaining that it had passed while Robert R. Livingston was still secretary for foreign affairs. He instructed Carmichael to press the Spanish court "in such manner and degree as may most conduce to the attainment of it." See PCC, item 121, fols. 175-76; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-89*, 3:306-7. See also South Carolina Delegates to William Moultrie, March 4, note 4; and Kean to Jay, November 4, 1786.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, February 28th. 1786.

On the 9th day of June last I had the honor of transmitting an Act passed by Congress the 7th of that month recommending to the several States to make provision in a manner pointed out in the Act for Officers, Soldiers or Seamen who have been disabled in the service of the United States.¹ As I take it for granted that the Legislature of your State has complied with this recommendation, I have to request the favour of your Excellency to send me a Copy of the Law passed on the occasion. And as it is necessary that the United States in Congress Assembled should be informed of the sum which this provision will



John Kean

yearly add to the expences of the Union, in order that they may include it in their annual requisition I have further to request that your excellency would be pleased to order a return to be made to me of the number provided for and the amount of the annual allowance made them that I may make report thereof to Congress.

Should it be the case that your State has not yet made the provision recommended, I trust your Excellency will take the earliest opportunity of submitting this matter to the consideration of the Legislature, and for this purpose I enclose a Copy of the Act, And am, With the greatest respect &c.,

C.T.²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

1 See Thomson to the States, June 9, 1785.

2 The following note appears at the foot of the page: "*Vide* next page—for Letter to Pennsylvania on this subject." The letter to Pennsylvania president Benjamin Franklin which follows varies principally in the omission of the second and last sentences of the present text, because Thomson had already learned that Pennsylvania had passed an act for disabled veterans as requested and did not have to conjecture the state's response. PCC, item 18B, fol. 28; and *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 10:745.

Nathaniel Gorham to Caleb Davis

Dr Sir

New York March 1st. 1786

Since my last, Congress has been furnished through the Board of Treasury with several resolutions passed by the House of Representatives of the State of New Jersey in which they declare they will not pass a Tax Law in consequence of & in conformity to the last requisitions of Congress.¹ One of the principal reasons on which they rely for a Justification of their conduct is—that the State of New York by their Impost Laws draws from them a large sum of money which enures wholly to the credit of N York—& therefore that they will not grant any money upon requisition untill the Impost becomes general & is paid into the federal Treasury.

N Jersey undoubtedly has great cause of complaint against NY—but by no means sufficient to justify the above resolutions—which are in fact a dissolution of the Union. Congress are much alarmed and have sent an express to Tren Town for an attested copy of the resolution—and will enter very seriously into the subject. . . . but I foresee they will be embarrassed for want of a full representation (there being now only seven States on the floor New Jersey included). Every measure in the Power of Congress has been taken to procure a representation from all the States—but hitherto without effect. It is indeed a great inconvenience to the Union that the smallest States have equal weight in Congress with the largest . . . and they are allso very careless about keeping up their representation by which neglect—Congress for four months

have not been able to consider any one Question of a pecuniary nature & the public business in consequence is suffering extreamly indeed Congress is but the shadow of a Government. I beg you would exert yourself to procure a compliance with the requisition on the part of Massachusetts as their non compliance will through all things into confusion & Massa. will share part of the blame with NJ—& they should consider that they run no great risque in a compliance, for if the State of NJ adheres to their present temper & other States follow their example—the Confederation is dissolved & Massachusetts will then take care of themselves & stop the payment, which they will have time to do, as their will be no payments before the May Session. The most serious consequence may be expected from our foreign creditors . . . the application on that head are of such a nature as to make deep impressions with Congress.

Congress have now before them a Motion for calling a Convention of the States to consider wither they will establish a federal Government with powers adequate to the necessities & happiness of the Union²—but the NJ affair has suspended every other consideration for the present. I wish Massts could se[e] their way clear to request Congress to call a Convention—it would very much strengthen the hands of Congress—if the Court should like the idea they might express their sence in such general terms as to preclude much debate or loss of time. I hope you will write me an account of State politics & when we are to expect Mr. Hancock.

Want of time forbids my enlarging further than to ad that I am Your
Humble Servant &c, Nath Gorham

RC (MHi: Davis Papers).

¹ For this alarming news and the decision of Congress to dispatch a committee to Trenton “to represent to the Legislature of New Jersey the fatal consequences” their resolutions might have, see Charles Thomson to Nathaniel Gorham, et al., March 7; and Charles Pinckney’s Speech to the New Jersey Assembly, March 13.

² Gorham’s statement is the sole evidence that has been found to indicate that such a motion had been offered or mentioned in Congress at this early date, preceding by two months even Charles Pinckney’s May 3 motion for “a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of public affairs,” which inaugurated a movement for a thorough revision of the Articles of Confederation in the orthodox manner of amendment. Cf. *JCC*, 30:230, 354, 387n, 31:494–98. See also William Grayson to Richard Henry Lee, March 22, note 7.

Charles Thomson to Cyrus Griffin

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, March 1. 1786.

On the 13th day of last month I had the honor of transmitting to you an Act passed by Congress in consequence of your Letter of 6 Jan-

post his answers have miscarried or from some other cause I know not,² I have never received an answer to any of my Letters. The present situation of public Affairs requires a full representation in Congress of all the States, I must therefore request you would exert your influence in urging the attendance of your Delegates as speedily as possible. I have further to observe that Congress by an Act of the 27th May last requested "The Legislatures of the several States to cause the services of the Agents appointed for the purpose of receiving and distributing the Certificates of the pay master Genl. on a final settlement of the balances due to the Officers and Soldiers of their respective lines, to be examined and to make them such allowance as they may think them entitled to and charge the same to the United States."³

On the 7 June 1785 they passed an Act recommending to the several States to make provision for Officers, Soldiers or Seamen who have been disabled in the service of the United States in a manner pointed out in the Act;⁴ and by an Act of the 27th July 1785 they directed the Secretary of Congress to apply to the Executives of the several States for thirteen Copies of the Legislative Acts thereof since the 11 September 1774,⁵ one Copy of which to be retained for the use of Congress and one set to be delivered to the Delegates of each State (except the State whose acts were delivered) for the use of the Legislature thereof; and at the same time they directed the Secretary to procure and distribute in the same way the Acts which might thereafter be passed, to the end that every State being thus informed may have the fullest confidence in the other States and derive the advantages which may result from the joint wisdom of the whole.

On the 27th September 1785 they made a requisition on the States for the payment of the interest of the foreign and domestic debt and for the services of that year.⁶ On the 30th September They passed an Act regulating the Office of the Commissioners of the Continental Loan Offices in the several States making it part of their duty to receive the Monies arising from Continental taxes in their respective States and to pay the interest due from the United States in the said States respectively;⁷ and in the said Act recommended to the Legislatures of the several States to direct their Treasurers to transmit to the Board of Treasury a Monthly abstract of all monies paid on account of the respective States to the Commissioners of the Continental Loan Offices distinguishing the dates and amounts of the payments and the sums paid in actual money from those in interest Certificates. And on the 12 October 1785 they passed a resolution earnestly calling on the States to compleat without delay the whole of their quotas⁸ of the requisitions of 4 September 1782 & 27th & 28th April 1784, and requiring such of the States as were deficient in paying their respective quotas of the interest of the domestic debt pursuant to the said requisitions to collect and pay into the public Treasury the amount of

such deficiencies either in Certificates to be issued pursuant to the requisition of the 27th September for payment of the said interest, or in specie to be applied to the redemption of such Certificates; providing nevertheless that the sum to be paid into the Treasury in Interest Certificates as part of the requisition of April 1784 should not at any time exceed the proportion of facilities to be paid agreeably to that requisition.

These several Acts I transmitted to the president; but have received no answer, I have therefore to request the favour of you, to use your endeavours that I may have an answer to these several transmissions. The best answer will be the Acts of the Legislature complying with the several recommendations, Acts and requisitions. It is my earnest wish therefore that you would exert your interest and abilities, both which I know are great in prevailing with the Legislature to pass laws as speedily as possible in compliance and conformity with those several Acts if they have not already done it and then to use your interest in having them forwarded that I may make report thereof to Congress. I shall be still further obliged if with these laws you can have the thirteen Copies sent on which are mentioned in the Act of 27 July. I should not be thus troublesome were I not fully convinced of your zeal in the cause of liberty and your ardent desire to preserve the honor and promote the happiness of this infant Commonwealth. This I hope will be my apology.

I am with sincere respect, Yours &c.

C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ See the preceding entry.

² See Thomson to Nicholas Van Dyke, February 22.

³ See Thomson to the States, May 31, 1785.

⁴ See Thomson to the States, June 9, 1785.

⁵ See Thomson to the States, July 28, 1785.

⁶ See Thomson to Certain States, October 7, 1785, note 1.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ See Thomson to the States, October 15, 1785.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, March 1st. 1786.

As many States in the Union continued to be unrepresented in Congress or to be represented by only two Members notwithstanding the many recommendations of Congress for remedying these defects particularly those of 1 November 1783 and the 19th of April 1784 and as from the want of a compleat representation the great interests of the Union had frequently been and continued to be neglected or delayed, and the Confederation itself or the administration thereof

might be considered as the cause of evils which solely resulted from an incomplete representation, Congress, judging it incumbent on them to prevent opinions so derogatory to their honor and so dangerous to the public welfare, did on the 17th August last pass a resolve whereby it became the duty of the Secretary of Congress once in every Month to transmit to the Legislatures of the respective States a list of the States represented and of those unrepresented in Congress and of the Members from each State.¹ The object of this resolution was that effectual measures might from time to time be taken by such States as were unrepresented or represented only by two Members, to remedy these defects.

In the execution of this duty I have had the honor every month since of transmitting to Your Excellency a Monthly statement of the representation of the States in Congress to be laid before your Legislature.²

The statement which accompanies this and which I have to request the favour of your Excellency to communicate to the Legislature is for the month of February last.³ By this and the three other statements transmitted since the meeting of Congress on the first Monday in November last your Excellency and the Legislature will see that there has not been for a single day a number of States assembled sufficient to proceed on the great business of the Union; indeed for half the time not a number sufficient to do more than adjourn from day to day.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's
&c., C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ See *JCC*, 29:631–33.

² For this enclosure and the 11 other monthly attendance lists sent to the states during the Congress of 1785–86, see Appendix. See also these *Letters*, 22:597, 622–23, 702–3.

³ *Ibid.*

Henry Lee to George Washington

My dear Gentl

March 2d. N. York. 1786

I did myself the honor to write to you some days past:¹ since which an Arabian stud horse has arrived in this City & has been announced in the Gazettes a present to you, from his Catholic Majesty. I consider it not improper to inform you that the printers have mistaken the matter, the horse being sent to Mr. Jay.²

Our federal distresses gather fast to a point. New Jersey has refused the requisition, and will grant not a shilling, till New York accedes to the impost.³ Perhaps this intemperance in Jersey may bring this state to acquiesce in a system of finance long ago approved by ten states &

whose operation might have saved the difficultys which impend over the Union.

I intended to have sent you Mr. Ramsays late publication, entitled *The Revolution of So. Carolina* but am anticipated by the Author who forwarded you a sett by a vessel from this port to Alexandria.⁴

Gordon's history has not yet made its appearance⁵ & many hope never may; as the character & genius of the writer illy corresponds with the subject.

I hope your lady enjoys her health & beg to be presented to her.

I have the honor to be, dear sir, Your most aff h sert,

Henry Lee Jur

[P.S.] Mr Jays narrative of his late altercation with Mr. Littlepage accompanys this.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ That is, on February 16.

² Erroneous information concerning Charles III's gift of an Arabian stallion to Washington rather than to John Jay appeared in the *Independent Journal or the General Advertiser* for March 1 and 4, the *New York Journal* for March 2, and the *New York Packet* for March 6. For Jay's exchange of correspondence with Don Diego de Gardoqui regarding the horse and his March 1 request to Congress for permission to accept the gift (to which Congress consented on March 3), see *JCC*, 30:95; *PCC*, item 80, 2:169-73, item 97, fols. 128-33; and Charles Thomson to Jay, March 3.

³ See Charles Thomson to Nathaniel Gorham, William Grayson, and Charles Pinckney, March 7.

⁴ See David Ramsay to Washington, February 22.

⁵ For William Gordon's "history," see Ramsay to Gordon, January 18, note.

James Monroe to Joseph Jones

Dear Sir

New York March 2. 1786.

Agreeably to the information I gave you in my last the Thursday ensuing¹ I was united to the young Lady I mention'd²—to avoid the idle ceremonies of this place we withdrew into the country for a few days. We have been several days since return'd to her fathers house since which I have as usual attended Congress. While I shall remain in Congress we shall reside with him. If the state of business here will permit I shall unquestionably attend the Court in April. My plan is to bring Mrs. Monroe into Virga. the latter end of Sepr. next. In the meantime I shall seek to effect the best possible establishment either in Fredericksburg or Richmond. Colo. Grayson advises strongly Richmond, & is further of opinion that it will be ill advis'd in me to attend the Court as I shall lose perhaps I50£ by it. I believe you will have time to advise me upon this head. Enclose me also the Act of Assembly pass'd in

1784 refering it to Congress to determine whether they shall pay the British debts whilst they continue their present infractions of the treaty.³ We have not this act & wish it much. Believe me yr. affectionate friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

[P.S.] Mr. Tyler late Speaker owes me 150£ in certificates with 3 years interest thereon. I requested Marshall to obtain it for me. Will you promote & effect it, for I shall have occasion for every farthing due me.⁴ Colo. Grayson thinks the materials of an house can be bought near Boston & carried round cheaper than built anywhere with us. I believe it is the case.

RC (DLC: Monroe Papers).

¹ Not found.

² See Monroe to James Madison, February 11, note 3.

³ For the resolutions passed by the Virginia assembly in June 1784 linking private debt repayment with British adherence to the Treaty of Paris, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 8:58–63.

⁴ Indeed, a week earlier Monroe had written Arthur Lee a brief note asking for “the loan for a few days of 50 dolrs. If you can spare them be so kind as send by the bearer.” Lee endorsed the note: “Sent Mr. Monroe forty eight dollars. A. Lee—Feby 26. 1786.” Lee Family Papers microfilm, DLC.

Arthur St. Clair to James Wilson

Dear Sir:

New York March 2d 1786

Since my arrival here¹ nothing of any Moment has been upon the Carpet and if there had been it could not have been proceeded in as we have not at any time had more than seven States and in that Case one dissenting Voice stops all proceedings so that your Absence has been of no Consequence. I wish, however, it was convenient for you to come on now without loss of time. New Jersey has flatly refused to comply with the Requisition, until New York or Penna shall apply the product of the Import to federal purposes, and there seems to be a disposition to consider this as a breach of the Confederaton—and in order that there might be some Chance of going on with the Business it was proposed that Doctor Johnston who it seems is at no great Distance should be sent for to make up the Representation of Connecticut. That however I parried—but we certainly shall have eight States in a few Days, and I would wish you to be here when this Matter is agitated. I have not time to write to Dr. Rush at present but will this Week, but as our Assembly are now at Work, I wish you would request him to tell me what they are about. Please to present my Compliments to Mrs. Wilson & believe me, Dear Sir, Your very humble Servant,

Ar St. Clair

Tr (PSC: Konkle Collection). Copied by Burton A. Konkle from an original manuscript in the possession of Herbert Morris of Philadelphia.

¹ St. Clair took his seat in Congress on February 20. *JCC*, 30:77.

Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[March 2–29, 1786]

- March 2d. Circular Letter of March 1st. 1786 transmitted per post¹ to New Hampshire & N Carolina inclusive. to S. Carolina & Georgia—delivered to Mr Pinckney. To Honble. J. Howell [Lowell]. . . .per Post² To Honble. G. Read, two letters. . .do.³ To Cyrus Griffith Esqr. inclosed to Govr. of Virginia.⁴
- 3d. To Secy for foreign Affairs—letter of the same day.⁵
- 4th. To Honble. B. Franklin—letter of the same day per post.⁶ Circular letter—March 4th. 1786.⁷ transmitted per post to NewHampshire & N. Carolina inclusive—to S. Carolina & Georgia delivered to Mr Pinckney.
- 7th. Letter 7th March to the Commissrs. to repair to the Legislature of N. Jersey.⁸
- 8th. Letter 7th March To Honble. R. H. Lee—per Post—⁹
- 14th. Robert Boyd Esqr. 9 Affidavits relating to Capt. Schrine—a Mohawk—contained in a report from Secy at War—see his rect. filed.¹⁰
- 20th. To Capt. James Watson—delivered a letter from the board of treasury to him, enclosed in his meml. respecting Salary due to Genl. Parsons.¹¹
- 21st. To Mr Milligan—3 Vol. Journal of 1785 & 14 copies of the Act 30th Sept. respecting Invalids.
- 23 Letter 23d March—to Mr James McDowell—his Meml & papers inclosed—pr Post.¹²
- 29th Letter 29 March to R.H. Lee Esqr. inclosed to Mr A. Lee of the same date.¹³

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, February 25, 1786.

¹ See Thomson to the States, March 1.

² See Thomson to John Lowell and George Read, March 1.

³ See *ibid.*, and Thomson to George Read, March 1.

⁴ See Thomson to Cyrus Griffith, March 1.

⁵ See Thomson to John Jay, March 3.

⁶ See Thomson to Benjamin Franklin, March 4.

⁷ See the three letters of Thomson to Certain States, March 4.

⁸ That is, Thomson to Nathaniel Gorham, William Grayson, and Charles Pinckney, March 7.

⁹ See Thomson to Richard Henry Lee, March 7.

¹⁰ The affidavits themselves are not in the PCC, but for Boyd's receipt listing the nine persons who had testified on behalf of Capt. Johannes Schrine, and the board of war's report concerning Schrine's friendly disposition toward the United States during the revolution, see PCC, Miscellaneous Papers, reel 5, fols. 643–44; and *JCC*, 30:20–21.

¹¹ The board of treasury's letter to Watson, "Attorney to Saml. Holden Parsons Esqr.," is not in the PCC, but for Watson's February 8 memorial to Congress concerning his inability to collect Parson's salary as commissioner of Indian affairs, see PCC, item 41, 10:685–87.

¹² See Thomson to McDowell, March 23.

¹³ See Thomson to Arthur Lee, March 29.

Charles Thomson to John Jay

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, March 3. 1786

Your letter of the 1st has been laid before the United States in Congress assembled and I have it in charge to inform you that Congress have no objection against your accepting the Spanish Horse presented to you by his Catholic Majesty.¹

With much respect, I have the honor to be, Your Most Obedt & Most humble Servt,
Cha Thomson

FC (DNA: PCC, item 55). In the hand of Charles Thomson.

¹ For Jay's letter and the motion which Congress adopted this day directing Thomson to send Jay this notice, see *JCC*, 30:95. See also Henry Lee to Washington, March 2, note 2.

South Carolina Delegates to William Moultrie

Sir New-York March 4th. 1786.

We did ourselves the honor of writing your Excellency on the 6th Ultimo;¹ since this Congress have deemed it necessary to make another application to the States which have not complied in full with the recommendation of the 18th April 1783 for investing the United States in Congress assembled with the power of levying an impost, and for establishing supplementary funds in aid of the same, urging them to comply in full with the tenor of the said recommendation. The representation with the papers accompanying it, having been already officially transmitted by the Secretary,² we beg leave to refer your Excellency to them for information upon this subject.

We lately received from our Commercial Commissioners in Europe a treaty of Amity and Commerce Concluded by them with the minister of the King of Prussia, which will be published and transmitted to the several States as soon as it is ratified.³

RC (PPAmP: Franklin Papers). Addressed: "The Honorable Doctor Franklin, late Minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the Court of Versailles."

¹ A transcript of Franklin's September 19 letter to John Jay is in PCC, item 100, 2:260-62. For Jay's report on the letter and its referral to committee March 1, see JCC, 29:824-25, 30:90n.

² See *JCC*, 30:95.

Charles Thomson to Certain States

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, March 4th, 1786.

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency herewith enclosed an Act passed yesterday by the United States in Congress Assembled, together with a Copy of their Recommendations of the 30th April 1784, which are again presented to the View of your State.¹

As a longer delay in complying with these Recommendations, must be attended with very great evils, the Legislature of your State is most earnestly called upon to grant powers conformable thereto.

With the greatest Respect, I have the honor to be &c &c.,
C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Delaware, S. Carolina & Georgia."

¹ For these two enclosures, see *JCC*, 26:321–22, 30:93–94. To cope with the adverse effects of Britain's post-war commercial policies and the interstate trade rivalries that had since developed, the states had been requested to vest Congress with power to regulate trade for a term of 15 years. They had responded in a variety of ways to several exhortations, and by the resolves adopted March 3 Congress attempted to secure the compliance of the three which had not yet acted (Delaware, South Carolina, and Georgia), while bringing about greater uniformity in the enabling legislation of six of the ten others which had. The acts of New Hampshire, Rhode Island and North Carolina, were deemed "so in consonant to" the original recommendation as to require substantial alteration, while Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were asked merely to amend their legislation in regard to "the time from which they were to commence." Only the responses of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Virginia were regarded as satisfactory. To these latter four, Thomson's letter of this date consisted of the following sentence: "Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act which was passed yesterday by the United States in Congress assembled." PCC, item 18B, fol. 37. For the letters he wrote to the other six states, see the following two entries.

Charles Thomson to New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and North Carolina

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, March 4th. 1786.

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency herewith enclosed An Act passed yesterday by the United States in Congress Assembled together with a Copy of their Recommendations of the 30th of April 1784 which are again presented to the view of your State.¹

confederacy, but that not being the case, I can only add, that I am with perfect Respect, your excellencys most obt. & most h'mbl servant,
Rufus King

RC (PHi: Conarroe Collection).

¹ See King to Bowdoin, February 5.

Rufus King to Daniel Kilham

My dear Friend

New York 5th March 1786.

What reason has prevented your writing to me? I am not conscious of having forfeited your good esteem, and am utterly at a loss why you neglect me. I will write to you with the same familiarity that I formerly have done. Our domestic affairs are greatly embarrassed, the subject of Revenue is intricate even in the simplest forms of Government; but complex as our federal Government is, all questions of Revenue are complicated in the highest degree.

A late act of congress stating some of their money engagements,¹ and their means of complying with them, is a plain statement, and refers to the determination of the states a question infinitely important to the existence of the confederacy. The doctrine of expedients has brought us thus far; but expedients serve only to postpone, and not to remove, the evils which for a time they alleviate; they are therefore improper and impolitic in a republic, where the people determine on all governmental Acts, and consequently ought not only to know, but also to feel, every evil which surrounds them. A false delicacy has sometimes governed the public acts of Congress; an apprehension has been formerly entertained that foreigners would not sufficiently honor & esteem us, if they knew our real situation. This has been a mistaken policy. America was respectable in Arms, she was admired. But peace, so far from advancing her fame, has diminished her former Reputation; and there are few nations whose public credit is at so low an Ebb as our's—the only method of repossessing what we have lost, is by giving true information to the people, and submitting to their Judgement the promotion & establishment of their own Glory and Honor.

But probably you will say that you care little about these Reveries, and inform me that you have long since been tired of them. You have not given me such information heretofore—I will not however commit myself farther. I am authorised to affirm that I am with the purest esteem & Regard, Your sincere & obliged Friend, Rufus King

RC (NNC: King Collection).

¹ See Charles Thomson to the States, February 15, note 1.

Nathaniel Gorham to James Warren

Dear Sir

New York March 6 1786

Your esteemed favour of the 11th ulto. I recd. & would observe in answer to the first part of it that the Board of Treasury have (by order) laid before Congress a plan for expediting the set[tle]m[ent] of the public Accts by which plan four or five thousand dollars will be Annually saved¹—and Mr. Pennel will consequently be discharged,² and some other Person employed for a short time to bring the accts. in that quarter to a close, but the great inattention & negligence of the States with regard to their representation renders it impossible for Congress to pass upon this report & various other matters in which the wellfare of the Union is deeply interested—it being a mony matter. There being only seven States represented—R Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina & Georgia being absent—indeed the principle of the confederat[i]on as it respects representation & the mode of voting is calculated to encourage delinquency. There is no reason that RI, Delr. & Georgia should have equal weight in the federal counccills with Massa., Pensa. & Virginia—and if the representation had been apportioned according to numbers or property—and a suitable quorum established & the major vote to determine questions—this inattention would not exist. But as unanimity is now necessary upon the most trivial questions we feel all the inconveniencies of the liberum Veto of a Polish Diet. The applications from our foreign creditors are of such a nature as to make a deep impression with Congress & they have thought it their duty again to call the consideration of the States to the subject of an Impost—more especially as the situation of N York enables them so to Tax their Neighbours of Connet. & N Jersey as to create such a temper in those States as will greatly weaken if not destroy the Union. The Assembly of N Jersey have lately entered into a resolution that they will not comply with the last or any future requisition of Congress untill N. York gives up their Impost or applies it for the general purposes of the Union.³ Indeed there is nothing but the restraining hand of Congress (weak as it is) that prevents NJ and Conne. from entering the lists very seriously with NY & blood shed would very quickly be the consequence—but however NJ may suffer by her paying taxes for N York her refusal to comply with the requisition is unjust[i]fiable—and unless she re[s]cinds her resolution must work the end of all federal Government.

Congress sent an express to demand an attested copy of the resolution—he returned with it last night—tomorrow it will be very seriously considered—but as NJ is one of the seven States now on the floor they may perhaps embarrass Congress in their proceedings. They have however wrote in the most pressing manner for the attendance of the

delinquent States. Congress yesterday agreed on another application to the States on the subject of Commerce⁴—it is plain from the whole tenor of Mr. Adams's Letters that unless Congress possess the power of restricting the British trade there is no probability of his being able to do any thing to purpose with that Court. I will endeavor to as farr as I am able to have an equitable adjustment of your account. We do not get any acct. of the Presidents state of health. We are therefore intirely at a loss when to expect him.

Your Son Mr. Warren being returnd to Boston I inclose some letters which I recd under cover for him. Please to make my best respects to Mrs. Warren & be assured that I am with esteem & regard your most Huml servt,
Nathaniel Gorham

RC (MHi: Warren-Adams Papers).

¹ This report of the board of treasury "for the Settlement of the Accounts of the five great Departments" recommended the repeal of the February 27, 1782, resolve appointing five commissioners for this work, and that authority for their settlement be vested in a single commissioner. The five commissioners then acting would surrender their books and papers to the board of treasury by April 15. The report was submitted to Congress January 12 and referred to a committee January 25 which reported January 31. Although it was "assigned for Consideration" on February 2, there is no evidence that it was taken up before March 24, when it was adopted. See *JCC*, 30:17-19n, 34-35, 130-31, 31:957. Before a new commissioner could be elected, however, Congress took further action, for which see Edward Carrington to Timothy Pickering, April 13, note 4.

² That is, Joseph Pennell, commissioner for settling the accounts of the marine department.

³ See Charles Thomson to Nathaniel Gorham, et al., March 7.

⁴ "Yesterday" was Sunday, March 5. For the congressional decision of March 3 to which Gorham is referring, see *JCC*, 30:94.

Stephen Mix Mitchell to Oliver Wolcott, Jr.

Dear Sir,

New York Mar. 7th. 1786.

Your's of the 15th Ult. came safe to hand. Doctr. Johnson was in Connecticut before it was receivd. & has not as yet returnd., have therefore not been able to obtain a sight of your Letter of March 1785 referrd. to. I have conversed with one of the board of Treasury upon the subject of the Communications made by the Commissioner, but cannot learn he has made any of Consequence. The Gentleman with whom I conversed, seemd. of opinion, that the Orders given the Commissioner necessitated him to too great particularity & that his returns would be very voluminous, expressed his ardent wish that some Alteration might be made in the Directions;¹ When Doctr. Johnson arrives I will pay Attention to the matter & inform you the result.

So far as Delicacy will permit, shall endeavor to inform myself of the Correspondence you mention & the Objections therein made to

the Accts. of Connecticut & communicate every Occurrence worthy of Notice.

I conjecture nothing (save the length to which the Commissioners have already proceeded) will prevent Congress from adopting, some new & more expeditious Method of settling the Accts. of individual States with the United States.

I have procured the Journals from Novr. 1782 to the beginning of this year for you, tho' with some Difficulty; as the Secretary informs that he has forwarded our portion of them to the executive long since, I cannot divine the reason you have not been supplied with them. The Stage Drivers are releived every few miles & least they should be lost or mislaid, think it unsafe to entrust them to their Care, will transmit them by the first safe Oppertunity & am in the mean time, with the highest respect & Esteem, Sir, Your most humb Sert.,

Stephen M. Mitchell

RC (PHi: Jenkins Old Congress Collection).

¹ Mitchell is responding to Wolcott's query about the directions given to William Thompson, the commissioner appointed by Congress to settle Connecticut's Continental accounts. Wolcott himself had been appointed by the Connecticut Assembly commissioner "to settle and adjust the Accounts of this State against the United States with the Commissioner appointed by Congress." His May 1784 commission is in the Wolcott Papers, Box VIII, CtHi.

Charles Thomson to Nathaniel Gorham, William Grayson, and Charles Pinckney

Gentlemen Office of Secretary of Congress, March 7th. 1786.

Herewith you will receive enclosed 1st the Resolution passed this day appointing you to repair to Trenton and to represent to the Legislature of New Jersey the fatal consequences that must result from their refusal to comply with the requisition of September 1785.¹

2. A Copy of the resolution passed by the Assembly of New Jersey.²

3. A Copy of the Act of the 15th February and a schedule of the French and Dutch Loans.³

4th A pamphlet containing the address to the States in April 1783⁴ and sundry other papers among which is No 6 The Contract entered into by the Honorable J Adams in behalf of the United States with sundries for a Loan of five Millions of florins.

I have only to observe further that the second contract made the 9th of March 1784 for two million florins⁵ so far as relates to the right to demand immediate payment of the whole in case the Interest and installments are not discharged at the appointed periods, and so far as

I wish you an agreeable Journey and successful issue to your embassy.⁶
With great Respect, I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, &c. &c.,
C.T.

¹ See *JCC*, 30:97. The board of treasury had learned of the New Jersey Assembly's refusal to comply with Congress' 1785 requisition and had written to Gov. William Livingston on February 28 to obtain a certified copy of the state's act, which the board in turn forwarded to Congress on March 4. See Livingston, *Papers* (Prince), 5:244; *JCC*, 30:95–96; and PCC, item 140, 2:141–48. The matter was immediately referred to a committee which reported this day, whereupon Gorham, Grayson, and Pinckney were appointed "to proceed without delay to Trenton" to obtain a reversal of the assembly's decision.

³ *JCC*, 30:70–76.

⁵ A certified copy of this contract is in PCC, item 145, fols. 261–69.

⁶ For the “issue” of this undertaking, see Charles Pinckney’s Speech to the New Jersey Assembly, March 13.

Charles Thomson to Richard Henry Lee

The enclosed Letter from M. de Marbois & M. Coustard with the papers accompanying it came to hand the latter end of last week under a cover directed to the President of Congress.¹ But being found to relate only to the condemnation of the prize taken by Mr. Jones and other Americans, a subject about which you had written to him,² I have it in charge to forward them on to you.

As it is possible the persons interested may chuse to prosecute their claim and apply to the Duke de Penthièvre,³ to whose use the prize was condemned, and it may be of use to them to have an Exemplification of the Acts of Congress under which they claim a right to the prize, I have applied to Congress and with their leave send you the Exemplification which is herewith enclosed.⁴

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most obedient
& most hum servt., Cha Thomson

¹ Not identified.

² Not found.

³ That is, Louis-Jean-Marie de Bourbon, duc de Penthièvre, Grand Admiral of France.

⁴ Enclosures not found, but Thomson may have sent Lee copies of the prize ordinances of March 27 and December 4, 1781, and amendment of February 26, 1782. See *JCC*, 19:314–16, 21:1152–58, 22:99–100.

John Bayard to John Nicholson

Dear Sir

New York, March 11th. 1786

I this day received your Letter of the 4th Inst. in answer to mine of the 8th Ult. I can readily pardon your not answering me sooner as I know how much your Time is taken up with publick Business. Mr. Pettit by his Letter of the 9th Instt. informs me that Mr. Wilson will sett off on Monday or Tuseday next for this place. This has determined me to leave this for Philada. on Wensday or Thursday at farthest¹—so that I shall shortly have the pleasure of seeing you when I hope it will be in my power to settle Matters to mutual satisfaction. It has been cause of great Uneasiness to me that I have not been able sooner to discharge this as well as other Demands against me. My confidence in My Country—& my Zeal to promote Her best Interests has led me to put the greatest part of my Estate in Her Funds—at a time when such Loans were absolutely Necessary. I have by this conduct, incapacitated myself from fulfilling my Engagements with that punctuality I could wish, and also been prevented from assisting My Children who have grown up, & have a Just claim upon me—but my consolation is, I did it with a single Eye to the Good of My Country.

I am much pleased with the Conduct of our Assembly, in passing the Laws agreeably to the Report of their Committee—however We may be divided by Party. We stand well with Congress as a Fœderal State. I wish I could say as much for N York. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing You in a few days.

I am, Dear Sir, Yours sincerely,

John Bayard

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ James Wilson arrived to take his seat in Congress March 22. Bayard apparently left for home Thursday, March 17, leaving only Arthur St. Clair in attendance to represent Pennsylvania March 17–21. See *JCC*, 30:116–18, 122.

Committee of Congress to William Livingston

Sir

Trenton March 12 1786.

Having received instructions from the United States in Congress assembled to proceed to this place for the purpose of remonstrating to the assembly on their act of the 20th ultimo respecting the requisition of September last,¹ we shall be much obliged to your Excellency



John Bayard

to inform that honourable body of our arrival and that we wish to have an audience of them on Monday morning. We have the honour to be Your Excellency's most obedient Servants,

Charles Pinckney

Nathaniel Gorham

Willm. Grayson

RC (MHi: Livingston Papers). Written by Pinckney and signed by Pinckney, Gorham, and Grayson.

¹ See Charles Thomson to Nathaniel Gorham, William Grayson, and Charles Pinckney, March 7, 1786.

William Hindman to Unknown

Dear sir

New-York March 12th. 1786

I received Yours of the 14th Ultio. & You may rely that every Attention shall be paid to the Case of Mr. Jamison, his Application has been laid before Congress & is now in the Hands of a Committee, nothing at present can be done in it for Want of a sufficient Number of States in Congress, there being only eight represented, Whenever it is acted upon He shall be inform'd.¹

I am, most sincerely, Yrs &c,

Wm Hindman

RC (PHi: Dreer Members of Congress Collection).

¹ A memorial from Adam Jamison, "late Deputy Commissary General of Issues to the Southern Army," in which he explained that his accounts had not been settled because portions of his books and papers had been lost in 1780 at the Battle of Camden and again in 1782 during army maneuvers in the southern campaign, had been read March 2 and referred to a committee chaired by Hindman. The committee did not report, however, and on August 2, 1787, Jamison's papers were referred to a new committee chaired by Edward Carrington. The committee's August 9 report was approved September 28 when Congress ordered the commissioner of accounts for the commissary department to settle "upon the best evidence which . . . can be obtained," since most documentation had been lost "through no fault or misconduct." See *JCC*, 30:92n, 33:453n, 549–50; and *PCC*, item 19, 3:275–77, item 41, 4:499–502, item 190, fols. 86, 164.

David Ramsay to Henry Knox

Sir,

New York March 12th 1786

I have perused your plan for the militia with great pleasure.¹ I only fear that our governments are too relaxed to bear any system which will be attended with so much time & expence. It is so well calculated for defence that foreigners will not dare to molest us; but it is a query

with me whether our youth would not be so fond of a military life as to be tempted to act offensively against our neighbors. I think it is excellent in theory but I fear the supiness of our citizens would make its execution impracticable.

I have the honor to be your most obedt sert., David Ramsay

RC (MHi: Henry Knox Papers).

¹ It is not known when Secretary at War Knox submitted his lengthy "plan for the militia" to chairman Ramsay for his approval, but Congress, fearing British agitation among the Indian tribes and a possible rupture of relations between Britain and the United States had appointed a committee as early as February 21, 1785, "to consider and devise a plan for the general regulation of the Militia." The committee was discharged on May 16, however, and the task transferred to Knox who submitted his plan to Congress on March 18, 1786. Congress took up the report on the 20th and ordered 100 printed copies which were issued on March 27 under the title *A Plan for the General Arrangement of the Militia of the United States* (New York, 1786). Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 20,076. A footnote at the bottom of the title page announced that "the regulations for the discipline and government of the Militia, will be submitted hereafter." The report was referred to a grand committee on April 11 which advised Congress on September 11 "that it be recommended to the respective States for their Adoption, it being such a system of Military regulation, as will if carried into execution not only put their Militia upon a very respectable but formidable footing." See *JCC*, 28:88–89, 362n, 30:117n, 151n, 642, 959–60; *PCC*, item 189, fol. 8, item 190, fols. 13, 39, 93; and *PCC Miscellaneous Papers*, M322, reel 9, fols. 603–21.

Charles Pinckney's Speech to the New Jersey Assembly

[March 13, 1786]¹

Mr. Speaker, The United States in Congress assembled being informed that this house had, on the 20th ultimo, resolved, that they could not consistently with their duty to their constituents assent to the requisition of September last for federal supplies, they have conceived it incumbent on them, as guardians of the general rights and interests of the confederacy, by a deputation of their own body, a measure they never adopt but upon the most important occasions, to present to the view of the state of New-Jersey, the absolute necessity there is in the several states to a strict and punctual compliance with the requisitions of Congress, and the fatal consequences which must inevitably attend an adherence to the present determination of the assembly.

When these states united, convinced of the inability of each to support a separate system, and that on their union depended their protection and existence, policy as well as prudence dictated the necessity of forming one efficient government, which, while it protected and secured the whole, left to the several states those rights of internal

sovereignty it was not necessary to delegate, and which could be exercised without injury to the federal authority. In them were placed all those essential powers which constitute a nation. Such are the exclusive rights of peace and war—of sending and receiving embassies—of forming treaties and alliances—and equipping and raising fleets and armies. To them also were delegated the power *of obtaining loans on the faith of the United States, and of apportioning to the several members of the union, their quotas of the publick expences.* The mode established by the confederation for ascertaining the quota of each was at that time supposed equal and practicable. Experience, however, has proved the contrary, and the states, though frequently urged, having neglected to furnish returns of the value of their lands, and the buildings and improvements thereon, agreeably to the article, Congress were induced to recommend an alteration of it. This has been under reference for some time—ten of the states have complied, and some of them furnished the returns of their numbers in conformity to the recommendation. New-Jersey has done both. It is the best information Congress have been able to obtain of the comparative strength and resources of the different states, and the only one on which they could properly found those requisitions the services and supplies of the federal government render necessary.

The states having thus, by their voluntary act, formed one government as essential to the protection of the whole, and placed in one controlling power the administration of its concerns, and to whom they were to look up for support, each state is bound according to its abilities to furnish a proportion of the expences, and the whole are jointly and severally pledged for the publick engagements, foreign and domestic. The mode prescribed by the confederation being impracticable, it follows that the proportions are to be quotaed agreeably to the best lights in the possession of the union; for, while the government exists, its members are bound to contribute to its maintenance; and New-Jersey having not only assented to the mode by which she is rated, but furnished the returns on which the assessment could be made with exactness; she certainly cannot with propriety complain of bearing an undue proportion; nor will she, I trust, upon serious reflection, suppose she can, consistently with her duty to the union, refuse the requisition.² If she has been over-rated, let her substantiate it in evidence to Congress, and she will always find that body inclined to do her the completest justice. Nay more, if she conceives herself oppressed under the present confederation, let her, through her delegates in Congress, state to them the oppressions she complains of, and urge the calling of a general convention of the states for the purpose of increasing the powers of the federal government, and rendering it more adequate to the ends for which it was instituted. In this constitu-

tional mode of application there can be no doubt of her meeting with all the support and attention she can wish.

Had her resentment, in concert with Connecticut, been pointed against New-York, and the means in their power *by duties, and by opening a free port immediately opposite their city*, been exerted to oblige that state to do them justice, so far from injuring, she would have received the countenance of every federal state in the union. But her present conduct, in refusing the constitutional requisition of Congress, and involving the states who were friendly to her interests in the general confusion that must now ensue, so far from obtaining the ends she proposes, will divert the attention of the union from New-York, and from that system which could alone relieve the non-importing states, and apply it wholly to her. For, with what propriety could compulsory means be used against a state, for not assenting to a measure on which we confess she had a right to deliberate, when we suffer *another in silence and with impunity* to refuse a requisition she is constitutionally bound to comply with?

It will be proper here to remark, that the present requisition is founded upon more advantageous principles than any hitherto adopted, so far as it respects the eight northern states, whose citizens probably hold more than three-fourths of the whole certificate debt of the United States—for of the 11,400,485 dollars, being the total specie value of the loan-office debt, 9,998,880 dollars being more than seven-eighths of the whole were loaned in the seven eastern states. The state of New-Jersey is in proportion a considerable creditor of the union. How far therefore it becomes her to support the measures of Congress in providing for the interest of this debt, and in asserting its credit, is left to the good sense of the house to determine. The several requisitions of September 1782, April 1784, and September 1785, which have been just stated to the house, and their principles fully explained, obviate every objection with respect to a larger number of certificates being issued than are provided for, and prove that certificates will not issue from the loan-offices to a greater amount than the interest of the domestic debt to December 1784. If the states comply with the several requisitions, the funds on which the interest certificates depend will be co-extensive with them, and the certificates all be sunk and called in by the taxes levied by the states. As to the commutation to the army, it is only necessary to remark, that the late Congress found an act of a former Congress finally adopted upon the subject, and the national faith pledged to carry it into effect. The certificates are so exchanged that it would be impossible now, even if it was proper, to make any discrimination between them and the other publick securities. To the army, however, I am of opinion their country are bound by the strongest ties of gratitude and affection, and if it could be ever admissible to make any dis-

tinctions between the public creditors they certainly possess the purest claims to preference and attention.

That the commercial states are indebted to the joint efforts of the whole for the advantages they enjoy, will be readily admitted. Upon these principles Congress have again, by the address of the 15th of February last, which you have just heard read, presented the revenue system to the view of those states that have not complied.³ [In once more bringing this recommendation before them, they have stated that there will be due, in the course of the next year, a part of the principal of two of the foreign loans, and afterwards a part of the other loans, agreeably to the stipulations of the same, to be paid annually, by instalments, until the whole is extinguished—which must, until that event, proportionably increase the sums called for; that the whole of the domestic debt is not yet liquidated, and that its amount will probably be enlarged beyond its former estimate—that the treaties necessary for the protection of our commerce from the piratical states of Barbary—the safety of our frontiers from the savages—and the establishment of magazines in different parts of the union—may perhaps increase the estimate of the military department; and that the supplies, for federal purposes, will probably be greater than they have hitherto been; that they contemplate with pleasure the prospect of extinguishing a part of the domestic debt by the sales of western territory—but that, as a considerable time must intervene before it can be surveyed and disposed of, no immediate aid can be drawn from this source; and that since a sufficient sum for the exigencies of government, and the interest due on the public debt, was not to be expected from any of the means authorised by the confederation it follows, that unless some more efficient and productive fund could be discovered, we should soon be exposed to the greatest national difficulties and disgrace.

While it is in the power of the states to prevent these incumbrances, and to do justice to their creditors, congress will certainly continue to urge them to it. They have again presented to their view, the system which has been so long under reference to their legislatures, as the only one calculated to assert the credit and relieve the distresses of the union.

In examining the conduct of the states, they will find that all, except New York and Georgia, have, in some degree, though perhaps not effectually, complied with the first part of the recommendation for investing the united states with the power of levying the impost. The assent of so large a majority of the states, including some of the most important in commercial and other resources, shews that they were impressed with the necessity and propriety of its motives. Convinced of the importance of the federal government, and that on its existence their political welfare and consequence must depend, they have

liberally dedicated to its support, a part of the advantages derived from its establishment: nor have they considered this as more than justice to the citizens of those states whose situation renders them dependent upon their imports for supplies—that they had therefore wisely determined to make the welfare of the union their first object, reflecting that in all federal regulations something must be yielded to aid the whole; and that those who may expect support, must in their turn be ready to afford it. How far their example may induce the legislatures of those states to adopt the same liberal conduct, is now left to themselves to decide. We still, however, trust that these states will be not less disposed to give vigour and efficacy to a government upon which all must eventually depend for the protection and security of the invaluable blessings they enjoy.]

Georgia, it is said, has acceded—New-York is now deliberating upon it—and it is hoped that a measure so just in itself, and so necessary at this time to strengthen the federal credit, will meet with their concurrence—if not, we reflect with pleasure, that a great majority of the most important states in the union have, upon every occasion, by their acts and ready compliances with the recommendation of Congress, manifested so warm and zealous an affection to the federal compact, as leaves no doubt of a system soon being formed which will in its operation relieve every embarrassment and inequality complained of. But this will altogether depend upon the concerted measures of such states as are friendly to the system. By divisions upon the subject of the requisition, you not only defeat and prevent the measures of Congress, for obtaining this desirable end, but furnish the non-complying states with new and forcible arguments against it⁴—[arguments founded on the impropriety of investing the exercise of important powers to a government so feebly and injudiciously constructed, as to be not only incapable of executing those they at present possess, but to be a very unsafe deposit of such further authorities as are required by the system under their consideration. The danger, they contend, arises from the inequality of representation, and the want of a proper distribution of the powers of government. Be assured, that whenever they have it in their power, they will attempt this reform.] Perhaps I do not go too far in asserting, that a perseverance in your refusal must inevitably tend to dissolve those ties which bind us as a nation. For, should the other states suspend their supplies to the common treasury, until New-Jersey complies with the requisition, the existence of the federal government must be endangered—probably cease.⁵

[It is certainly more the interest of the small, than it can be of the large states, to preserve the confederation upon its present principles. We are aware of the necessity which compelled the latter to confederate upon terms allowing each state an equal vote in the national coun-

cils. Had the system been formed in a time of peace—when no common danger pressed—when deliberation was unaccompanied with apprehension, and the large states preferred conceding the point of proportionable representation, however important, to the greater evil of being again reduced to the power of Great Britain—can it be thought that any union would have been formed upon principles so unequal and oppressive as the present?

Let us for a moment suppose the confederation dissolved, and an assembly of the states convened for the purpose of adopting a system calculated to render the general government firm and energetic—is it not to be reasonably expected, that the large states would contend and insist upon a greater influence than they at present possess? Would they again consent to unite upon principles which should allow states not contributing a twelfth part of their quotas to the public expences, an equal vote with themselves! It is not even to be hoped. It ought, therefore, to appear exceedingly important to the small states to maintain a system so advantageous to their particular interests, when they reflect that in the event of another confederation, they cannot expect to be placed in a situation, to which they are neither entitled by common justice, or an equal attention to the rights of the other members of the union.

Though our present disorders must be attributed, in the first instance, to the weakness and inefficacy of the general government, it must still be confessed they have been precipitated by the refractory and inattentive conduct of the states; most of whom have neglected altogether the performance of their federal duties; and, whenever their state policy or interests prompted, used their retained rights to the injury and disgrace of the federal head. Be assured, sir, the united states can have no danger so much to dread as that of disunion: nor has the federal government, when properly formed, any thing to fear, but from the licentiousness of its members. We have no hereditary monarchy, or nobles with all their train of influence and corruption, to contend with; nor is it possible to form a federal aristocracy. Parties may, for a time, prevail in the states: but the establishment of an aristocratic influence in the councils of the union, is remote and doubtful. It is the anarchy, if I may use the term, or rather worse than anarchy, of a pure democracy which *I fear—where the laws lose their respect, and the magistrates their authority; where no permanent security is given to the property and privileges of the citizens; and no measures pursued, but such as suit the temporary interest and convenience of the prevailing parties*, I cannot figure to myself a government more truly degrading; and yet such has been the fate of all the ancient, and will, without great care, be probably the fate of all the modern republics. The progress has been regular—from order to licentiousness—from licentiousness to anarchy—and from thence to despotism. If we re-

view the confederacies of Greece, we shall find, that each in their turn became a prey to the turbulence of their own members, who, refusing to obey the federal head, and, upon all occasions, insulting and opposing its authority, afforded an opportunity to foreign powers to interfere and subvert them. There is not an example, in history, of a confederacy being enslaved or ruined by the invasions of the supreme authority; nor is it possible: for depending, as it must, upon the members for support and maintenance, it will always be in their power to check and prevent its injuring them.]

To this house, therefore, an application is now made to rescind their act, as one pregnant with the most alarming evils. The situation of our commerce languishing under the most ruinous and opprobrious restraints, and which nothing but a wise and well-concerted system of federal policy can support, has for some time demanded our most serious attention—to relieve it from its present embarrassments—to place it upon terms advantageous to our own citizens—and rescue it from the predatory invasions of the Barbary States. The hostile conduct of the savages on our frontiers—the unexampled behaviour of our late enemy, in holding our posts contrary to the treaty, bridling the country, and depriving us of the advantages which would otherwise arise from it—and above all, *that due and sacred regard which a nation ought ever to pay to her engagements as the only solid basis of her honour and prosperity*, at this time particularly call for our strenuous and united exertions. To these important considerations all motives of state-policy should yield. We should recollect that the grievances and inequalities particular states may complain of can only be relieved by the timely and judicious interposition of the federal authority, and that this once dissolved, the interests of the lesser states may not only be oppressed, but become a prey to the more important, and such a scene of intestine discord and confusion ensue, as every friend to the peace and liberties of his country must wish to avert. A temptation will be offered to the great maritime powers of Europe to interfere in our politics, and this country, which, under a wise and liberal system might be the happiest, become one of the most miserable and contemptible in existence.

For these and a variety of other reasons which might easily be adduced, I am hopeful the house will rescind their resolution, and pass the requisition. If they do not—in what other light can the United States view their conduct, than in that of an infraction of the confederation, and a solemn recession of this state from its union and protection? A measure I am convinced they could not have had in the most distant contemplation. We have ever viewed this state in point of services and exertions as one of the most deserving in the union, and trust that upon this occasion she will evince that attachment to the federal system—we are sure she bears it.

As the measures of Congress must in a great degree depend upon the determination of the house either to rescind or adhere to their late resolution, and as the public anxiety is exceedingly raised, we are to request your honourable body to give us an answer as soon as the importance of the subject will possibly admit.⁶

Mr. Pinckney used a number of other arguments, which we have not been able to obtain, explaining and enforcing the principles of the requisition—proving that it was not intended as a substitute for, or could by any means be construed to interfere with the revenue system of April 18, 1783—stating the consequences which must result from a refusal of it, and urging the house to comply with the expectations of Congress in passing it.

Mr. Gorham and Mr. Grayson followed Mr. Pinckney, and, by a variety of arguments in a very able and pointed manner, proved the impolicy of New-Jersey's refusing the requisition, it being clearly her interest to support the confederation. The latter gentleman,⁷ in particular, urged with great force the impropriety of this state's risking the dissolution of the union, as in the event of another confederation it could not be supposed the lesser states would be allowed to confederate upon equal terms with the more important.⁸

Reprinted from the *New-Jersey Gazette*, March 20, 1786; and the *American Museum*, 2 (July 1787): 153–59.

¹ This date was derived from the following introductory passage in the March 20 *New-Jersey Gazette* account: "On Monday last the committee of Congress, consisting of the hon. Charles Pinckney of South-Carolina, hon. Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts, and hon. William Grayson of Virginia, had their audience of the assembly of New-Jersey, agreeably to the resolution of Congress of the 7th instant, and the appointment of the house assigning that day. The resolution of Congress appointing the committee, and stating its purposes, was read—the resolutions of Congress of the 15th of February last respecting the revenue system of 18th April 1783 were also read, and a schedule of the foreign loans laid before the house. Mr. Pinckney then addressed the house in nearly the following terms."

For the context of Pinckney's appearance before the New Jersey Assembly, see Charles Thomson to Gorham, Grayson, and Pinckney, March 7; Committee of Congress to William Livingston, March 12; and Richard P. McCormick, *Experiment in Independence: New Jersey in the Critical Period, 1781–1789* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1950), pp. 233–44.

² From this point to the end of the paragraph, the *American Museum* text reads: "If she has been over-rated, upon stating the excess in evidence to congress, she will always receive the relief she may be justly entitled to. If, on the other hand, she conceives herself unequally situated; or that she does not participate in those common benefits which the general government was expected to dispense to all its members—if she thinks, with me, that its powers are inadequate to the ends for which it was instituted, and that they should be increased—there can be no doubt of the conduct she ought to pursue. She ought immediately to instruct her delegates in congress, to urge the calling of a general convention of the states, for the purpose of revising and amending the federal system. In this constitutional application, she will meet with all the attention and support she can wish." Pinckney then went on to say: "I have long been of opinion, that it was the only true and radical remedy for our public defects; and shall with pleasure assent to,

and support, any measure of that kind, which may be introduced, while I continue a member of that body."

Although the manuscript of Pinckney's speech has not been discovered, it is clear that 15 months after delivering his speech to the New Jersey Assembly and providing Isaac Collins a text for the *New-Jersey Gazette*, Pinckney substantially revised it for publication by Mathew Carey in the July 1787 issue of the *American Museum*. The context was no longer New Jersey's threat to withhold contributions from her Continental quota, but the deliberations of the constitutional convention which opened in Philadelphia in May 1787, which Pinckney was attending as a delegate for South Carolina. There are nearly 50 variations in emphasis and phraseology between the two texts, including three extended passages not found in the earlier version which are noted below. Among other motives for "improving" the text of his speech, it is easy to imagine that Pinckney desired to demonstrate continuity in the movement for "revising and amending the federal system," of which he was one of the earliest leaders, for his overture to the New Jersey Assembly had had tangible effects. Not only did the house rescind its resolution refusing compliance with the 1786 requisition, but soon after agreed to appoint delegates to attend a convention for reforming the Continental government.

³ Bracketed passage through this and the following two paragraphs taken from the *American Museum*, pp. 156-57.

⁴ The following bracketed passage taken from *ibid.*, p. 157.

⁵ Bracketed passage through the following three paragraphs taken from *ibid.*, pp. 157-58.

⁶ From this point the printer of the *Gazette* merely summarized the substance of the committee's remaining arguments.

⁷ Grayson's remarks were also reported by the French chargé d'affaires in New York, Louis Guillaume Otto, to the French foreign minister, the comte de Vergennes, in the following words (in translation): "What is your object in hastening the dissolution of a confederation which has cost us so dear? That compact was the result of necessity; but do you suppose that in a new system of government you would be allowed the importance that you have had hitherto? Do you think that Virginia, Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts would be willing to stand on an equal footing with the handful of citizens which inhabit your state? Although much inferior to those powerful republics, you have had an equal part in the deliberations of Congress, but do not flatter yourself that in a new confederation you would enjoy so distinguished a role; they will know how to put you in your place." Otto to Vergennes, March 17, 1786, Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères, Correspondance politique, États-Unis, 32:188.

⁸ The printer of the *Gazette* also appended the following extracts from the New Jersey Assembly's proceedings recording the response of the house to the committee's presentation.

"The house resumed the consideration of the motion made by mr. A. Clark, seconded by mr. Schenck, on the 14th instant, in the following words, to wit,

"That the honourable committee of Congress be informed, that this house, anxiously desirous of promoting among all the states a lasting union, established upon principles of justice and equality, are ready to accede to any measures founded on such a basis.

"That the present confederation, in whatever light the same may be considered with regard to equality, hath not been strictly adhered to in the requisition of September last. The valuation of the lands and buildings have not been taken by any state, nor the mode recommended by Congress for settling the quotas by the number of inhabitants which superseded the requisition for such a valuation been agreed to by all the states so far as to become a federal rule, on which account the requisition of September last can be considered only as recommendatory, and therefore, for the reasons contained in the resolution of this house of the 20th of February last, cannot be complied with further than by providing for the annual payment of interest due to our citizens, which it is supposed will nearly amount to the whole quota of this state on the national debt.

"This house entertains the most grateful sense of the liberal assistance afforded by the friendly powers in Europe, by loaning money to the United States; and sincerely regret the want of proper funds to discharge the interest. This, it must be acknowledged, is not owing to any neglect of Congress; they have done all in their power to raise the sums necessary for that purpose, and their present inability to make prompt payment must be charged only to those states which have refused to grant the United States the duties and imposts which they now collect, as well from states destitute of any foreign commerce, as from their own citizens; and which, if paid into the common treasury at the disposal of Congress, will probably be more than sufficient to raise the specie required.

"Whereupon, A motion was made by Mr. T. Clark, seconded by Mr. R. S. Smith, to substitute the following in lieu of the said motion:

"Whereas this house, apprehensive that a compliance with the requisition of Congress of the 27th September last would have a tendency to confirm the states who have not complied with the resolutions of Congress of the 18th April 1783 for a general impost and revenue in their opposition to the plan therein recommended, and considering all temporary expedients inadequate to raise a fund sufficient to discharge the interest on the national debt and to provide for other expenditures necessary for the support of the federal government, and for other reasons assigned in the preamble to the resolution of this house of the 20th ult. did resolve, that this house cannot, consistent with the duty they owe their constituents, comply with the requisition of Congress of the 27th September last, until all the states in the union shall comply with the requisition of the 18th April 1783, or until the several states having the advantage of commerce shall forbear exacting duties from other states for their own particular benefit: and whereas a deputation from Congress to this house have, by order of Congress, communicated sundry evils which may arise to the union by the determination of this house if adhered to;

"The house therefore, having reconsidered the said resolution, are of opinion, that, although the said requisition, from a want of conformity to the rule of adjusting the quotas of the several states contained in the 8th article of the confederation, the alteration of which rule not having been acceded to by all the states can of course be binding upon none, must be considered only as recommendatory: notwithstanding which, being willing to remove as far as in their power every embarrassment from the counsels of the union, and that the failure of supplies from temporary demands, though clearly evinced from experience, may not be imputed to the state of New-Jersey only, do therefore

"*Resolve*, That the said resolution of the 20th February last be, and the same is hereby rescinded and made void.

"To which the house agreed."

Thomas Clark's substitute resolution, as adopted, was merely a face-saving gesture, for the New Jersey Assembly's "policy of not contributing to the financial support of the Confederation, adopted in 1783, was never altered or abandoned." McCormick, *Experiment in Independence*, p. 243.

David Ramsay to John Eliot

Sir,

New York March 13th 1786

I have sent a few copies of my book to Boston. I have to request that you take one to yourself, & send another to President Hancock with the letter inclosed & a third to Mr Lovell. The remainder please to put in the hands of any book seller you please with directions to advertise them, the title page & no more. The price is four dollars. Till twelve hundred copies are sold I am not cleared of my expences. I

mention this as an apology for the price. The Engravings have cost me upwards of eight hundred dollars. The map of the State was very expensive. If the books are in request I shall send more but I have no more bound in New-York at this present time.

I have the honor to be, your very humble sert, David Ramsay.

RC (MHi: Andrew-Eliot Papers).

William Grayson to Henry Knox

Dr Sir

Trenton March 14th. 1786.

I received a ticket¹ from you just as I was setting out from N. York,² & had not then time to answer it: I am sorry it is not now in my power to say any thing *certainly* on the subject matter of it.

We yesterday had an audience before the Assembly, but have had no answer, neither can we form any conclusions as to what will be the result of our Embassy.³

A bill for paper money, including a right of tendering, is before the Upper house and will be decided on in a day or two; it is said the Council are nearly divided in opinion on this important subject.⁴

I remain with great respect, yr. Affect. frd. & most Obed sert,

Willm. Grayson⁵

RC (MHi: Henry Knox Papers).

¹ Not identified.

² For Grayson's mission to New Jersey, see Charles Thomson to Grayson, Nathaniel Gorham, and Charles Pinckney, March 7.

³ See Committee of Congress to William Livingston, March 12; and Charles Pinckney's Speech to the New Jersey Assembly, March 13.

⁴ For the great debate over paper money raging in New Jersey at this time and the triumph in May of the debtor forces, see Richard P. McCormick, *Experiment in Independence: New Jersey in the Critical Period, 1781-1789* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1950), pp. 192-203; and the dialogue between "Primitive Whig" (William Livingston) and his soft money detractors in Livingston, *Papers* (Prince), 5:215-41.

⁵ Grayson had also written to James Monroe from Princeton on May 10 enclosing a note for \$400 "in order to take up the note in the bank for that sum, in case it becomes due before I return." bMS Am 1649.5, MH-H.

Charles Thomson to William Livingston

Sir,

Office of Secretary of Congress, March 14. 1786

The letters which your Excellency did me the honor to write on the 6 & 7 have been duly received and communicated to Congress.¹ An Application similar to that contained in your letter of the 7th was last

week made by the legislature of New York and referred to the board of treasury, who reported against prolonging the time. The enclosed extract will shew how far Congress proceeded on that report.² Should they think it necessary to proceed farther and come to a decision, I shall immediately transmit it to your Excellency. In the mean while the Commissioner must be governed by the resolution of the 17 March 1785.³

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "His Exy Govt Livingston of New Jersey."

¹ Governor Livingston's March 6 letter reporting that New Jersey had done nothing yet to comply with the act Thomson had sent in his "Letter of the 28th of February last," is in PCC, item 68, fols. 667–70. His letter of the 7th, which obviously contained a request for an extension of the deadline set by Congress March 17, 1785, for submitting claims to the Continental commissioners of accounts, has not been found.

² For Congress' failure to adopt the board of treasury's recommendation to reject a similar New York appeal for an extension of the 12 month deadline set March 17, 1785, see *JCC*, 30:109–10.

³ See *JCC*, 28:168–69.

Pierse Long to John Langdon

Sir,

New York March 15t. 1786

I Received your favor of the 23d Ult. per post wherein you say that measures will be taken by the Honble. General Court, to furnish their Delegates at Congress with Cash—and that your Excellency will do all in your power to have this money paid in preference to any others, for which you will please to accept my most cordial thanks.

Will you Sir be so obliging as to inform the Honble. Mr. Gilman the amount of what was due for My last years services Viz. Three hundred & Thirty Six pounds 18/4 L[egal] M[one]y. And that more than One quarter of this year has already expired. And will your Excellency at the same time please to tell him that I am waiting for an opportunity to draw on him for a sum not Exceeding One thousand dollars—which draught shall be put on as long a sight as possible.

There is Eight States only in Congress—and three single Gentlemen from Three other states—of course the business that require a larger number of States cannot be concluded. There are Two Grand committees appointed and are setting as often as opportunity offers to prepare Such business as a less number than Nine are inefficient to enter on. No news of a public nature to inform you of. No packets from Europe—tho two are daily expected. Neither is their any Further Accounts from the Commissioners who are trading with the Indians.

I am with Sentiments of Respect & Esteem, Your Excellency's Most
Obt. Hum Servt.,

Pierse Long

them to rescind the resolution & accede to the measure. The Committee were, Pinckney, Gorham & Grayson; they left us immediately & have not since return'd.² We have in the papers an act stated to be of R.I. passing the impost in the full latitude recommended by Congress.³ It is believ'd to be the case—in that event this State will most probably pass it also. It is also sd. that Georgia hath pass'd it.⁴ A report urging in very pointed terms a compliance with the recommendation for changing as therein propos'd the 8th of the articles of confederation is before Congress.⁵ It will most probably pass altho' some gentn. in the Eastern States wou. willingly throw it aside. The better dispos'd & better inform'd are aware of the impolicy of an opposition to it even if injurious to those States (wh. is not admitted) while they seek a more important alteration in the extension of the powers of Congress in the regulation of trade. You will before this have heard that I have it in my power to make you acquainted with a Lady of this State adopted of Virga.⁶ I am sincerely yr. friend & servt.,
Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ For which, see Lambert Cadwalader to Robert Magaw, December 14, 1785, note 2.

² See Charles Thomson to Nathaniel Gorham, et al., March 7; Committee of Congress to William Livingston, March 12; and Charles Pinckney's Speech to the New Jersey Assembly, March 13.

³ The Rhode Island act appeared as a supplement to the Saturday edition of Francis Childs' New York *Daily Advertiser*, March 18.

⁴ See Monroe to Madison, February 9, note 2.

⁵ Monroe, Nathan Dane, William Grayson, John Kean, and Stephen Mix Mitchell had been appointed a committee to examine state compliance with the recommendation of April 18, 1783, for altering the 8th Article of Confederation and to report what further measures Congress could pursue "for carrying into Effect a Federal Rule for apportioning Federal Taxes." In their March 8 report the committee urged the non-complying states of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Georgia to adopt the proposal and requested all states to enact legislation for enumerating taxable inhabitants and determining land valuation pursuant to Congress' resolution of February 17, 1783. See *JCC*, 30:85, 102–8.

⁶ That is, with Monroe's bride, Elizabeth Kortright Monroe.

William Grayson to Richard Henry Lee

Dr Sir

New York [March] 22nd 1786.

I have had the pleasure of receiving both your letters, & for which I am much obliged to you though I am sorry to observe you do not speak more decidedly on your intended junction with your brother delegates. If it depends on our removal to Philada. some time must necessarily elapse, as there is but little hopes that such an event will take effect witht. a full representation of the Southern States. N. Carolina, Delawar & Georgia are still absent & we do not know when they will appear; it

seems as if many of the States had forgot the relation in which they stood to the Union As well as to foreign powers. Congress have done very little since their last meeting; indeed with so few States, it is out of their power to do any thing of material consequence.

They have been lately alarmed at the conduct of our Sister Jersey in consequence of a resolution passed by the House of delegates of that state revolting agt. the requisition of 1785 & declaring they would neither consent to this or any other requisition unless the 5 Per Cent Impost is adopted: the apprehensions of Congress in consequence of this abdication of Jersey induced them to send a Commee. to Trenton to remonstrate to them on the fatal consequences that must result from their adherence to their resolution.¹

A few days ago the Commee. consisting of Mr. Pinkney, Mr Gorham & myself had an audience, & the Assembly were polite enough to rescind the resolution.² They are however still very much dissatisfied & complain heavily of the injuries they suffer from imposts laid by N. York on the one hand & Pensylvania on the other. They alledge that they pay as much to these States by way of commerce as their proportion of the specie part of the requisition would amount to; Some of them wish for annihilation & that E. Jersey might be joined to N. York & W. Jersey to Pensylvania.

Our foreign affairs are much in the same situation as when you left us. Mr. Adams has done nothing with the British Ministry; and Mr. Jay has done about as much with Mr. Gardoqui. The Commrs. in Europe have dispatched Mr. Berclay, Mr. Franks, Mr. Lamb & a Mr. Randal to negotiate with the Barbary powers, & we understand that they have actually arrived at the Court of the Emperor of Morocco.³ As they are authorized to give only 80,000 dolls. to the four most greedy sovereigns in the world; which is a little better than £4000 Sterling a man, I think there is every reason in the world to suppose that some of the dramatis personae will get incarcerated. I think it not improbable that these people will look upon the offer as an insult & that we are laughing at them.

There has been a great exertion in Jersey & this State for paper money. It is lost for the moment in Jersey 8 to 5 in the Council:⁴ the fate of it is suspended here but I believe it will pass in the affirmative before the session breaks & with a tender to it. The Antients were more candid than we are, they contended directly for an abolition of debts, in so many words while we politely ask for the same thing in the soft and specious language of paper money.

Your friends here are all well. Mr. Monro is lately married to Miss Eliza. Kortright: many other conjunctions copulative are talked of. Mr. King is about being married to Miss Alsop: they say that Mr. Hindman is thinking about some tender connections: in short we seem as if we had all got into Calypso's Island. The Hon'ble Mr. Lee is not intirely

an unconcerned spectator among all this good business; he has been assiduous at the Sycamore & at Mrs. Levingstons; various rumors have circulated in consequence of the Doctor's manoeuvres: all parties agree that a storm is gathering but whether it will ultimately burst on Miss Alleday Levingston or Esther Kortright is yet in the womb of fate:⁵ if I was to give my own opinion on so intricate a question & forced to bett on the occasion I should stake the Sycamore against the field. I shall be extremely obliged by a continuance of your favors, and will give you from time [*to time*] such occurrences as I think may be worth your notice.

From yr. Affect. frd. & most Obed. Servt., Willm. Grayson

[P.S.] Since writing above I understand that Georgia & Rhode Island have both passed the 5 Per Cent Impost; the legislature of N. York are now sitting; the impost is before them, but it is matter of great doubt whether it will go through: if this state passes it, it will become efficient.

I shall attend particularly to what you say respecting the Post Office. The Ordinance is ready to be produced when there are a sufficient number of states collected.⁶ It being a doubt whether a Member out of Congress & before he has taken his seat is exempted from Postage: I have pro majori cautela, *franked* this. W G

[*March*] 24. There are great thoughts among some of the principal members in Congress to recommend a Convention of the States for the purpose of amending the confederation, which it is said is perfectly inefficient: A resolution to this effect is now before Congress, brought forward by Pinkney.⁷

RC (ViU: Lee Family Papers).

¹ See Charles Thomson to Nathaniel Gorham, et al., March 7.

² See Committee of Congress to William Livingston, March 12; and Charles Pinckney's Speech to the New Jersey Assembly, March 13.

³ See Virginia Delegates to Patrick Henry, November 7, 1785, note 3.

⁴ See Grayson to Henry Knox, note 4.

⁵ Nothing came of these "manoeuvres." Arthur Lee never married; Alida Livingston, sister of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, later married John Armstrong, Jr.

⁶ When the committee appointed under the resolve of June 17, 1782, "to enquire into the Proceedings of the Department of the Post Office" reported on February 28, 1785, it recommended that another committee be appointed "to prepare an additional Ordinance for better regulating the Post Office." A committee appointed that day and renewed March 14 took no action. Grayson became a member of the committee reconstituted on December 27 which was also assigned a request from Secretary at War Henry Knox to establish a post to Vincennes. The committee reported on January 6, 1786, in favor of a post route from Philadelphia to Fort McIntosh on the Ohio River, but failed to submit an ordinance. It was renewed again on February 25, with Grayson as chairman, and given the same assignment. Although an ordinance was quickly drafted it was not submitted until June 15 when it was ordered published, but again no action was taken. The report was not revived until February 14, 1787, when it was entered on the journals. See *JCC*, 28:109n, 110n, 158n, 29:904n, 30:15, 84n, 31:963, 32:45–56; and *PCC*, item 190, fols. 15, 21, 84.

⁷ Pinckney may have offered a motion for calling a convention in late February that was swept aside by the pressing concern over New Jersey's refusal to comply with Congress' 1785 requisition, for which see Nathaniel Gorham to Caleb Davis, March 1, note 2. Pinckney, Gorham, and Grayson were subsequently chosen to convince the New Jersey Assembly of the pressing need to reverse its decision (see Charles Thomson to Gorham, Grayson, and Pinckney, March 7), and, in his March 13 speech to that body, Pinckney had specifically noted the availability of this remedy. If New Jersey "conceives herself oppressed under the present confederation, let her, through her delegates in Congress, state to them the oppressions she complains of, and urge the calling of a general convention of the states for the purpose of increasing the powers of the federal government, and rendering it more adequate to the ends for which it was instituted." Upon his return from New Jersey Pinckney may have revived his earlier motion or offered a new one which was not acted on. He subsequently altered his approach and on May 3 called for a committee of the whole to consider "the state of public affairs." Pinckney eventually served on the grand committee which on August 7 presented seven amendments to the thirteen original Articles of the Confederation. See *JCC*, 30:230, 354, 387n, 31:494-98; and Thomas Rodney's Diary, May 3, note 1.

William Grayson to James Madison

Dr Sir.

New York March 22nd. 1786.

I should have done myself the pleasure of writing to you sooner, but really nothing occur'd here of sufficient consequence to communicate. Congress from the small number of States that have come forward have remained in a kind of political torpor. They have of course taken no active steps, till lately that they have addressed the States on the subject of commerce: they were not long since a good deal alarmed at the conduct of sister Jersey. The House of delegates of that State in a moody fit declared that they would not only comply with the requisition of 1785, but with no other requisition, until the 5 Per Ct. Impost was adopted. The State by this Act having declared Independence, Congress thought it was a matter that merited some attention. They therefore ordered a Comm. to go to Trenton & expostulate with the House on the impropriety of their conduct. The Comm. was heard, and the House were so complaisant as to rescind the resolution but they have passed no legislative act in affirmance of the requisition, & I very much doubt whether they will. It may however have this effect, that other States will not be deterred (by her conduct in an absolute refusal) from passing the requisition. There is at present a greater prospect of the Impost than has been ever known; Georgia & Rhode Island have come into the measure, & it remains only with N. York to give her consent to make it productive. The Legislature is now sitting and deliberating on this subject but I doubt extremely whether the result will be favorable.

Our foreign affairs are very little altered one way or other since I had the pleasure of seeing you, Mr. Adams has done nothing with the

British Ministry; & Mr. Jay has done very little more with Mr. Gardoqui. The Commrs. in Europe have dispatched Mr. Barclay, Mr. Franks, Mr. Lamb & Mr. Randall to negotiate with the Barbary powers & We understand that Mr. Barclay has actually arrived at the Court of the Emperor of Morocco. I am very apprehensive that no good will come of all this. These potentates are the most greedy & rapacious in the whole world, & yet we offer nothing worth their acceptance. In addition to this it is shrewdly to be suspected that the maritime powers will underhandedly counteract all our measures: they cannot but be pleased to see American vessels (in addition to the dearness of labor) tottering under the accumulated pressure of Corsair insurance. Some people are seriously of opinion that we should turn Algerines ourselves; they must surely be out of their senses; however not more so, than some others who thought it for the interest of the U.S. to keep constantly at war with them. This latter sentiment, which proceeds from our Secy. of foreign affairs comes fully up to the idea of fighting for nothing & finding ourselves.

There has been a great contest in Jersey for the Argent papier; but though it went triumphantly through the lower house, it was lost in the Council, 8 to 5.¹ Some of the Members who were adverse to it, have been burn't in effigy, in particular Colo. Ogden at or near Elizabeth town. The old Governor was drawn up to the stake but pardoned, on account of his having been the first magistrate.² This same Jersey bill was one of the most iniquitous things I ever saw in my life; the money was a tender; if it was refused, the debt was suspended for 12 years, in the mean time the act of limitation ran of course, which in effect destroyed it. Jersey has not been singular in her attempts at cheating. In this place a bill is depending, of the same purport as that of Jersey, & which it is probable will pass, although it is violently opposed by the upright & respectable part of the Commy. The Antients were surely men of more candor than We are; They contended openly for an abolition of debts in so many words, while we strive as hard for the same thing under the decent & specious pretence of a circulating medium. Montesquieu was not wrong when he said the democratical might be as tyrannical as the despotic; for where is there a greater act of despotism than that of issuing paper to depreciate for the purpose of paying debts on easy terms. If Lord Effingham is right that an act agt. the Constitution is void, surely paper money with a tender annexed to it is void, for it is not an attack upon property,³ the security of which is made a fundamental in every State in the Union. There has been some serious thoughts in the minds of some of the Members of Congress to recommend to the States the meeting of a general Convention, to consider of an alteration of the Confœderation, & there is a motion to this effect now under consideration.⁴ It is contended that the present Confederation is utterly inefficient, and that

if it remains much longer in its' present State of imbecillity we shall be one of the most contemptible Nations on the face of the Earth: for my own part I have not yet made up my mind on the subject: I am doubtful whether it is not better to bear those ills we have than fly to others that we know not of. I am however in no doubt about the weakness of the foederal Government; if it was weaker notwithstanding it would answer if the States had power as in the United Netherlands the foederal Governmt. is weak but the Individual states are strong. It is no wonder our Government should not work well, being formed on the Dutch model where circumstances are so materially different. Your friend Colo. Monro has taken to himself a Wife out of the house of Kortright. Mr. King is to be married in a few days to Miss Alsop. Mr. Gerry is already Married to Miss Thomson. Mr. Houston is to be married to Miss Mary Bayard. Many more manœuvres are going forwd. among the members of Congress which seems to portend a conjunction copulative. In short I think we have got into Calypso's Island. I heartily wish you were here: as I have a great desire to see you figure in the character of a married man.

I tried to get you the book respecting canals, but all were sold but one, which at Genl. Washingtons desire I sent to him: All I could do was to imploy the book seller to import some. This will be done with all convenient speed: out of the importation I have engaged 5 Copies—two for you, two for myself & one for the Potowmack people. I remain, with the greatest friendship, Yr. Most Obed Serv,

Willm. Grayson

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ See Grayson to Henry Knox, March 14, note 4.

² That is, William Livingston.

³ Clearly, Grayson meant to write "is it not an attack upon property?"

⁴ See the preceding entry, note 7.

Rufus King to Thomas Ivers

Dear Sir

New York 22 March 1786

Mr. Smith who purchased my bill on you for £200, this day informed me that it was not paid, and that his correspondent had represented to him that it was uncertain when you could discharge it.

I am rendered extremely uneasy by this information, and am at a loss how to extricate myself from the embarrassment.

I pray you to recur to a letter I did myself the Honor to write to you some Months past, wherein I truly stated that my Situation made it necessary that I should be able to draw with certainty from Time to Time for the amount of my salary.¹

I should not have drawn, without having previously notified you of my intention, and waited some months for your Reply—not receiving any answer, I presumed you would pay my draft when the same should fall due.

I intreat your attention to this affair, and am confident you will do every thing in your power for the sake of the public Credit, and the Honor of our State.

With great Respect, I am Dr. Sir your obt. & very humbl. Servt.
Rufus King

RC (MB: Chamberlain Collection). Addressed: "Thos. Ivers Esq. Treasurer of Massachusetts."

¹ See King to Ivers, October 9, 1785.

Arthur St. Clair to Elizabeth Lawrence

My Dear Betsy¹

New York March 22d 1786

I have received two Letters from you since I left you, and *one* of them would have convinced me of two things, if I had doubted of them, viz That Women are not always the most reasonable Creatures in the World. . . and that the most gentle of them, can now and then scold at good round rate. Indeed I had almost imagined that my Bess (as I used to call her, I do not take such Liberties now), was an exception, but she kindly determined to undeceive me, for that would have been a defect, and let me see th[at the] Madam was a perfect Woman. I thank you my Dear and will Take care not commit the same mistake again, and you shall have as much Credit as you please for the excellence of your Vein—although you have used it in an unusual Way, that is making your Father sensible of it when your Husband was so much more convenient—besides it is out of all Rule for any married Woman to scold any Body but her Husband—and as to unmarried Ladies, poor dear Creatures, they cannot scold a single Word—but I recollect your Husband was not at Home, and that accounts for it. But an End with the Railery which you may perhaps think too pointed and although I can be content to laugh at you I would not give you pain.

I will tell you however that your first Letter did really give me uneasiness, and I would have answered it if I could. I am glad however that I could not and that your second arrived before I attempted it. This shows how improper it is to harbour Suspicion of a Friend from slight Causes. It shall be a Warning to me and I hope to you. It is a very tender Flower. Suspicion never fails to wither it for a time. Accusation

and recrimination blast it forever. It was however very unfortunate that it was so long before you got my Letter, for you [must] have thought yourself neglected—(twas too much to suspect contempt) and neglect is not easily borne when tenderness and Affection are expected to be met with. I believe not so easily as even contempt itself, for that always brings pride to oppose it.

FC (O: St. Clair Papers). In the hand of Arthur St. Clair.

¹ St. Clair's daughter Elizabeth (b. 1768) was married to John Lawrence, formerly captain in the 5th Pennsylvania Regiment. Frazer E. Wilson, *Arthur St. Clair, Rugged Ruler of the Old Northwest* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1944), pp. 10, 233–35.

Edward Carrington to William Short

Dr Sir,

New York, March 23. 1786

Mr. Munford a Young Gentleman of Connecticut who has for sometime resided in Virginia will have the Honor to deliver you this. You will find him worthy your attention and Civilities and You will much oblige me by any you may have it in your power to shew him. An introduction to Mr. Jefferson I wish you particularly to give him.¹

I am Dr Sir, with great regard, Your Afft. H St.,

Ed. Carrington

RC (DLC: William Short Papers).

¹ Gurdon S. Mumford had been a protégé of Benjamin Franklin in Paris during the war and was currently representing a Virginia tobacco firm, for which see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:353.

Arthur St. Clair to Matthew McConnell

Sir,¹

New York March 23d. 1786

I received your favour inclosing the Certificate I wished you to dispose of for me and a Power of Attorney to be executed for transferring it to the State of Pennsa. According to your Advice I called at the Office of Mr. Nourse² to obtain the Indorsement you mentioned, but was advised by the Comptroler General to make the Assignment at once as being both the shortest and safest way, which I accordingly have done and now transmit you the Certificate which will enable you to obtain a new One from Mr. Nicholson³ which you will please to sell to the best Advantage and apply part of the Money in the manner I requested in

my former Letter. I hope there will be no difficulty now in the way, for I am very anxious that Mr. Caldwell should have his Money.

I am, Sir, Your very humble Servant,

Ar. St. Clair

RC (MH-H: bMS Am1649.4). Addressed: "Majr. McConnell."

¹ Matthew McConnell (1748–1816), a Philadelphia dry goods merchant, had served during the war in Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle Battalion, Hazen's 2d Canadian Regiment, and Nicola's Invalid Regiment after he was wounded at Brandywine. In 1787 he wrote *An Essay on the Domestic Debts of the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Robert Aitken, 1787). See *PMHB*, 46 (October 1922): 362–63; and Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 20,470.

² That is, office of the register of the United States, Joseph Nourse.

³ John Nicholson, comptroller general of Pennsylvania.

Charles Thomson to James McDowell

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, March 23d. 1786.

Your Memorial Stating "that the British and German Troops on their March from Boston to Virginia stopped at your house and that for their accommodation your house and barn were taken by authority and filled with those Troops—that notwithstanding your remonstrances fires were made near your Barn, by means whereof your Barn, hay, grain and many valuable effects were set on fire and destroyed, and you [*were*] thereby reduced to great distress, and praying for a compensation," has been duly received and communicated to Congress;¹ And I have it in charge to inform you that your application ought to be made to the State of which you are a Citizen, Congress having in an act of the 3d June 1784 declared "That according to the law and Usages of Nations a State is not obliged to make compensation for damages done to its Citizens by an enemy or wantonly and unauthorised by its own Troops, yet humanity requires that some relief should be granted to persons who by such losses are reduced to indigence and want and as the Circumstances of such sufferers are best known to the State to which they belong it be referred to the several States *at their own expence*, to grant such releif to their Citizens who have been injured as aforesaid as they may think requisite."² You have therefore liberty to withdraw your Memorial.³

I am, Sir, &c.

C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For Congress' adoption on March 20 of Thomson's March 17 report on the memorial of James McDowell, a farmer of Ulster County, N.Y., see *JCC*, 30:116–17.

² *JCC*, 27:543.

³ McDowell's memorial is not in the PCC.

James Wilson to Rachel Wilson

My dear Rachel:¹

New York 23rd March 1786

After a Variety of Delays, unexpected and disagreeable, I arrived here on Tuesday last, and have taken my Seat in Congress.² I expected to have heard from you or Dr. Redman by the Post, which left Philadelphia on Sunday, and reached New York on Tuesday last; but was unfortunately disappointed. Indeed I am very anxious to hear from you. If you are at Somerset, send your Letter to the Post Office at Trenton, addressed to me in Congress at New York. Let me know how you and Jimmy are, and if all the other Children are in good Health. There are no News here; two Packets are daily expected to arrive from Europe. Major Lennox will leave tomorrow; by him I will write you more particularly, and also to Mr. Bird. I forgot my Nomination and Commission to sit in Congress. Let them be immediately sent to me. If you are not in Philada, write to Mr. Young to send them on. I send a Duplicate of this letter, enclosed to Col. Hooper, to be transmitted to you, if you are at Somerset.

Kiss the dear Children for me, and believe me to be, Your affection-
ate,
James Wilson

Tr (PSC; Konkle Collection). Copied by Burton A. Konkle from an original manuscript in the possession of the Rev. Dr. J. A. Montgomery of Philadelphia.

¹ Rachel Bird and James Wilson were married November 5, 1771. Soon after he sent this letter, Wilson learned that Rachel was ill and a few days later hurried home. Her condition was even more grave than supposed, however, and she succumbed April 14 at the age of 39. See Page Smith, *James Wilson, Founding Father, 1742-1798* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), pp. 38-42, 212-14.

² Wilson took his seat on Wednesday, March 22. He was in attendance on March 28 but was gone the next day, when Pennsylvania was unrepresented in Congress. See *JCC*, 30:122, 140-41.

Rufus King to Theodore Sedgwick

My dear Sir

New York 26 March 1786

Nine states are now represented in Congress,¹ and I claim your promise & society: It is with very sincere satisfaction that I inform you that Rhode Island, Maryland & Georgia, if we can rely upon the Gazettes of these respective states, have acceded to the system of a general impost upon the plan of the act of Congress of the 18th of Apr. 1783. New York is the only state which has not come into that part of the system, & the Legislature have it under present consideration; but whether they will comply or not is problematical.

The Packet for January, yesterday arrived from England; I have Letters from Mr. Adams and from his Secretary, but as the mail was closed early in January, and before the meeting of Parliament, the political information is very unimportant.

Congress are still without a president or any information from him, since the notice of his acceptance. How long they will remain in this Situation, you are as able to judge as I am.

Let me intreat you to come on as soon as your engagements will permit. With great and sincere Esteem and Freindship, I am Your's Affectionately,
Rufus King²

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

¹ Nine states were represented for the first time in the Congress of 1785–86 when Maryland delegate William Harrison took his seat on Friday, March 24. *JCC*, 30:130.

² King also wrote a letter this day to Governor James Bowdoin, which was also signed by his fellow delegates Nathan Dane and Nathaniel Gorham. The letter has not been located, but the announcement of its sale contains the following description.

"Their letter to the governor of Massachusetts transmits an inquiry from Thomas Hutchins, the geographer of the U.S. who was in charge of surveys under the Northwest Ordinance and who at this date had also been chosen to draw the boundary line between Massachusetts and New York. With regard to the latter, the three delegates explain that 'Mr Hutchins called on us a few days since, and was desirous of knowing what measures Massachusetts had adopted to remove the Difficulties' that he had previously outlined 'relative to the proposed running of a Line of Jurisdiction' between the two states. The delegates are awaiting instructions on this matter from the governor, and they point out that Hutchins and his fellow boundary commissioners 'were the more anxious concerning this business, as the present uncertainty would prevent engagements which otherwise might be entered into, were the precise time, and principles, for running of this line ascertained. At the desire of the commissioners we communicate their request to be informed on this subject.'" *Catherine Barnes Catalogue*, no. 4 (October 1986), item 60.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

New York 29 Mar 1786

I am made happy my Dear freind by your Letters announcing your safe arrival at Boston, I hope very soon to learn that the Ladies are pleased with the civilities which will be offered them.

Mr. Thomson has been at Long Island the two past days, Mrs. Thompson & the family are well,¹ and extremely happy with the Packet I have this moment delivered them from you. We have nine States in congress and the only act passed since this accession, has been a Resolve establishing the Salary of the Secretary of the Board of Treasury at 1850 Dols. annually.

Maryland has acceded to the impost, granted the supplementary funds, and passed the Requisition. Georgia has granted the Impost—

and New York alone is a non complying State. The Assembly have a bill now before them but its issue is extremely doubtful.

I am in great haste; this is written at Mr. Alsop's, and tomorrow I hope will complete a connection, on which I rest my honor & hopes of Happiness.²

Don't omit my sincerest regards & respects to your most excellent Mrs. Gerry, and compliments to Kitty. I intend seeing you in June if in my power.

Adieu, I embrace you my dear friend, your's affectionately,
R King

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ The reference is to Gerry's in-laws. He had been married in January to Ann, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James Thompson.

² That is, King was married the following day to John Alsop's daughter Mary.

Pierse Long to John Langdon

Sir

New York March 29. 1786

I have taken the liberty to draw on the Honble. treasurer for ninety pounds L[awful] Money, and put the payment thereof at twenty days sight, the gentleman in whose favor it is drawn (Vizt. Capt Pearce) will call on your Excellency for your order on the back of the same.

One of the English packets arrived here three days ago, but brings nothing material. And this day, General Parsons, one of the Commissioners for treating with the Indians returned to this City and reported to Congress a treaty of peace made between the Shawnese tribe of Indians and the United States, and a Cession of their right & title to lands on the N West side of the Ohio which was ceded by Great Britain to the U.S. reserving only a ps [piece?] of Ground to hunt on.¹ They have also left at our garrison in that Country Hostages for delivering up all the prisoners taken from us in the course of the war. The treaty with this nation of Indians is deemed by the Commissioners of more importance than with all the other Indians in the Western territory. They are to send runners to the other tribes informing them of their doings, and of the good disposition of the U.S. to the Indians in general.

The Commissioners have the strongest assurances from the Delawares, Wiandotts, & Shawnese that some of their Chiefs will attend the surveyors whenever they go into that country on that Business.

They think it necessary that another treaty should be held at a place further down the Ohio for to make it more convenient for those nations Indians who have not as yet mett them.

The Honble. Mr. Livermore will sett of[f] from here for home next week.² I had thoughts of going with him, but have for the present laid

them aside, and Shall continue, unless I am otherwise directed. I have the Honor to be with very great regard & Esteem, Your Excellencys Most Obt. Hum Servt,
 Pierse Long

RC (Nh-Ar: Executive Records).

¹ The "report" submitted by Samuel Holden Parsons to Congress this day was actually a joint letter from Parsons and Richard Butler of February 1, 1786, which is in PCC, item 56, fols. 377-84. The treaty negotiated with the Shawnee chiefs by commissioners Parsons, Butler, and George Rogers Clark January 31 at the mouth of the Great Miami River, was entered on the journals of Congress for April 17. See *JCC*, 30:144n, 185-87.

² Samuel Livermore had been ill and had not attended Congress since March 9. He returned to Congress June 26. See *JCC*, 30:108, 354.

Charles Thomson to Arthur Lee

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, March 29th. 1786.

Your Letter of the 27th has been laid before Congress, and I have the Honor to inform you, that Congress have been pleased to grant you leave of absence for the month of April next agreeably to your request.¹

I have to request the favour of your care of the enclosed, and am, With much respect, Sir, Your Most Obedient and Most humble Servt,
 C.T.²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "A. Lee Esqr, Commissioner of the Board of Treasury."

¹ See *JCC*, 30:136; and PCC, item 78, 14:709-10.

² Thomson also wrote the following brief letter to former president Richard Henry Lee this day. "The enclosed Letter was this morning sent to the Chairman who reported it to Congress.

"By their order I broke the seal, but upon seeing the Name of the writer I immediately concluded it was private and made report accordingly, In consequence of which I have the honor of forwarding it to you unread." PCC, item 18B, fol. 43.

Rufus King to John Hancock

Dear Sir,

New York 30 March 1786

Mr. Ramsay the chairman of congress told me a few days since that he had written to you informing that he should soon leave congress, & that he wished to know whether your Health would allow you to come on. This letter was not written in consequence of any order or direction of congress, but can be considered only as a volunteer Affair in the writer.

Not knowing the impressions that this Letter might produce in your mind, I have thought it might be agreeable to receive this informa-

tion—indeed I have another motive in writing at this time, which is to express my hopes that your Health is so far restored, that you will soon be able to commence your Journey for this City—you may be assured that your Reception will be entirely respectful & affectionate.

I shall be happy to learn that Mrs. Hancock possesses her usual good health, and cannot but flatter myself with the idea of soon offering both to you, & her, my sincere respects in this City.

With perfect consideration, I have the honor to be your obedt. & very Hble servt,
Rufus King.

RC (N: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

David Ramsay to Nicholas Van Dyke

Sir

New York April 1st. 1786.

Congress have since their late acts of 15th of last February relative to revenue,¹ received Official accounts that Rhode Island has acceded to the Impost. Newspapers and private Letters inform that Georgia and Maryland have done the same. There are good reasons to believe that the Legislature of New York will in their present session in like manner adopt it; Should these hopes be realised there will be no obstruction to the immediate operation of the Continental Impost, but the non Compliance of Several States with the recommendations of Congress of the 18th of April 1783 to establish supplementary funds in addition to the Imposts; or the provisoes in the Pennsylvania and Delaware grants of the five Per Cent, restraining their operation till all the States had complied with both parts of the revenue System of that date. From this statement of facts it follows that the impost must be unproductive, though acceded to by all the States, till either all have established supplementary funds; or till Pennsylvania and Delaware revise the provisoes of their grants restraining their operation till that event takes place. It is submitted to the good sense of Delaware whether it would not be advancive of the Common Interest of the Union to give immediate efficiency to the general impost, as soon as it shall be agreed to by all the States, without waiting for the establishment of the supplementary funds in aid thereof, should New York as is expected adopt it, and the Collection thereof be delayed till all the States pass the Supplementary funds; a large sum of money much wanted for federal purposes will be prevented from coming into the Treasury of the United States. As many of the Legislatures of these States which have not fully complied with the whole Revenue System are not in session, much time must Necessarily be consumed before the supplementary funds can be Universally established, even though all the States were well disposed to their adoption, it is much to be

wished the supplementary funds and the Impost had gone hand in hand; Congress in every Act of theirs have associated them as essential parts of one System, and it is their determination to urge the adoption of both, but as the present Necessities of the Union are great, they conceive it to be their duty to attempt the removal of every obstruction to the immediate productiveness of that part of the system which promises to bring the speediest and amplest supplies into the Federal Treasury. The states which have not adopted the supplementary funds have now under reference from Congress a very pressing Recommendation in their favor. The States of Pensylvania and Delaware are also requested to revise the Provisoos in their respective grants, so as to give immediate operation to the Impost when it shall be acceded to by all the States.

Anxious for the restoration of public Credit, Congress wish to give Instant efficiency to every plan that favors that desirable purpose.

It is with regret that Congress requests any alteration, even in the provisoos of a Law which is acknowledged to be conformable to their own Recommendations, but such is the nature of our government that any efficiency it possesses must arise from a disposition of accommodation in the States to each other, and of Congress to all.

In obedience to the orders of Congress in the Chair of which I have the Honor to sit in the absence of Mr. President Hancock I request the favor of you to bring this matter under the consideration of the Legislature of your State as soon as Circumstances will permit.²

I have the Honor to be, With great Respect, Your most Obedient and Very Humble Servant,

David Ramsay

RC (De-Ar: Executive Papers).

¹ See Charles Thomson to the States, February 15 and 24.

² See *JCC*, 30:147.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, Circular. Office of Secy of Congress [April 1, 1786]

Pursuant to the Order of Congress I herewith transmit to your Exy, to be communicated to the legislature a state of the representation for last Month.¹ I also enclose two copies of the Journal as far as printed one for the legislative & the other for the executive branch of Government.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Yr Exys &c²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Massachusset, Connecticut, N York, N Jersey, Pensylva, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, So Carolina & Georgia."

¹ For this enclosure and the 11 other monthly attendance lists sent to the states during the Congress of 1785-86, see Appendix.

² In his letter to North Carolina governor Richard Caswell, Thomson's opening paragraph acknowledged the receipt of letters from Caswell of January 6 and 21, and February 6 and 22, which are in PCC, item 72, fols. 221–36.

In that to Rhode Island governor William Greene, Thomson similarly acknowledged receipt of Greene's letter to him of March 21, "with the three Acts enclosed." PCC, item 64, fols. 574–77.

And in that to New Hampshire governor John Langdon, Thomson acknowledged Langdon's letter of March 15. *Ibid.*, fols. 272–75.

Maryland Delegates to William Smallwood

Sir,¹

New York, April 2d, 1786.

As the Intendant's Office is abolished,² thro' which your Delegates to Congress recieved their Allowance during the last year, we are under the Necessity of applying to your Excellency, for Information on a Subject so essential to our being here, and of solliciting your Attention to it. The late Intendant, Mr. Jenifer, made his Advances of Money to the Delegates thro' the Channel of Messrs. Willing, Morris & Swanwick. Could the same Mode be adopted by your Excellency (under whose direction we presume this Business is) it would be very agreeable to us. Mr. Hindman has drawn no Money since the present Year.

None of the Laws, passed at the last Session, complying with the Recommendations & Requisition of Congress, have as yet been officially recieved from the State of Maryland; and tho' we have Reasons to believe that every thing right has been done, yet we are not able to give Congress any decided Information on these important points.

Mr. Harrison's³ Arrival here made a Representation of Nine States, and enabled Congress to proceed pretty generally on Business; but at present there are only eight represented.

General Parsons, one of the commissioners appointed to treat with the Shawonese Nation of Indians, has just returned, with the Treaty of peace concluded with that Nation on the 1st of Jany. last.⁴

We have the Honor to be, with great Respect, your Excellency's mo. obedt. Sevts.,

Wm. Hindman

Will. Harrison

RC (MdAA: Executive Papers). Written by Harrison and signed by Harrison and Hindman.

¹ Smallwood (1732–1792), who had achieved the rank of major general during the war, had been elected governor of Maryland in November 1785. *Bio. Dict. of Md. Legis.*, 2:741–42.

² Addressing the harsh economic conditions induced by indebtedness, tight money, and declining trade, the Maryland General Assembly had abolished the position of Intendant of the Revenue, held by Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer since February 1, 1782, and vested the governor and council with new and far-reaching authority to deal with the state's financial crisis. On April 20, 1786, the council appointed Jenifer as a special

agent with augmented powers and duties that virtually made him Maryland's finance minister. For his authority to issue loans on inspected tobacco, complete the sale of confiscated British property, purchase Indian lands on the eastern shore, and acquire depreciated Continental securities, see *Md. Archives*, 71:xviii–xix, 96–98.

³ William Harrison had taken his seat March 24. *JCC*, 30:130.

⁴ For the treaty concluded with the Shawnee Indians on January 31, rather than "the 1st," see Pierse Long to John Langdon, March 29, note 1.

William Samuel Johnson to Samuel William Johnson

My Dear Son,

New York 3d. April 1786.

Yr. good Mamma & I receiv'd yr. agreeable favr. of the 24th of Janry. last in the Morning of the 9th of March, after a very disagreeable Journey from Stratford in the Stage. It was the first Intelligence we had receiv'd of you, & we began to be extremely anxious about you, it therefore instantly banish'd every Idea of the fatigue we had just endur'd, & the Anxiety we felt, & fill'd us with inexpressible Joy, & gratitude to Heaven, for yr. health & preservation, & the happy prospects it holds out to us. Two Days after, I receiv'd a Letter from Capt. Bascom from Antigua, informing of yr. safe arrival, after a very long & disagreeable passage, which you also mention, & at which I was surprised, as your Letter, from the Capes of Delaware, had given us reason to flatter ourselves that it might have been speedy at least, if not agreeable. Nothing very material has occur'd to us here or at Stratford, & we have enjoy'd pretty good health except Charles's having been some time since attack'd by a Fever, which tho' severe, was happily of short duration, & went off well, so that he is now very hearty & vigorous. Next to my gratitude to Heaven for yr. Health & prosperity, I feel myself under the greatest obligations to our Friend Mr Van Dam for his very kind reception of you, & the Introduction he has given you to so many agreeable & useful Acquaintances in the Island, which I doubt not you will cultivate in the best manner you can. I am glad to find you are like to be on so friendly a footing with Mr. Bascom the Lawyer, & that he has been so polite as to offer you the Use of his Books. I will send you some, as you wish, as soon as possible, but fear it cannot be done before I go again to Stratford. The Rudiments &c, & Maxims in Equity,¹ shall be sent, & I wish you had named others, as I wold send those you most want. Would any Books of *Entries* be useful to you? Return my respectful Compliments to the Govr.² with hearty thanks for the Attention he has shewn you, & assure him that if I can render him, or his, any services in this Country, I shall always be happy to receive his Commands. And the like to any others to whom I am known that you shall think proper. The prospect you have of a Confirmation of yr. health gives us the highest satisfaction, & I pray God it may be soon

realiz'd. I shall be anxious to know how you succeed in your first Attempts, which are of much consequence & for which it is adviseable you sho'd endeavour to be as well prepared as possible by fully studying your Cases & making yourself perfectly Master of them in all their lights. Yr. Farm we will dispose of as soon as it can be done advantageously, but you are sensible it is but an ill time to sell Lands in this country, & as to engaging in other business besides your profession, Mr. Van Dam, (if he continues in the Island, for it is said here he is going to England) can give you the best Advise, & you must first see by your experience how the Island suits you in point of health, as well as in other respects. You are right in being affable & familiar with both parties, & declaring for neither, by which means you will probably be courted by both, & may avail yourself of both, & you will for a long time yet have a just excuse for not embarking with either, & perhaps may eventually be the means of reconciling them to each other, & thereby rendering your Country the most essential service. By Mr. Van Dam's Account of them they are by no means so bitter as we had been induced to believe. What Age is the Attory General, of what are his Connexions, & who supports him in the Office, either in the Island, or in England? What are the Emoluments annex'd to the Office &c? It may be of some use perhaps, if you continue there for me to be acquainted with these Circumstances. We have some of the things you gave Charles a Memorandm. for, & hope shall have them all ready by the time there is a conveyance for them. The first we can expect is Mr. Tuckers Vessel, which he says he will detain but a few Days, & tho't wo'd have arriv'd some time ago. This I must forward by the circuitous rout of South Carolina. I have Letters from Stratford by last Saturdays Stage acquainting me that they are all well there; as your sister & Mr. Verplank are there. She proposes to write you by this Conveyance, & by her appearance promises in a few Months to give you the Title of *Uncle*. Mr. King of Massachusetts, was last Thursday Married to Miss Alsop, with whom you was acquainted. I hope you will be as prudent as he has been, & in due time, be happy in a yet more agreeable Companion with as handsome a Fortune. They are not incompatible, & it is worthy a useful Attention to discover where they may be united. It is the most easy & agreeable Method of acquiring a Competency. With the most ardent Prayers for your health & prosperity in every respect, I remain yr. most affectionate Father & Friend,

Wm. Saml. Johnson

[P.S.] Yr. first Letters are not yet come to hand.

RC (CtHi; Johnson Papers).

¹ Apparently *A Law Grammar; or Rudiments of the Law...* (2d ed.; London, 1749) by Jacob Giles; and *Maxims of Equity, Collected from, and Proved by Cases, out of the Books of the Best Authority in the High Court of Chancery* (London, 1739), by Richard Francis.

² That is, the loyalist William Browne (1737–1802), former *mandamus* councillor and judge of the superior court of Massachusetts, who became governor of Bermuda in January 1782. *DAB*.

Henry Lee to Richard Bland Lee

My dear sir¹

New York 4h. April 1786

I have deferred the pleasure I always felt in any sort of connexion with you to this day, that I might have opportunity of discovering the books you want. But your directions being general and such an abundance of political treatises to choose out of, none of which I consider as worthy of notice, I shall wait longer, that you may designate your choice. Then I will comply. Ramsey's revolution I have purchased [&] will send by Mr Lee provided he can carry them. I have hopes that you will contrive to procure six hogsheads of tobacco, as your resources I know to be equal to this small effort (a little negroe being enough) and place them in the hands of Mr. Stoddert for me. Indeed I would not that this should be undone, for twenty times the value my reputation depending in some degree on it.

Where have you been since your last: not in Alexandria I presume, for you could not being there have passed over in silence the time which has elapsed. Do you persevere in your withdraw[al] from the Assembly, who will succeed you. Of what complexion is the body of the people with respect to their public men & public affairs. Do they impute the evils which menace their national life to their leaders, or their own vice and prodigality. Do they but see the necessity of a government adequate to its object, or still prefer the name to substance.

Are they not apprized by this time, that one source of their complicated misfortune is the invitation which the state and nature of their debts offer to all orders to relinquish every profession and place their attention to jobbing in paper securitis. Agriculture, commerce and every other proper ground to render a people wealthy and respectable yields to the allurements of this vice. They must stop it, or they are undone. It is worse than the plague to the body, and more pestilential if possible, for it now comprehends both good & bad. It is high time that our people be coerced to habits of industry, otherwise our produce will be of no consequence—for the nations of Europe are all bending their application to the culture of the land, and our only chance for existence, is to be able to undersell; & to make up in quantity what we loose in price.

This quantity is attainable, if we could be brought to due exertions. Our prospects in Europe are unpromising and will be more so in proportion to our insignificance. The negotiations with the Barbary powers will I fear be ineffectual. G Britain knows our weakness & will not

be operated on by fear, the only passion in her mind which can ever [be] used to our advantage. The court of France is engaged in commercial projects all pointing to her specially, and will terminate in aggrandizement and consequence to that powerful nation. Spain imitates her plans, and aids her views. The emperor & the King of Prussia are quarreling about Bavaria. The United provinces are s[t]ill out of humour with their Statholder, who is patronized by his cousin of Prussia.

Could we place ourselves on a respectable footing, we might negotiate among these discordant powers to advantage, but we are truly contemptible, and therefore not regarded.

What has become of Doct. Skinner, he cannot surely have spent his time in Frederic town, as he sacredly engaged in some matters of mine very consequential to my peace of mind, as well as important to my purse. God bless you my dear friend. Your aff brother,

Henry Lee Junr²

RC (DLC: Armes Collection of Lee Family Papers).

¹ Lee's brother Richard Bland Lee (1761-1827) was at this time representing Loudoun County in the Virginia House of Delegates and later served in the United States Congress, 1789-95. *DAB*.

² Lee also wrote the following brief business letter on April 6 to Samuel Blachley Webb, former Connecticut brigadier general, who had settled in New York after the war: "Mr Inlay seems to consider himself as trifled with by me. I very much wish I had never written by him, my zeal to have you in preference to others, and to accomodate your declarations were the motives.

"I have this day to convince him of his mistaken ideas as to our intentions informed him, that I would unite with you as half owner of the sixth share reserved for you. This will very much reduce the bargain to you & will command more money from me.

"Be pleased to wait on him & decide the business—it is too small now to deliberate on—and I will do what you please." Feinstone Collection, PWacD.

Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[April 4-24, 1786]

April 4th. To the Board of Treasury—4 copies of Journals from Novr. 1785 to March 3d 1786.

To Secretary for foreign Affairs—4 copies—do.

To Secretary at War. 1 copy—do.

5th. Circular Letter 1st April 1786—transmitted to N. Hampshire & N. Carolina inclusive per Post.¹ to S. Carolina and Georgia sent to Mr Pinckney.

18th. To Doctr Pellon—the papers delivered with his several petitions—(see his receipt).²

19th. Letter 18th April—To Govr of Massachusetts per Post.³

24th. Transmitted to the Office f. Affairs—

1785.

July 19th. Mr. Adams.⁴

- 14th, 27th, 29th, 29th, ditto.⁵
 Draught of a treaty of Amity & commerce between the United States of America & his Brittanic Majesty.⁶
 Augt. 25th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st. Mr Adams.⁷
 Sept. 2d, 3d, 6th, 15th. ditto.⁸
 2 Acts of parliament—⁹
 1st prohibiting exportation Tools & Utensils
 2d for securing the duties payable on Tobacco
 Octr. 15th, 17th, 21st, 25, 27th. Mr Adams.¹⁰
 2 Acts of Parliament¹¹
 1st. American Intercourse.
 2d. Newfoundland.
 Augt. 14th, 14th. Mr Jefferson.¹²
 July 19th. Baron de Thulemier to Mr Jefferson.
 July ——— Mr Jefferson to Baron de Thulemier.
 3d. Instructions to Mr Short from Mr Adams & Mr Jefferson.¹³
 4th. Mr Adams & Mr Jefferson to Mr Dumas.
 5th. Information respecting Algerines.
 6th. from Louis Goublot.
 7th. from Count florida de blanca.
 8th. list of presents made by the States General to the Emperor of Morocco.
 9th. Copy of a letter written to Messrs. the directors of the commerce of the province of Languedoc by Mr Soulangas.
 July 25th. Mr. Carmichael—enclosures—¹⁴
 No. 1 copy of a letter from his Excellency Dn. Pedro de l'Erena, to the Commdr Genl at Malaga.
 24th. No. 2 from Count de florida blanca.
 June 25th No. 3 from Louis Goublot to Mr Carmichael.
 1786
 Jany. 27th. Mr Jefferson.¹⁵
 18th. from Count de Vergennes to Mr Jefferson—enquiries respecting Mr Gallatin.
 1785
 Nov 4 & 5th. Mr Adams.¹⁶
 1786
 Jany 21t & 26th Mr Adams.

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, March 2-29, 1786.

¹ See Thomson to Certain States, April 1.

² This receipt, listing the several petitions and supporting certificates, accounts, and letters of recommendation returned to Dr. Joseph B. Pellon this day, is in PCC Miscellaneous Papers, M332, reel 9, fol. 174. For Thomson's August 16 report on Pellon's case, recommending that it be referred to the board of treasury, see *JCC*, 31:521.

³ See Thomson to James Bowdoin, April 18.

⁴ This letter to John Jay is in PCC, item 84, 5:534–41.

⁵ These letters to Jay and to the marquiss of Carmarthen are in *ibid.*, fols. 530–32, 542–54.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fols. 557–80.

⁷ These letters to John Jay are in *ibid.*, fols. 605–44.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 645–60.

⁹ These two acts are not in the PCC, but they were enclosed by Adams with his August 28, 1785, letter to Jay, where he identified them as acts of 25 George III. C.67 and 25 George III. C.81. *Ibid.*, fols. 621–23.

¹⁰ These letters to Jay are in PCC, item 84, 5:661–710.

¹¹ These acts are not in the PCC, but they were enclosed by Adams with his October 25, 1785 letter to Jay, where he noted that they were scheduled to expire on April 5 and March 25, 1786, respectively, and recounted in detail the parliamentary debates of February 2, 4, 7–8, and 14, 1785, on the ministry's proposals to extend them. *Ibid.*, fols. 689–707.

¹² These two letters and the following July 19 and 28 communications exchanged between Jefferson and baron de Thulemier are in PCC, item 87, 1:29–47.

¹³ These instructions and the following items nos. 4–9 are in *ibid.*, fols. 48–88.

¹⁴ William Carmichael's letter is in PCC, item 88, fols. 400–402. For the enclosures, nos. 1–3, see *ibid.*, fols. 404–7, 415–18, 436–37, 448–49.

¹⁵ This letter to John Jay and the following letter from the comte de Vergennes, are in PCC, item 87, 1:225–33.

¹⁶ These and the following two letters from John Adams to Jay are in PCC, item 84, 5:713–28, 6:75–82.

Nathaniel Gorham to James Bowdoin

Sir

New York April 5 1786

Some time in the last June Session the General Court passed an order directing the Delegates to apply to Congress for the loan of sixty pieces of Cannon for the use of the Militia—but it has not been though[t] prudent to bring the application before Congress as it is probable it would be attended with a denial. N Hampshire made a request of the same kind toward the close of the last Congress. But they were denied—it being then supposed imprudent to suffer the Public Stores to be taken from the Magazines & scattered through all the States.¹

There is now on the floor of Congress but eight States—there having been nine but very few days the present year—it is attended with great inconvenience & damage to the affairs of the Union. That the States are thus inattentive to their Representation . . . several subjects of great consideration are now before Congress & cannot (owing to the above circumstance) be taken up.

It appears to me that the Congress of last Year were not sufficiently apprised of the consequence of a Treaty with the Barbary Powers—or they would not have conducted that business in the manner they did. I conceive it would have been much the best way to have sent a Person of Reputation & Character directly from hence with full Powers to have treated with those People. I am convinced it would not have

been more expensive—it would have pleased those Powers much more, and would have tended to bring the business to a more speedy conclusion. By a Letter from Mr. Adams we find that Mr Barclay had not left France the 6th of December,² being detained by an attention to Mr. Beaumerchais accounts, & by a Letter from Mr. Carmichael of the same date 6 Decr it appears that Mr Lamb who is designed for Algiers was then at Madrid.³

Congress have lately appointed a Committee to consider wither any further measures can be taken in this business.⁴

The Delegates have no Power relative to the formation of the Court necessary to bring to issue the cause between Massachusetts & N York. I am in hopes the Court did not rise without attendg to this circumstance—any directions which your Excellency may have to communicate to the Delegates on this or any other subject will I dare say be chearfully obeyed.⁵

I spent last evening at Mr. Temples the Family are well.

I am With Every sentiment of esteem & respect, Your Excellencys
most Humble Servant, Nathaniel Gorham

RC (PHi: Jenkins Old Congress Collection).

¹ See Pierse Long to John Langdon, September 18, 1785, note 1.

² Six John Adams letters, including that of December 6, were read in Congress on March 29. See *JCC*, 30:144n; and *PCC*, item 84, 6:1–74.

³ William Carmichael's letter, actually dated December 9 (*PCC*, item 88, 2:424–27, and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 3:304–6), was read in Congress on April 4. *JCC*, 30:152n.

⁴ An October 13, 1785, report of the secretary for foreign affairs "respecting Algiers" had been referred on March 29 to a committee consisting of Nathan Dane, William Samuel Johnson, John Kean, James Monroe, and Charles Pinckney. The committee's report, which was drafted by Dane, was submitted and read in Congress this day. It recommended that the board of treasury devise a way to obtain a loan "for the purposes of securing the Commerce of the United States against the Depredations of the Barbary States," and that Congress "turn their earliest attention" to the creation of a marine department. See *JCC*, 29:833–34, 30:144n, 152–53. For the debate on the report, see Thomas Rodney's Diary, May 2, 1786.

⁵ A March 17 resolve of the Massachusetts General Court, granting power to its delegates in Congress to appoint "Commissioners or Judges" for this purpose, was laid before Congress by the Massachusetts delegates on April 17. See *JCC*, 30:184–85.

This Massachusetts resolve was also immediately transmitted to New York governor George Clinton. The letter of transmission, signed by New York delegates John Laurance and Melancton Smith, was destroyed by fire in 1911, but had been recorded by Edmund C. Burnett as item no. 5727, Clinton Papers, New York State Library. Burnett, *Letters*, 8:337n.4.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My dear Gerry,

New York 5th. Ap. 1786

I am happy. I wrote you a line the evening before my marriage¹—we

made a jaunt of three Days to Jamaica, and are now in Town passing through the usual Ceremonies of morning and evening visitors. I am gratified with the politeness of numerous friends and acquaintances, and shall be satisfied when the present occasion is passed.

I have but a moment to write you—indeed I have found no Time to write to a single friend except the present, which I dedicate to friendship & to you—apologize to any friend who may think me inattentive & uncommunicative. I will write to you, and all my friends, when I am again master of my own Hours. Present me most affectionately to your Mrs. Gerry, & Kitty—*my Mary* regrets the want of an acquaintance with a Lady who merits & possesses my warm esteem, & your best affections—we shall be better & more intimately acquainted.

We expect to see Mrs. Thompson this evening; I had an early and an affectionate congratulations from Mr. Thompson, who together with the family are perfectly well.

Adieu yours most sincerely,

R King

[P.S.] Bibby married to Miss Gouverneur.

RC (NHi: King Papers).

¹ See King to Gerry, March 29.

Rufus King to Daniel Kilham

My dear Kilham

New York 5th Ap. 1786

Have you wholly forgotten me—if this is the case the event I wish to communicate will afford you no pleasure, but like many pieces of uninteresting intelligence will be read and thought of no more. I will not believe this to be the case, since the very information will be an apology why I have not been so diligent a correspondent as you had good right to expect. The lady to whom six days since I was married has merits to demand your esteem; and when you know her which I hope will soon be the fact, will convince you that I ought to be, what I really am, extremely happy.

I cannot be particular, Time will not permit it, and perhaps the patience of Freindship would be exhausted with the Detail. I hope and expect to take you by the hand in Time, when we will put and answer questions till we are mutually satisfied.

Pray present my respects where they are due. My gratitude to our fellow townsmen was never more lively than at this moment; to them I am indebted for an unmerited partiality, and with them I hope to spend a life not destitute of grateful Recollection.

Adieu my Dear friend, I embrace you,

R. King

RC (NNC: King Collection).

Maryland Delegates to William Smallwood

Sir

New-York April 6th. 1786.

We have the Honor of inclosing You an Abstract of the Receipts & Expenditures of the last three Months, with the Balance remaining in the Continental Treasury, which We think proper to transmit You for the Information of the Executive.

By a Resolution of Congress of the 2d Augt. 1785 the Board of Treasury are directed to lay before Congress on the first Monday in every Month a similar Account which when received We shall deem incumbent on Us to send You.¹

There are at present but eight States in Congress.

We shall be very happy to be inform'd by You as soon as Convenience will admit, thro' what Channel We are to receive the Money due Us for our Allowance as Delegates.²

We are, with the highest Respect, Yr Excellency's very humble Servts,

Wm. Hindman

Will. Harrison

RC (MdAA: Executive Papers). Written by Hindman and signed by Hindman and Harrison.

¹ Although this resolution directed the board of treasury to report monthly, the board had explained in a letter of April 3 that the absence of the register of the treasury had prevented them from submitting the January and February reports. They therefore incorporated their March report in the quarterly statement which the delegates enclosed. See *JCC*, 29:595-97, 30:152n; and *PCC*, item 140, 2:185-86. See also *Maryland Delegates to Smallwood*, May 10, note.

² See *Maryland Delegates to Smallwood*, April 2.

Charles Thomson to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York April 6. 1786.

I have received your letter of the 8th October as well as those of 21 June by Mr Otto and the 14 July by Mr Houdon.¹ I read your notes with much pleasure and intended to have troubled you with some observations on them; but they have been so much out of my hands, though entrusted to such as you would approve, that I have not had an opportunity to revise them with that attention I wished and commit my thoughts to paper.

I thank you for the trouble you took in sending the cylinder lamp, though I have not yet received it, nor seen col. Senf by whom you sent it. The baloon discovery has had a rapid rise and has been pursued with great spirit as a raree show. But unless some skilful artist can find out some method of directing its course & preserving the

gaze, I fear the remembrance of it will only furnish a figure in poetry and Oratory, like Phaeton's attempt to guide the chariot of the Sun. Several of the adventurers, I find have lost their lives and others incurred imminent danger. Pray what progress is made in the art of discovering ships at a distance? This seems to me something like seeing out of sight. Mesmerism or Animal Magnetism seems to be quite dropt. It has however furnished a wonderful proof of the power of the imagination over the human frame. Were the philosophers so fully satisfied on this point, that they gave it so soon the coup de grace?

The people of Europe and America seem to be pursuing different amusements. While the former are diverting themselves with bubbles of air and quarreling with one another for toys and rattles, the latter are employed in the encrease of their species & providing the means of subsistence. Notwithstanding the paragraphs with which the European papers are stuffed, and the pictures they have drawn of the distress of America I will venture to assert, that there is not upon the face of the earth a body of people more happy or rising into consequence with more rapid strides, than the Inhabitants of the United States of America. Population is encreasing, new houses building, new lands clearing, new settlements forming and new manufactures establishing with a rapidity beyond conception. And what is more, the people are well fed, well clad and well housed. Yet I will not say that all are contented. The merchants are complaining that trade is dull, the farmer that wheat & other produce are falling, the landlords that rent is lowering, the speculists and extravagant that they are compelled to pay their debts and the idle and vain that they cannot live at others cost and gratify their pride with articles of luxury. It is true that individual happiness is yet the general Object, and the people are not yet sufficiently impressed with a sense of what they owe to their national character. But they are advancing in this science. Whether they will acquire it by reflection or be forced into a knowledge of it by experience I will not undertake to say. However this I can inform you that every state is busily employed in arranging its finances. Twelve states have granted the impost for discharging the principal & interest of the national debt and it is expected that N. York will grant it in the present session of their legislature.

Of your Annapolis acquaintance[s] Messrs Read, Gerry and Monroe are married & Osgood on the brink of matrimony.

Mrs. Thomson joins in Compliments to you & your daughter.

With much esteem & affection I am Dear Sir, Your most obedt. & Most humble Servt.,

Cha. Thomson

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My Dear friend,

New York 9th Ap 1786

The ceremony is past, and we are entirely happy¹—it is with the most respectful Gratitude that we receive the kind Congratulations of your last letter, and with the utmost sincerity that we hope an inviolable freindship between our families.

Indeed unless the Ladies produce unnecessary, and extraordinary, changes, this freindship must subsist.

Mrs. King in return joins me in best respects to Mrs. Gerry, and in assurances that among our first attentions when we arrive in Massachusetts, will be our early visit to Marblehead.

I have nothing on Politicks to communicate new or unexpected—the indian Treaty at the Miami has succeeded, so far as to have made freinds of the Shawanese Tribe, and rendered security to the survey of the western Lands.²

Nine states were represented five or Six days, but Mr. Livermore is now gone, and we have only Eight states & two only from New England.

The Letter to you from Mr. Adams came under cover to me, the seal and Direction I believe are Col. Smith's.

The arrets to which you allude Mr. Adams likewise inclosed in a letter to me, with information that he had written that he sent them to you but recollecting that they might not have come before congress, he requested me, should that be the case, to communicate them; I considered them as important, Mr. Jay is of the same opinion, they will be translated & published.³ I will see that you have Copies; you have well recited their purport.

I regret the indisposition of Mrs. Gerry, I hope she will soon be in more easy health. I thank you for contradicting the suggestion of my supposed Design of residing here.

Adieu,

R. King

RC (NHi: King Papers).

¹ That is, King had been married on March 30, for which see King to Daniel Kilham, December 8, 1785, note 2.

² For the treaty signed with the Shawnee January 31, 1786, which was entered on the journals of Congress April 17, see *JCC*, 30:185–87.

³ For these French arrêts concerning the cod fisheries, see King to Jonathan Jackson, April 22, note.

Connecticut Delegates to Matthew Griswold

Sir,

New York April 12th. 1786.

Some time since we recd. your Letter enclosing one to Messrs. Cur-

son and Gouverneur which was duly deliverd. *agreable to Directions*. Nothing very important has occurrd. since our last, the Representation has been so thin, that no proper Oppertunity has presented for bringing forward the Report of the Comtee. upon our Cession of the western Territory,¹ we have been favord. with nine States on the floor but for a very few Days this Year, & we fear two or three of those are decidedly against us. The Report is favorable, we have the Acceptance of it much at Heart, & shall carefully watch for a propitious Moment. It requires a delicate negotiation, & we have more Doubts than hopes as to the issue, but shall do our endeavor to bring the Business to a Decision before the Assembly meets.

Congress are studiously pursuing an Economical Reform in the civil list Department.

The five great Departments viz Marine, Commissary, Cloathing, quarter-master & hospital, all are abolished, & placed under one head, with the same Sallary which has been given to the heads of each of those Departments.² Could we be furnishd. with a full representation from the States, a Reform would probably be attempted in the Department of Commissioners for settling the Accts. of particular States with the united States, in such a Manner as to bring those Accts. if possible to a speedy adjustment.

The Commissioners sent to conclude Treaties with the Indian Nations have returnd. & in some Measure effected the Object of their Mission's.

We Have not as yet been able to learn what Success our Legations to the barbary powers have met with, they in all probability arrived at the place of Negotiation about the first of January last. Tis much to be lamented that Congress were unable to supply them with such presents as to ensure a successful Negotiation. America must conjecture that no Nation loves money equally with herself, & acts conformably thereto, in affording no Means wherewith her business can be effectually done. No official Acct. from Georgia has yet arrived of the granting the Impost, alth'o such Information has been recd. as leaves little doubt in the Mind upon the subject.

Tis still problematical whether New York will comply, when her Interest pleads so powerfully for other methods of supplying the fœderal Chest. Yet the friends of the Measure have been successful in carrying a Collateral Motion this Morning in the House who have now that subject before them which gives us some encouragemt. to hope for a favourable issue.³

In fine our affairs seem to indicate the Approach of some great Crisis. Our Trade in a very distracted Situation, Britain watching for some oppertune season to revenge her smarts, the fickle Indian nations ready to join those, who can best supply their wants, & jealous of the Approach of the Americans so near their Territories; the states unwill-



Stephen Mix Mitchell

ing or neglecting to adopt almost any one Measure which can be proposed to them by Congress so as to act jointly & efficaciously for mutual Benefit.

We still hope that before tis too late America will rouse from her Lethargy, remember her first, her reciprocal Love, & set her foes of every Discription at *scornful* Defiance, which she is abundantly able to do, if she wisely makes use of the means in her power.

We shall endeavor to give your Excellency Information of every Occurrence worthy of Notice & are with every Sentiment of Esteem & respect, Your Excellency's most obedt. & very humble serts,

Stephen M. Mitchell

Wm. Sml. Johnson

RC (CtY: Roger Sherman Papers). Written by Stephen Mix Mitchell, and signed by Mitchell and William Samuel Johnson.

¹ According to the endorsement on the report, it was read April 10 and on April 20 was "Ordered to be considered on Thursday 27 April. May 11th postponed to Monday 15th." *JCC*, 30:160n. It was eventually debated May 4, 18, 22, 24, and 25, and adopted on May 26. See Thomas Rodney's Diary, May 4 and 18; and *JCC*, 30:295–96, 299–304, 307–311. For discussion of the compromises that were involved in winning acceptance of the Connecticut cession, see also Charles Pettit to Jeremiah Wadsworth, May 27, 1786.

² For Congress' May 8 decision to assign this responsibility to two rather than to one commissioner, see *JCC*, 30:239.

³ For New York's adoption of an impost act May 4, 1786, see Stephen Mix Mitchell to Jeremiah Wadsworth, May 3, note 2.

Rufus King to John Lowell, Theophilus Parsons, and James Sullivan

Gentlemen,

New York 12 Ap. 1786

By the last Packet I received from Mr. Adams an attested copy of the Letters patent of King James the 1st to the council of Plymouth, together with the papers, copies whereof are inclosed. The Copy of the letters patent is voluminous; and I have supposed it as well to keep it in my possession as to transmit it by Post.

Nothing has taken place respecting our federal court since I wrote to you last: indeed there are no agents *here* who can take any farther measure on this Subject, we apprized the Governor of this Event in October last, but have heard nothing concerning the business since.¹

I thought it more proper to inclose these copies to you, than to the Governor; judging that you had monies in your hands with which Mr. Adams may be reimbursed his advances.

With perfect Respect, I have the Honor to be, Gentlemen, your obt. & very H^{ble} servt.,

Rufus King

RC (MH-H: bMS Am 1582). Addressed: "The Hon. Mr. Lowell, Mr. Sullivan & Mr. Parsons."

¹ The Massachusetts General Court had already empowered the state's congressional delegates to join with New York agents to appoint "commissioners or Judges" for hearing Massachusetts' claims to lands in western New York, but this March 17 decision had not yet reached the delegates. Documents certifying this authorization were laid before Congress April 17. See *JCC*, 30:184-85; and Nathaniel Gorham to James Bowdoin, April 5, note 5.

Rufus King to Robert Southgate

My Dear Friend:¹

New York, April 12, 1786.

General politics are so uninteresting to those who are not particularly bound to examine their probable effects—that I have declined writing to you on the subject. My personal concerns have been few since my being in Congress, and I therefore have not troubled you with any notice of them. This silence has not, I hope, been construed into a want of friendship to you or any of the family. Indeed I cherish the truest attachment to you all and am deeply interested in every event which can affect your happiness or prosperity. My own—if anything human is certain—are secured by *my late marriage*. My wishes never exceeded my present felicity. When you know my Mrs. King, you will not withhold, what she certainly merits, your genuine friendship and sincere affection. She is the only child of Mr. John Alsop, long a very respectable and eminent merchant in this city. Mr. Alsop declined business in 1775 with a very handsome fortune, and served a number of years as a delegate in Congress from this State. He is now wholly free from public and private employments and venerable for his years; and respected by his friends, enjoys the reward of an industrious and virtuous life.

I pray you to communicate this event to each of our family. I am so hurried at this time that I cannot write to Mrs. King or Dr. Porter. I hope to see you all in June or July. Farewell yours affectionately,

Rufus King.

MS not found; reprinted from King, *Correspondence* (King), 1:131-32.

¹ Robert Southgate, a physician and lawyer of Scarborough, Mass., had married King's sister Mary in 1773. Ernst, *Rufus King*, p. 16.

David Ramsay to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir,

New-York April 12th 1786

I return you many thanks for your oration.¹ The sentiments it con-

tains are not only ingenious & philosophical but in many cases new. I differ with you in one thing that "revenge is a vice growing out of warm climates." I acknowledge that irascibility is but revenge appears to me to grow more naturally out of cold climates than warm. Revenge is not the passion of youth. The odia longa are the vices of age & also of cold countries. A disposition to resent injuries & affronts instantly is one thing & the deliberate resolution of punishing at a distant day another. You would do well to send some copies here for sale. I have not made that one publick you were so kind as to send me lest it might injure the sale by previously gratifying curiosity. I wish to see matters on such a footing in America that an author may be on at least a footing equal to a taylor or shoemaker.

Your example has in many instances inspired me with laudable resolutions. In the confidence of friendship I mention that from a wish to follow you though it is confessed hard passibus æquis. I have some thoughts of proposing an annual oration in our Charleston Library society & of offering my service in the first instance. The subject which has occurred is an enquiry into the nature & effects of the climate & soil of Carolina on the inhabitants. I fear this would lead to unwelcome truths; but without sacrificing truth I could say many things that would be agreeable. I beleive the vices of that country are more chargeable on slavery than on the climate. I wish you woud resolve this in your mind. You can furnish me with some leading thoughts & facts. Paradise was in the same latitude. Spain was formerly a fine country. So was Egypt. Warm weather is favorable to longevity. By the act of heaven it was the original seat of man. I hope to see you soon on my way to Carolina & shall thank you for hints on this subject. Present my best respects to Mrs. Rush & believe me dear Sir that your diligence & example has had a most powerful influence in stimulating me to do likewise, & that it is with the language of unfeigned sincerity I subscribe myself your most obedient & very humble servt,

David Ramsay

RC (PPL: Rush Manuscripts).

¹ For Rush's oration on the influence of physical causes on the moral faculty, see Ramsay to Rush, December 14, 1785, note 2.

John Bayard to William Bayard

Dear Sir

Congress Chamber N. York Apl. 13th. 1786

I do myself the pleasure to enclose You an attested Copy of the Articles of Peace. It is attested by the Signature of the Secretary of Con-

gress, which is the Mode in which it has been sent to the different States in the Union.¹

I am with Great Respect, Dear Sir, Your Freind & Relative,
John Bayard

RC (NN: Bayard–Campbell–Pearsall Papers). Addressed: “Mr. William Bayard, Mercht. New York.”

¹ For the distribution of the definitive peace treaty to the states August 2, 1784, following the formal exchange of ratification, see *JCC*, 27:616–24; and these *Letters*, 21:753.

Edward Carrington to Timothy Pickering

Dr Sir,

New York Apl 13 1786

I have been honoured with your several letters respecting the claims of Mrs. Carrol and William Allen—as to the first I can now say no more than what was said last year—She is not in possession of the certificates upon which to justify a payment to her.¹ She said then, and I suppose still says the same, that she gave them to me. I cannot find that they are in my possession, or do I believe she ever gave them to me. As to Allen, he has no claim for the year 1781 whatever. On Ledger No. 1, he is charged with a certificate (specie) issued to him in March 1783 upon a full settlement which he made with me for that years services. The certificate is for 105 dols. as the sum then due him. Now if he has certificates for the service of that year still in his possession they would be duplicates which, with all my care, the inferior Officers would give. As to his claim for 1782, you may safely pay it as it stands upon the list of debts as he never has yet been paid. For his information as to the justness of the Acct. I send you a State as it shews in L. No. 2, by which you will find he has a Credit from, the pay Roles for 15 days more than his Certificate expresses Viz.

his Credit is for pay from 1 Decr. 1781	
to 15th Augt. 1782 amo at 12 dols per	102
his debit is for Cloathing	21 68/90
also brought from L. No 1 for pay of Decr.	
& a small Error	<u>13 86/90</u>
	35 64/90
Bal[anc]e due to A	66 26/90

The day before yesterday information was given to Congress² that some of the Assistants in your late department were still, notwithstanding the abolishment of the department, issuing your printed Certificates and that it was to be apprehended that abuses might be made in their still exercising this power. I explained to them as well as I

could why it might be necessary for those Certificates still to issue under your Authority, but at the same time admitted that it might be well to have some Communication with you upon the subject. They have come to a Resolution that the Board of Treasury take measures for having all the Blanks now out called in, and I suppose the Board will of course write to you upon the subject.³ Should any thing occur to you as proper further to be said upon the subject be pleased to write to me thereof. It is indeed probable that this power may be abused by some of the department, if the issues still continue in the hands of all who have been authorized to issue Certificates while they were in Office.⁴

Your favor by Mr. Webster I had the pleasure to receive in good season, but was not able to Commit to paper the necessary remarks in addition to those of Mr. Beverly in time for the second Tuesday in this Month but I will soon do what I can on the subject, and forward the result of my reflections to you.

I am, Dr Sir, with great regard, your Most obt servt,

Ed Carrington

RC (MHi: Pickering Papers).

¹ For the involvement of Carrington and Pickering (former quartermasters general) in the settlement of quartermaster certificate debt, see David Ramsay to Pickering, January 19, note 2.

² According to the journals, Congress did not meet on Tuesday, April 11. *JCC*, 30:159–60.

³ On April 10 “a motion for calling in & cancelling all the certificate papers delivered to late qr. Master” was referred to the board of treasury to report. On May 8 the board wrote to Pickering in Philadelphia asking whether any unissued certificate papers remained in the hands of his deputies and what means he would recommend “to prevent the Abuses which have been suggested to Congress.” See *JCC*, 30:160n; PCC, item 190, fol. 94; and Pickering Papers, MHi, (microfilm).

⁴ Congress had abolished the five staff departments of the army on March 24 and vested authority for settling the remaining accounts of those departments in a single commissioner, for which see Nathaniel Gorham to James Warren, March 6, note 1. On April 7, however, Congress received a memorial from Jonathan Burrall, Joseph Bindon, and Edward Fox, former commissioners for settling the accounts of the commissary, clothier, and hospital departments, complaining that any alteration in the procedure for settling accounts “at this very advanced stage of the business” would do great “material injury” to public creditors by further delaying settlements as much as 18 months. Charles Thomson reported on the memorial the following day recommending that it be referred to the board of treasury. Congress instead assigned it on April 12 to a committee consisting of William Samuel Johnson, Carrington, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, and Pierce Long. The committee recommended on April 20 that the March 24 act be repealed and proposed that the five departments be combined under the commissary and hospital commissioners (Burrall and Fox) who would be placed under control of the board of treasury. The report was debated on May 3–4, disapproved on the 5th, then “revived by new motion—& passed 8th May,” when Congress authorized the election of an independent commissioner to settle the accounts of the commissary and

quartermaster departments and a second for the clothier, hospital, and marine departments. Jonathan Burrall and Benjamin Walker were elected the same day and reelected again on May 7, 1787, and May 8, 1788. See *JCC*, 30:158–59, 160n, 182n, 202–3, 234, 237, 239–40, 32:258, 34:137–38; *PCC*, item 19, 1:449–65; Thomas Rodney's *Diary*, May 3, note 2; and Charles Thomson to Burrall, May 10.

David Ramsay to Elias Boudinot

Dr Sir,

New-York April 13th 1786

You will lay me under a particular obligation by furnishing me with facts relative to the treatment of our prisoners by the British & of the embarrassments which prevented exchanges & also of those which were imposed on General Washington by Congress on that subject.¹ Would you also be so obliging as to give me answers to the following questions.

What were the numbers of inhabitants & what the annual revenue of New-Jersey at the commencement of the war?

What was the general temper of the people in 1775 & what were the views, the numbers, the characters, the religion & influencing motives of the party for Great Britain & also of the friends of Congress.

By what steps did power pass from the constitutional assemblies to the popular councils? How did the old Government expire & how was the new one introduced.

By what methods were alarms of the enemys approach so extensively communicated?

What were the particulars of Generals Howes march in 1776 which turned the people so universally against him?

Information on these subjects or on any other which will tend to elucidate the history of the revolution will be gratefully received. Intelligence that can be got in the usual way from books or official records I would not give you any trouble about. You will answer my purposes more fully by communicating information of such events as are proper to be made public & which are not obtainable by reading. I wish to avail myself of your extensive information; but am unwilling to impose any trouble that may be avoided. I beg pardon for the freedom I take; but you are well convinced that information must be sought for from a variety of persons before any thing like a general history can be attempted. With the greatest respect & esteem I am your humble servt & affectionate friend,

David Ramsay.

[P.S.] I am in no hurry about receiving information. When it suits you please to transmit it to the care of the South Carolina delegates if it is not convenient to send it to me before the first of May. About that time I propose to return to Carolina.

RC (ScU: South Caroliniana Library).

¹ Boudinot had been commissary general of prisoners for the Continental Army in 1777–78.

David Ramsay to Benjamin Rush

Sir,

New-York. April 13th 1786

I have been busy for some time past in collecting facts & making extracts from official papers to enable me to write a general history of the American revolution. I shall take the materials to Carolina & there put them together. You will add another to the many obligations you have laid me under by answering the inclosed queries. I would also be highly obliged by being put in a way to obtain a reading of the minutes of your councils, conventions &c^t at the commencement of the war. I wish to show a picture of the public mind in 1775. You have many valuable anecdotes of the Generals—many valuable pamphlets & private papers. Would you give me leave to make use of such of them as you will not use yourself. I wish in particular to get these news papers which containd extracts from a history that never was published. I will cheerfully purchase a collection of pamphlets & a pile of news papers during the war if you can direct me to the proper persons. You have some minutes of the debate on Independence. I mean to go fully into that matter & state the reasons for it & against it at large. I throw myself on your generosity & crave your every aid in accomplishing the arduous work. I never feel so happy as when my mind is pressed with some subject which fixes my attention. *Is mihi demum vivere suisque anima videntus qui alicui intentus negotii praeclari facinoris aut artis bonae famam quaerit.*¹ By this rule you have already lived to a good old age. It is my ambition that I may not die in premature youth.

I am with great respect & esteem, your most obedt. & very humble
 sert, David Ramsay.

[P.S.] What was the number of inhabitants, the annual revenue, the amount of imports & exports to & from Pennsylvania previous to the war?

What were the causes which contributed to the so rapid population of Pennsylvania?

When the war began what was the State of parties in favor of Congress or Great Britain? What probable causes influenced the opposers of American measures? What were their numbers—their character—their religion—their views &c^t.? & the same of the opposite party.

What were the steps by which a peaceable people were transformed into soldiers?

In what manner did the old government expire & how was the new one introduced?

What particulars are worthy of notice in the formation of your constitution? How came it to differ so much from all others?

What was the police & management of the British & what their general line of conduct when Philada was in their possession?

What was the general plan of the work for the defence of the Delaware & how were they defended?

What was the national character of the Pennsylvanians before the war what is it now?

What efforts did your Legislature make to support the continental paper & to fill your battalions?

RC (PPL: Rush Manuscripts).

¹ Sallust *Bellum Catilinae* 2.9. "As I see it, only that man lives and enjoys life who is eager for achievement, who sets out to become famous by some glorious exploit or noble career." Norbert Guterman, comp., *The Anchor Book of Latin Quotations, with English Translations* (New York: Doubleday, 1966), pp. 96–97.

Charles Thomson to Robert R. Livingston

Sir,¹ Office of Secretary of Congress, April 13. 1786.

Agreeably to your request communicated to me by one of your Clerks I herewith transmit an Authenticated copy of the Act of Congress appointing Mr Arthur Lee one of the Commissioners to negotiate with the Indians, and of the commission under which he acted.²

I have the honor to be with respect, Sir, Yours

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ This letter was apparently intended for the Chancellor of New York, Robert R. Livingston, although the recipient recorded in the *Index* to the Papers of the Continental Congress is William Livingston. The first name of the addressee is written over and only the words "Livingston Esqr" stand out unambiguously. The substance of the letter appears to relate to a matter before the chancery court of New York having no connection with New Jersey governor William Livingston.

² For Thomson's enclosures, see *JCC*, 26:134–35, 282.

The issue at stake involved an action by Arthur Lee as commissioner for Indian affairs while negotiating with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix in October 1784. Lee and his fellow commissioners had ordered an officer of the Continental Army to confiscate liquor being supplied to the Indians by one William Colbrath, who subsequently both petitioned Congress for relief and brought suit against Lee in the chancery court of New York to recover damages. The board of treasury to whom Colbrath's petition had been referred recommended dismissal of the petition, but no action was taken on the recommendation and Lee had notified Congress in a December 29, 1785, letter that process had been served against him in the New York court. The case does not resurface in the congressional records until September 1787, however, when Lee informed Congress

that the suit was "soon to come to issue," and the following month Congress adopted a committee recommendation to direct the board of treasury to defend Lee and his former fellow commissioners against Colbrath's suit. For the documents related to this case, see *JCC*, 29:685n, 690n, 890–91, 910, 33:528n, 534, 698; and *PCC*, item 41, 2:209–12, item 56, fols. 137–40, item 78, 14:697–700, 739–42.

Edward Carrington to Timothy Pickering

Dr Sir,

New York April 16. 1786

In consequence of a request of Colo Heth, my successor in the Commission for Western Accounts, and with the consent of Genl Parsons who is now here, I again try you upon the point of acting as a third person in that business.¹ I am well assured that upon the allowance hitherto held out by Congress it could not be expected that any Gentleman could afford to go from home upon it—but if you will go, provided an adequate allowance can be obtained, Congress must again be tried thereupon. Be good enough to write by the next post how far you may possibly be brought into the Measure that I may judge whether it will be worth while to make a trial, in which Communication I assure you I will not conceive you in any terms to have so committed yourself as to be under an obligation to accept after the allowance is fixed upon.² I am Dr. Sir with regard yrs.,

Ed. Carrington

P.S. Yr. Answer by the next post is necessary to be in time before Genl Parsons goes away to Connecticut.

RC (MHi: Pickering Papers).

¹ Samuel Holden Parsons had been elected on June 9, 1785, as Continental commissioner for settling Virginia's claims for reimbursement of expenses incurred in George Roger Clark's conquest and administration of the northwest territory. He was to choose, in conjunction with the commissioner appointed by Virginia, a third commissioner to assist in adjusting and liquidating the accounts. Carrington, who had originally been chosen Virginia commissioner, resigned in December 1785 to attend Congress and was succeeded by William Heth. See *JCC*, 28:261; Virginia Delegates to Patrick Henry, April 2, 1785, note 2; William Grayson to James Monroe, November 28, note 4; and *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, ed. H. R. McIlwaine, et al. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1931–), 3:464, 501–2, 514.

² Pickering's response has not been found but it is clear that he remained uninterested in Carrington's proposal. Furthermore, Samuel Holden Parsons resigned his appointment as commissioner in September and was succeeded by Edward Fox, who in turn was replaced by the commissioner of army accounts John Pierce. Pierce and William Heth then appointed David Henley the third commissioner for the settlement of these Virginia claims, and Heth and Henley ultimately recommended a settlement of \$500,000 specie value in May 1788. See *JCC*, 31:710n, 741, 886n, 32:26n, 43n, 165–66, 171–72, 34:178n, 180–81; *PCC*, item 42, 3:570–71; and Charles Thomson to Parsons, September 5, 1786.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My Dear freind

New York 16 Ap. 1786

I am made extremely happy with the information that Mrs. Gerry is so soon & so happily recovered. I pray you both to accept Mrs. King's and my affectionate congratulations.

I will look after the Letter of Mr. Adams relative to interest on British Debts, and communicate his sentiments by an early post—indeed I now well remember the marrow of his Argument on that subject, which I never thought a good one; because it was the introduction of an artificial municipal principle of Law, to govern in a case Standing on the broad foundation of national Laws, and which ought to be determined by the justice of its own circumstances.

Mr. Adams stated to Mr. Pitt,¹ that the revolution in America was unlike the case of a war between two independent Nations; that the war was not only different, but that the Effects thereof were various.

That the contracts between individuals of two different countries rest on different laws for their execution, from those which are to carry into Effect contracts between the subjects of one nation or Government—the former depend on the laws of nations, the latter on the municipal laws of the country of which the individuals are subjects—That the condition of war is contemplated in the former instance, but not in the latter—that although in Time of war there is a suspension of the Duty to pay *the enemy Creditor*, yet on the restoration of peace the Duty returns and retrospects to the commencement of the war; and the principal Debt & the interest ought to be paid—but in the case of a Division of a nation, by the laws of that country when an entire nation, is the Debt recoverable—one of the laws of the British empire was and is, “that a personal Right once suspended is lost forever.” The war between G Britain & America suspended the several Rights of the individuals of both Countries—they were therefore according to the British laws lost or destroyed. But says Mr. Adams the treaty revived them, and took them at the conclusion of the peace in exactly the same situation in which they were at the commencement of the war—and excluded the period of war.

This reasoning as I before remarked is more artificial than solid in my mind—if the rights of the British Creditors were extinguished by the war as Mr. Adams contends, then there were not in America any British Debtors—if so what power have congress or their ministers to assent to a treaty which shall subject John & James to pay sums of Money to subjects of G. Britain, and exempt Thomas & Harry, who were as much bound to pay as John & James?

My idea is, and uniformly has been, that the exemption of the merchants of America from the payment of Interest depends on other

and more substantial principles than those alluded to by Mr. Adams in his conversation with Mr. Pitt. But my dear freind, nothing has been agreed on between the King's ministers & Mr. Adams, and the probability is light, that any thing will be concluded. Let the question be tried under the Treaty. I am sorry our state passed any restraining law on the Subject, because I think no jury ought or would have given the interest.

Excuse my hurry—I write in the room with three or four chattering Girls; I recite opinions incorrectly from my memory, and that memory charged with the Contents of an elaborate official letter by hearing it once only read.

I will inquire farther—one thing I write from self-conviction, that I love and esteem you & that I am affectionately your's, R King.

[P.S.] The House of Assembly of New York have agreed to an impost but reserve the power of making the laws for its collection, and render the Officers accountable to and removable by themselves.² This is so great a departure from the System that it amounts to a Denial of the impost.
R.K.

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ King is recapitulating a conversation John Adams reported in a letter to John Jay of August 25, 1785, which is in PCC, item 84, 5:605–20; and *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1783–89, 2:455–62.

² The New York House effort to substitute state for federal collectors had been led by John Lansing and prevailed by a vote of 32 to 22. A subsequent effort led by Philip Schuyler in the Senate to restore the original language providing for federal collectors failed by a vote of 10 to 6. The final act was adopted May 4, for which see Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, pp. 176–77; and King to Gerry, May 6, note 2. See also James Monroe to George Clinton, August 16, 1786.

Rufus King to Benjamin Lincoln, Jr.

My dear friend,¹

New York 16 Ap. 1786

The same embarrassments which have vexed you, have perplexed me—there existed no single Reason why I did not early write to you after my leaving Massachusetts. Had I consulted my own ease and interest, I certainly should have written and courted your correspondence, because I had long known the force & it marked the progress of your most excellent understanding, and friendship early taught me that your mind was a source of good Council on which I could draw for information in questions not merely personal and relating to myself, but of an extensive and important nature, such indeed as concern the safety, the honor, & happiness of our country.

Yet I omitted the solicitation of your correspondence, probably because you did not appear to wish it—let us order the matter better in

future. I once complained to the General of your neglect, and in the complaint included Baylies;² he and you have observed the same line of conduct towards me, & I have been equally silent to you both. Baylies knows that I revere and love him, that I now am, and have ever been intimately concerned in every thing, which can affect him—without professions you know my attachment to you—*perhaps* I have been in fault. But compare situations; you were perfectly at ease, and diligently pursuing a profession, to adorn it. Baylies secluded from the world, as independent as the Rocks he lives upon, and as proud as the only surviving son of virtue—of what value would my Letters have been to either of you? on the other hand, my duties have been often arduous, and my own Judgement insufficient to guide me when compelled to tread unbeaten Paths: in *these moments* I wanted your support, and had I dared should have often asked it. Friendship should have dictated to you both the propriety of authorising me to call on you for its choicest fruits, sincere council and candid communication public, & personal. But I will cease to remember the past—and I pray you to forget.

I am happy to hear that Baylies enjoys his health, and pleased with the information that he has increased his family. I thank you for your kind congratulations, Mrs. King most respectfully joins me in proper acknowledgements. I pray you to present my best respects to your Mrs. Lincoln, although unknown I am bound to esteem—she shall become acquainted with Two friends at the same time; Mrs. King will not detach me from Massachusetts—you are well informed of my increasing love for our particular country—there I began & there I pray God I may end my life.

The General wrote me a very sensible letter on a very important subject.³ I have been considering it, and as we are not wholly in sentiment I will reply soon. I should have answered before now, but marriage and its &ca. have prevented. I am now still, and applying to Business. Pray mention this to the General and beg his acceptance of my very sincere Respects. With sincere friendship & Respect, Your's Affectionately,

Rufus King

RC (MHi: Benjamin Lincoln Papers).

¹ Although this letter has been catalogued as one to Benjamin Lincoln, it is clear from King's references to "the General" that it was not written to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln. It also contains several familiar references to "Baylies," who is undoubtedly Hodijah Baylies, young Lincoln's brother-in-law; and it is known that both King and Benjamin, Jr., were 1777 graduates of Harvard College.

² That is Hodijah Baylies, who was married to Lincoln's sister Elizabeth.

³ Apparently Gen. Benjamin Lincoln's long February 11 letter to King on the present fiscal crisis and "the great question . . . whether Congress shall be vested with full and competent powers to regulate the trade of the United States," which is in King, *Correspondence* (King), 1:156–60.

Virginia Delegates to Patrick Henry

[April 16, 1786]

The representation of the 15th of Febry last upon the system of revenue of the 18th of April 1783 Has operated very successfully.¹ N. York and Georgia are now the only States whose accession to the impost part of the system we have not received authentic information of, and the accession of the latter we have such information of, as leaves no doubt an Authentic act will shortly come to hand. N. York has passed an act effecting a compliance, but clogged with conditions and provisions which render it inadmissible. Your Excellency will observe that Virginia having in her act granted only the impost part of the System she stands of course in the representation of the 15th of Febry amongst those States who have not fully complied. We think it not amiss to inform you that most of the States, who have in any degree complied, have left out the supplementary funds. It will be to no usefull purpose for Virga. to take the subject under consideration at an earlier period than the fall Session—whenever all the States have so formed their acts as to embrace the impost alone, that part of the System may go into effect, so far the act of Virginia is already competent to its operation, and it is not probable that her accession to the other part will become necessary before the fall.

Tr (DLC: George Washington Papers). Quoted in a May 14 letter to Washington from Joseph Jones, who identified it as “a letter from our Delegates . . . dated the 16th last month.”

¹ See Charles Thomson to the States, February 15.

Charles Thomson to James Bowdoin

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, April 18 1786

I have received the letter your Excellency did me the honor to write on the 2d and communicated the same to Congress together with the act for obtaining the number of the Inhabitants & the lists of the numbers white and black.¹ I have also received & communicated to Congress the Act of your legislature providing among other things for raising the sum of £145,655 for the purpose of complying with the requisition of Congress of 27 Sept 1785.²

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Yr Exys most Oblt
& m. li. s., C

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: “His Exy J. Bowdoin, Govr of Massachusetts.”

¹ Governor Bowdoin's letter and these enclosures are in PCC, item 65, 2:301-16, item 74, fols. 370-77.

² This March 22 Massachusetts Act is in PCC, item 74, fols. 346-69.

Charles Thomson to Benjamin Hawkins

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, April 18, 1786

On the 10 I received & communicated to Congress your letters of the 14 Feby & 20 March, with the papers enclosed. By the same post which brought your letters came the Commissioners joint letters of Novr. 17, their journal from Novr 28 to 6 Jany & their letters of Decr. 2 & Jany 4 & 14, with the treaties they have entered into with the Cherokees, Choctaws and Chicasaws and sundry other papers enclosed all which were communicated to Congress.¹ The treaties are entered on the journal and copies of them as soon as possible will be transmitted to the States.² The other Matters contained in your letters are under the consideration of a committee.³

I have no doubt your conduct will meet the Approbation of Congress. As soon as they have come to a determination on the subjects contained in your letters I shall not fail to acquaint you of it. I am sorry your want of health prevented Your coming on to this place & thereby deprives me of the Opportunity of assuring you in person with how much respect & esteem,

I am, Sir, Your Most Obedt & Most h s.,

C.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ Except for the three Indian treaties mentioned, none of these documents is in the PCC.

² See *JCC*, 30:185-95. In addition to the treaties signed with the Cherokees on November 28, 1785, with the Choctaws on January 3, 1786, and with the Chickasaws on January 10, 1786, "at Hopewell, on the Keowee," Congress also entered on the journals April 17 the treaty signed with the Shawnees on January 31, 1786, "at the mouth of the Great Miami."

³ These letters and enclosures were referred on April 10 to a committee consisting of James Monroe, John Kean, Rufus King, and Charles Pinckney, which on May 17 reported a recommendation for revoking all Continental commissions "granted for the purpose of treating with the Indians in the Northern, Middle and Southern departments," the objects of the commissions now having been realized. Notwithstanding apprehensions expressed by the secretary at war over the inadequacy of the troops "now in service" and by the commissioners of Indian affairs for the middle department over the hostile disposition "of the Wabash and other westerly Indians," Congress adopted the committee's recommendation on July 12. See *JCC*, 30:160n, 286-87, 326n, 346-47, 349-51, 397.

Charles Thomson to Ebenezer Hazard

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, April 18. 1786.

The United States in Congress assembled were yesterday informed that the Mail from the Southward might often be forwarded to this city with greater despatch if Mr Ogden were at liberty to send it by the way of Bergen point, And as speedy intelligence is often of great importance, I have it in charge to inform you that you may alter the Contract with Mr Ogden so as to permit him to transport the mail by the route of Bergen point or Newark as shall best suit.¹

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most obedt & Most humble Servt,
C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "E. Hazard Post M[aster] gen[eral]."

¹ For the adoption of this directive, on a motion of Henry Lee, see *JCC*, 30:197.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Gerry,

New York Ap. 19. 1786

A British Packet arrived yesterday, but nothing important has transpired—indeed little can be expected as she sailed early in February and parliament had scarcely begun their Session.

I inclose you the Gazettes of this morning, and pray you & Mrs. Gerry to accept the sincere Regards of Mrs. King & your friend,

R King

[P.S.] *Mr. Anstey* who has come out in the last Packet, is empowered by the commissioners who receive & allow the claims of the Refugees to examine the several Offices for the Records of the conveyances of the estates which the Refugees have declared themselves possessed of.¹

Mr. Adams recommends him to congress at the request of Lord Carmarthen²—he is merely a private character. RK

RC (NHi: King Papers).

¹ Parliament had adopted an act for compensating loyalists for their losses in America in July 1783, appointing five commissioners for examining claims and determining compensation who conducted their work in London. Upon the renewal of the act in July 1785, two additional commissioners were appointed to repair to Nova Scotia ("or any other part of His Majesty's Colonies in America") to collect evidence on the claims of persons unable to travel to Britain or employ agents to substantiate their claims.

And almost simultaneously the commissioners in London appointed John Anstey, a barrister, to repair to the United States to collect additional evidence to facilitate their investigations, particularly on unsubstantiated or fraudulent claims, a work he conducted from April 1786 to September 1788. John Eardley Wilmot, *Historical View of the Commission for Enquiring into the Losses, Services, and Claims of the American Loyalists* . . . (1815; reprint ed.; Boston, Gregg Press, 1972), pp. 58, 67, 89; and Leslie F. S. Upton, "The Claims: The Mission of John Anstey," Esmond Wright, ed., *Red, White and True Blue. The Loyalists in the Revolution* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1976), pp. 135-47.

² For the marquis of Carmarthen's November 30, 1785, letter to John Adams, and Adams' December 2 letter to John Jay recommending Anstey, see PCC, item 84, 6:1-6; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-89*, 2:539-40.

Henry Lee to Henry Lee, Sr.

My dear father

Newyork April 19th 1786

I have not heard from Leesylvania but thro Mr. C Lee since my arrival at Newyork. In obedience to your order I have paid three hundred dollars to Doctor Witherspoon and enclose his receipt. I did not know when I made this payment that the sum required was 95£ four shillings or I should have paid the whole demand. This I will rectify as soon as I can. The Doctor complains bitterly of the injury which he sustains by the difference of the interest received from you and to be paid by him for Money which your debt would have supplied, had your remittances been punctual.

We have very gloomy prospects with respect to national faith, dignity & importance. Indeed unless matters soon alter, the United States must inevitably become more insignificant than words can express. Every state in the Union but this, have granted the impost to Congress; whether New-york will or will not, is yet a matter of doubt. The house of delegates have passed a bill yeilding the duty of five per cent on imports for 25 years but have cramped it with certain modifications which will render the system unoperative for another year, unless the senate should amend the bill in its passage. The Feby. packet from Great Britain and from France have arrived. No news worthy of communication has yet transpired. I enclose the Gazette of this day.

How do the taxes collect with you; how are the people, willing and able; how proceeds the elections for this year; much contest or perfect indifference.

Will you oblige me so far as to take measures for having my house repaired in Dumfries and the lot enclosed. I apprehend from its condition when I left Virga. that it must fall to the ground if longer delayed, and I really cannot engage any person to undertake it for me. Whatever money may be requisite, I trust it will be in my power to ad-

vance when called for. Present my most respectful love to Mamma, to my sister & to the little ones. I am your affect. son,

H. Lee Junr.

RC (ViHi: Edmund Jennings Lee Papers).

Charles Thomson to William Ellery

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, April 19. 1786

I have the pleasure to inform you that The United States in Congress assembled have appointed you Commissioner of the Continental loan Office for the state of Rhode island and Providence plantations.¹ Herewith you will receive a copy of the minute. Be pleased to Accept my Congratulations on the appointment.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Sr, Your most Obedt & Most humble Serv²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ See *JCC*, 30:185, 198. Congress received Ellery's acceptance of this appointment on May 8. *Ibid.*, p. 245n.

² Rufus King also wrote the following letter to Ellery this day.

"I am told that a Packet goes tomorrow morning for Newport, by her I acknowledge the Honor of your polite letter of the 17 instant, and with pleasure communicate what I wrote by Post [*not found*] a few Days since, Your election by Congress as Loan Officer of R. Island.

"I thank you for your friendly congratulations on my matrimonial engagements, and in great haste, am your sincere friend, & obt. servt. Rufus King." *Christie's Catalogue*, June 8, 1990, item 40.

James Monroe to John Jay

Sir, New York, April 20, 1786.

The Committee to whom it is referred to report the plan of a temporary government for such States as shall be erected under the acts of cession from individual States, previous to their admission into the Confederacy, as also to organize the Indian department, request the favor of your attendance and advice upon those subjects upon Saturday next in Congress chamber at half after ten in the morning. The first question which arises with respect to the government is, Shall it be upon Colonial principles, under a governor, council and judges of the U.S., removeable at a certain period of time and they admitted to

a vote in Congress with the common rights of the other States, or shall they be left to themselves until that event? In the former instance how the correspondence or superintendence of such colony or colonies, shall be systematically preserved and presented to the view of Congress? The same question occurs with respect to the Indian department. These subjects altho' not immediately within your province we consider as intimately connected with it, and shall be happy in your assistance in forming those arrangements which will become necessary respecting them.¹

I have the honor to be with great respect and esteem, your most obedient servant,
Jas. Monroe

MS not found; reprinted from *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay*, ed. Henry P. Johnston, 4 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1890-93), 3:190-91.

¹ For the background of the appointment on March 27 of the committee on the temporary government of newly-formed western states, see Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, April 12, 1785, note 11. The committee, consisting of Monroe, William Samuel Johnson, John Kean, Rufus King, and Charles Pinckney, reported on May 10 and the report was ordered printed. Before it was debated, however, Congress took action on two reports of a grand committee which had taken into consideration on March 11 Monroe's motion of October 12, 1785, on western land cessions. The grand committee, on which Monroe served, submitted two reports on March 24, which were ordered printed, and Congress resolved on July 7 to recommend that Virginia revise its act of cession to allow Congress to divide the northwest territory into three to five states which would enjoy the same freedom, sovereignty, and independence as the original states. See *JCC*, 30:112n, 131-35, 390-94, 960; and Charles Thomson to Patrick Henry, July 11. Congress then considered the report on government on July 13, recommitting it after adding four amendments. It was read again on August 23 and assigned to a new committee whose September 19 report was debated September 29 and October 4, when it became clear that no ordinance on western government could be enacted until Virginia responded to the July 7 recommendation to revise its cession. See *JCC*, 30:139n, 251-55, 402-7, 502n, 561n, 563, 667n, 669-73, 686n, 700-702, 738, 962, 967.

The organization of an Indian department became the task of essentially the same delegates who developed the plan for western government when Congress directed Monroe, King, Pinckney, Nathaniel Gorham, and Stephen Mix Mitchell on March 21 "to prepare and report an Ordinance for the Regulation of trade with the Indians." Before the committee could report, however, it was superseded on June 6 by one consisting only of Pinckney, Monroe, and King who were charged with the larger task of forming an Ordinance "for the complete arrangement and government of the Indian department." The committee's June 28 report, dividing the Indian department into northern, middle, and southern districts, was printed for distribution. It was debated and amended July 20, 21, and 24 when it was read a second time. On its third reading on August 4 opposition from the North Carolina and Georgia delegates led to an August 7 amendment preserving state sovereignty in Indian negotiations. The amended ordinance, organizing the Indian department into two districts administered by a northern and a southern superintendent, was adopted the same day. See *JCC*, 30:118n, 332n, 368-72, 418-21, 424-28, 439n, 31:485, 488-93, 964, 965.

Henry Lee to George Washington

My dear Genl.

New York 21st. April [17]86

Your very polite reply to my two letters reached me a few days past.¹

It is impossible for my mind so thoroughly impressed with testimonials of your friendship, when that friendship operated both to my honor and happiness to ascribe any act of yours in which I am interested to disregard or neglect. My chief object in my correspondence with you, was to manifest the unabated respect which continues to govern my feelings, when change of situation and circumstances, forbid the derivation of my attachment from any principles, but those bottomed on the purest and warmest respect. Then my dear sir, let me hope that you will not consider it as due or expected that you should be regular in your replies, but rather be governed by inclination and leisure, other[wise] I shall be forced from the same feelings which induced me to commence a correspondence so truly agreeable, to decline the continuance of it. Your communications with respect to the progress of our internal navigation, has given to me and our countrymen here, the highest satisfaction, for certainly no event comprehends more fully the strength and future consequence of our particular country than the cementing to the interest of Virginia by the strong ties of commerce the western world. This I believe will take place effectually if the Potomac & James river companys succeed in their exertions before the navigation of the Mississippi becomes free to the western emigrants. I have my doubts whether good policy does not dictate forcibly every measure which tends to delay to distant time the free use of that river. It is very certain that the Spanish court are in no temper for admitting it at present, in any degree; nor will they ever consent to it as long as they retain in subjection their American Colonys. I have taken the liberty to shew in some private circles your observations with respect to the present prospect of our federal affairs, and I flatter myself the justice and decision of your remarks will aid the friends to the Union in this city in their exertions to incline the Assembly of this State to adopt the revenue system asked for by Congress, and at this period essential to the existence of the Union.

The lower house have passed the impost fettered with conditions which render it inadmissible by Congress. I hope the senate will amend it, and that at length we shall be possessed of some permanent and adequate fund for the discharge of our foreign debt.²

We have no accounts by the packet of the progress of our negotiators with the barbarry powers, nor have we much reason to hope for a

tolerable termination of their mission. The british cabinet evidence whenever they can their zeal to destroy our commerce, and they certainly will succeed in their favorite plan, unless the states give adequate powers to Congress to counteract by commercial regulations the injuries imposed on our trade.

I enclose the late Gazzette, a letr. from England for you, and the papers you require.

Please to present me to your Lady and accept my best wishes for your health and happiness. With the most respectful attachment I am dear General, your ob sert,

Henry Lee Junr.

[P.S.] I enclose a plan for the government of Militia, which does great honor to its author.³

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ For Washington's letter of April 5, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 28:401-3.

² See Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry, April 16, note 2, and May 6, note 2.

³ That is, Secretary at War Henry Knox, for whom see David Ramsay to Knox, March 12, note.

Rufus King to Jonathan Jackson

Dear Sir,

New York 22 Ap. 1786

Whether your foreign correspondence has furnished you with two arrets of the King of France, one of the 18 & the other of the 25 of Sep. last relative to the cod Fishery, or if you possess them, whether their operation will in any degree affect your mercantile arrangements, I am unable to determine, if your individual interest is not concerned, that of some of your freinds may be, and as these Regulations may not be within your or their Knowledge, I find a sufficient apology in communicating to you the substance of them.

The arret of the 18th of Sep. grants a Bounty of Ten livres the Quintal upon all dried cod fish the produce of the french Fishery and introduced into the French Wt. Indies in French bottoms navigated by the Kings subjects, and five livres the quintal upon all such Fish introduced in like manner into any of the Ports of Portugal, Spain, or Italy; The arret of the 25th of Sep. imposes a Duty of five livres the quintal upon all dried cod Fish imported in the French west Indies, by any stranger, or in any foreign bottom.

These arrets are now translating in the office of foreign Affairs, I will transmit to you copies of them as soon as they are finished.¹ The policy of these measures are most obvious, and ought to be a new motive with

the several States to vest the power of regulating commerce in some body governed by a single will, and whose authority would be sufficient to reciprocate these disadvantages to the power imposing them.

At the same Time that France adopts these measures to encourage her cod Fishery, and thereby establishes her marine; she is desirous of promoting the whale Fishery of America, lest England, her most powerful Rival, should exclusively possess it, the Facility lately given to the introduction of Whale oil into France originates in this principle; and in consequence of the Relaxation of the French laws in favor of Strangers, England may continue her Duty upon foreign oils, and yet we shall not want a good market for our's—a number of papers on this subject, and relating to the contract of Mr. Barret, which I received from Mr. Adams by the last British Packet, I shall transmit by this post to Mr. Tracy, and beg leave to refer you to them for the information they contain; a paragraph in one of the letters of the M. de La Fayette mentions the probability of the completion of the contract proposed by Mr. Tracy for the supply of naval stores, I most heartily wish its accomplishment, because I conclude it will be advantageous.

I intended to have presented to you and Mr. Tracy my congratulations upon your safe return from Europe, but *indispensable engagements* having delayed it for some weeks after that event, I found myself out of time, & therefore neglected what I wished, and ought to have done. I thank you for your polite letter by Mr. Emery, and hope that ere long he will be entirely satisfied on the subject of his memorial to congress;² It will always afford me pleasure to promote your views or those of your freinds.

I intreat you to present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Jackson, I was rejoiced a few Days since by hearing that her Health is better than for some time past it has been, I hope it will continue to improve. I flatter myself with the idea of paying my personal Respects to you both in the early part of the approaching Summer.

With perfect consideration I have the Honor to be, Dr Sir, your
obedt & very H'ble servt.,
Rufus King

RC (MHi; Lee Family Papers).

¹ For the translation and publication of these arrêtés granting bounties on cod marketed in the French West Indies by French merchants and taxing "Cod-Fish of the Foreign Fishery," which John Jay transmitted to Congress on April 27, see *JCC*, 30:212, 31:961.

² Possibly the memorial of "S. Emery respecting the brig *Hope*, belonging to Messrs. Lake, of Liverpool," referred on November 25, 1785, to a committee of which King was a member. See *JCC*, 29:886n; and PCC, item 190, fol. 76. No other evidence on this petition is found in the journals or PCC.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, April 22. 1786

In Obedience to the Order of Congress I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency herewith enclosed copies of the treaties, which the United States in Congress assembled have, by their commissioners, entered into with the Shawanese, Cherokee, Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian Nations.¹

Considering how much the security, comfort and happiness of the frontier settlements depend on being at peace with the neighbouring Indians, and how important it is to the whole Confederacy that the Savages on our borders be impressed with a sacred regard for treaties and with a firm, unshaken confidence in our justice, honor and national faith solemnly pledged, I have no doubt but your Exy will exert the means in your power to enforce a due observance of the several articles of these treaties so far as they concern your state or relate to the conduct of its citizens.

I have the honor to be, With the greatest respect, Your Excellency's
Most Obedt & Most humble Serv, CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ These treaties were ordered entered on the journals April 17. See *JCC*, 30:185–95; and Thomson to Benjamin Hawkins, April 18, note 2.

Charles Pettit to John Jay

Sir, New York 26th April 1786

I have received the inclosed Letter from Mr. David Beveridge of Philadelphia with a Request that I would put it into your Hands. He informs me that a Representation has been made, by Order of Congress, to the Court of Spain on the Subject which forms the Ground of his Complaint, and that the Governor of the Havanna has received Orders to promote an Enquiry concerning the Treatment received by the Americans under the Administration of Govr. Unzaga; but that he, Mr. Beveridge, is precluded, by particular Circumstances, from prosecuting his Complaint in that Place.¹

I have the Honor to be, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant,
Cha. Pettit

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78).

¹ The ill treatment experienced by David Beveridge and others at Havana had been reported to Congress by Jay September 15, 1785, and the issue had been referred to the Spanish court at Madrid, which subsequently directed the governor of Cuba, Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga, to investigate the complaints and to provide "immediate satisfac-

tion" where warranted. Beveridge's current concern was simply that since the charges to be investigated were directed against governor Unzaga himself, nothing would come of the inquiry that had been ordered, and he therefore sought the interposition of Congress to explain this difficulty to Madrid.

Jay laid the matter before Congress in a letter of the 27th, which was read April 28, but no formal action was taken on Beveridge's appeal. See *JCC*, 29:714–15, 30:217n, 33:749; and *PCC*, item 120, 2:270–77.

Maryland Delegates to William Smallwood

Sir

New-York April 28th. 1786

We were honored with Your's inclosing Copies of two Laws passed the last Session of Assembly, & a Letter for Messrs. Willing, Morris & Swanwick, which We have sent forward to them, & for which We feel Ourselves particularly obliged.

You will herewith receive the Copy of a Letter from the Board of Treasury to Mr. White,¹ directing him to continue the Receipt of the Claims of the Citizens of Maryland, to the first of June next, which conforms to the Wishes & Directions of your Letter.

We are with the highest Respect, Yr. very humble Servts,

Wm. Hindman

Will. Harrison

RC (MdAA: Executive Papers). Written by Hindman and signed by Hindman and Harrison.

¹ That is, John White, commissioner of accounts for Maryland.

Nathan Dane to Thomas Ivers

Dear Sir,

New York April 29. 1786.

I have hitherto omitted to call on you for money as a Delegate—as it has not been easy to sell bills here on our Treasury, or to get money conveyed from Boston to this place. I therefore took a general letter of Credit from two of my freinds in Beverly on a house in this City but as I must make provision for repayment on my return of the money I have so taken up to the amount nearly of my allowance from the State. I wish you to lay by for me as much money as you can towards paying my allowance as a Delegate for six or seven months. I expect to be in Boston about the first of June. I am sensible, Sir, our State has not money to pay their servants punctually for their *services*—my expences hitherto have been about five dollars a day, and as I have a family and but small property it will be a very grate injury to my affairs

not to receive from the State on my return a sum at least equal to what I have expended while a Delegate in Congress.

I am, Sir with respect & esteem, Your Obedt. Humble Servant,
Nathan Dane

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Gerry

New York 30 Ap. 1786

We are made happy by your kind letter by yesterday's post—you kept the secret better than I thought you would, you did so well that I shall trust you again—here it is, but confidentially, "*Osgood marries on the 18th of May.*"¹ Now sincerely I believe this is not known to a single Being except the widow Osgood & myself, I include Mrs. King in the last term—you must not communicate this information lest some cross accident should derange the intention of the Parties.

What will our Essex freinds say to you when you quit them for Middlesex? I know not how it happens, but so it is, that I prefer Massachusetts to any Other State, Essex to any other County, & Newbury Port to any other Town. Some Parts of this preference is just and I can account for it as a Philosopher; but why I should prefer one Town to another when their situations may be equally pleasing, and freinds reside in both I know not.

We go on in congress as when you left us. Three days since October only have nine States been on the Floor—Eight are now here, when we shall have nine is a melancholy uncertainty. I proposed a few days since that congress should resolve that provided on a certain Day sufficiently distant for information to reach all the States in Season, the States were not so represented as to give power to administer the Government that Congress would adjourn without Day. Something of this kind must be done—it is a mere Farce to remain here as we have done since last October—Foreigners know our situation, and the freinds of the Governments through the world must regret it.

Resolves have been passed upon Resolves—and Letter after letter has been sent to the deficient States, and all without the desired Effect. We are without money, or the prospect of it, in the federal Treasury; and the States, many of them, care so little about the Union that they take no measures to keep a representation in Congress. The civil list begin to clamour—there is not money to pay them, they are now unpaid for a longer period than since the circulation of Paper Money.

The Handful of Troops over the Ohio are mutinous, and desert because they are unpaid²—the money borrowed in Europe is exhausted,

and this very day our Foreign ministers have it not in their power to receive their salaries for their Support. Where, my Dear freind, will the evils consequent to this inattention in the states, terminate—the people of the states do not know their dangerous situation; this torpor and inactivity should alarm the Guardians of the People; but indeed the legislatures seem the least attentive. Pray think of our situation, and *advise me*. I can open my heart with freedom to you. You are now at home, and will be concerned in the Government of the State. Can there be no means devised whereby Massachusetts can yield something to the common Treasury—since the organization of the Board of Treasury, the State has paid *nothing*—we are told of it in Congress. We justify by declaring that past Exertions had exhausted us—but that we should revive, when the States would accede to such commercial Regulations as would place the American navigation on an *equal Footing* with that of Foreigners.

This is ostensible—but poor as we are, I hope we could do more than we now accomplish. Indeed the state neither pays any thing to the federal Treasury, nor supports her Delegates. After two or three months notice to Mr. Ivers, I drew on him, and he delayed the payment of my Bill in such a manner that I was compelled to draw on my own funds, to replace the money recd. for my Draft on the Treasurer.

This personal affair is of no other importance than to show that every thing that concerns the Union or federal affairs, is postponed for other considerations.

I can support myself—and freely would do it, if I can serve our Country—because in her prosperity is included the personal security of every individual. But if a dissolution must come, and dissolve our Government will, unless the several states immediately exert themselves in its favor, it behoves every one to withdraw in season, to effect, if possible, some sort of personal security.

I am not prone to imagine Evils which are improbable—on the other Hand placed in a situation in a high degree responsible, ought I to be silent when my Judgement convinces me that the greatest Danger is near. France *has required* a ratification of the consular convention—we have not been so represented this year as to be able even to consider it.³ You know my disposition, and can pity my Feelings.

Adieu, R King

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ Samuel Osgood, a widower since 1778, married the widow Maria Bowne Franklin of New York City May 24. *DAB*.

² For the March 21 report of the secretary for war, Henry Knox, on the desertion of troops under the command of Maj. John Wyllys at Fort McIntosh, and the summary execution of three of the deserters, see *JCC*, 30:119–21. For the congressional response to this report and the changes in the articles of war proposed and resolutions adopted as a result of this incident, see *JCC*, 30:115n, 136–37, 145–46, 290, 316–22, 423n, 433–35, 31:485.

³ King is paraphrasing an April 28 report of the secretary for foreign affairs, John Jay, on the failure of Congress to ratify the consular convention negotiated by Benjamin Franklin with France July 29, 1784. Jay's report was written in response to an April 18 query of the French chargé d'affaires Louis Guillaume Otto, who reported that France had experienced "inconveniences" because of the ratification delay and reminded Congress that he had received no answer to the memorial he had submitted on the subject "the 30th of November last." See *JCC*, 30:209n; *PCC*, item 120, 2:239-41; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-89*, 1:203-4.

Jay's report was disingenuous. Although he was strongly opposed to the convention and had made his case against it the previous July, he attempted to show that Congress had been unable to take up the convention primarily because there had since been a new election of delegates and nine states had been represented on only three days since the opening of the new Congress. And he subsequently recommended simply that Thomas Jefferson be informed of this "State of Facts" and "be instructed to account and apologize for the Delays which have attended this Business, to his most Christian Majesty." Congress accordingly referred the matter back to Jay "to take order" on May 1, and Jay wrote to Jefferson on May 5 enclosing copies of Otto's note and Jay's report on it. See *JCC*, 30:216-17, 224n; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:450-51.

For the background of this issue, which was not resolved until 1788 when Jefferson negotiated a new consular convention with France, see James Monroe to Jefferson, August 15, 1785, note 4; and Charles Thomson to Jay, October 6, 1785. For Otto's continued efforts to obtain a decision on the matter, see *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-89*, 1:235-36; and for the next step in Jay's campaign to procure a new convention, see Charles Pinckney to John Jay, September 24, note.

David Ramsay to John Eliot

Sir,

New-York May 1. 1786

I propose in ten or twelve days to set out for Charleston without visiting Boston. Will you be so good as to inform me what number of dollars I may venture to draw for in Boston. I mean to pay my binders &ct that way; but will not take that liberty without certainty that the draughts can be honored from the sales. An answer by the next post will oblige me much. I have sent you the 6 unbound copies & Mr Aitkins has sent a number bound from Philada. Please to direct to me in Congress & if I should be gone my colleagues will forward it to me at Princeton or Philada at which places I shall remain a few days after my departure from New York. I have never heard that Mr Hancock or Mr Lovell received the copies I sent them.¹

Yours,

David Ramsay.

RC (MHi: Andrew-Eliot Papers).

¹ See Ramsay to Eliot, March 13.

Rufus King to John Adams

Dear Sir

New York 2d May 1786

Mr. Alsop of this city, whom you must recollect as a delegate from this State to congress in 1775 & 1776, and whose daughter I have lately married, requests me to ask your Opinion, whether a Refugee, whose Estate has been confiscated here, and to an amount exceeding that of his Debts, can by the British laws, or the Treaty of peace between G. Britain & the united States of america, be compelled by Process in the British courts to pay a Debt due to an american Citizen, antecedent to the late war? The Determination of this question is of some importance to Mr. Alsop, and indeed to many others of our Countrymen.¹

It has been objected against such recovery that the confiscated estates of the Refugees being by the act of confiscation liable to, or by subsequent laws charged with, the payment of their Debts, in all cases where the confiscated estate equalled the amount of the Debts of any Refugee, that there the State to whose use the estates confiscated ensued, took upon itself to pay the Debts, and the Refugee was discharged—and being discharged by an american law, the treaty could not affect *them*, for no Debt was due from them. How far these objections are founded, is submitted to your good Judgment. If the estate of a Refugee escaped confiscation, his american Debts must be paid under the Treaty. So if the confiscated estate is insufficient to pay the whole of his Debts, the Deficiency is in like manner recoverable. How then is it in the principal case?²

Will you have the Goodness to examine this question, and oblige Mr Alsop, & myself with your Opinion.

With the highest Respect, I have the Honor to be Dr Sir your obt & very Humble Servt.,

Rufus King

RC (MHi: Adams Family Papers).

¹ Adams acknowledged King's letter with two of June 14, which are in the King Papers, NHi. In the second of these he responded to this paragraph in the following terms.

"In Answer to Mr Alsops Question, I have no difficulty in answering, that by Law, and Treaty, a Refugee, ought to be compellable by Proccess in the British Courts to pay a Debt due to an American Citizen, antecedent to the late War, and this without any Regard to or Enquiry concerning his Estate or his other Debts in America. A great Cry and Uproar, nevertheless would no doubt in such Case be excited, and the Courts would probably, Suspend and prolong the Proccess. There will never be an End of Questions and Chicane, untill the States repeal all the Laws which impede the Recovery of old Debts in America."

² The issue of the confiscation of loyalist estates was also about to be raised again with the states by the secretary for foreign affairs, John Jay, who directed the following circular letter to the executive of each of the states the following day.

"Congress has been pleased to order that I should 'report particularly and specially, how far the several States have complied with the Proclamation of Congress of the 14 January 1784, and the Recommendation accompanying the same, pursuant to the definitive Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and Great Britain.'

"In order that I may be able to fulfil the Expectations of Congress I must request the Favour of your Excellency to inform me whether and how far the State (or Commonwealth) of _____ has complied with the Recommendation in Question." PCC, item 120, 2:281, item 127, fol. 147.

For the January 14, 1784, proclamation at issue, concerning provisions of the Treaty of Paris which provided safeguards for loyalists whose estates had been confiscated, see *JCC*, 26:29–31. Jay was complying with an order of Congress adopted March 8, 1786 (*JCC*, 30:100), but no evidence has been found indicating why he waited nearly two months to do so. A complaint from the British consul John Temple that loyalists had met with obstacles in attempting to obtain redress from state confiscations had been received December 21, 1785. But the complaint had been submitted without substantiating evidence and Jay had used that opportunity to inform John Adams that he should simply advise the British court that the issue was one that exceeded the scope of consular affairs and that if Britain wished Congress to treat such matters with a "mark of attention" it would be expedient to send an accredited minister to the United States. *JCC*, 30:2–5.

Thomas Rodney's Diary

New York. In Congress May 2d. 1786.¹

A report was read respecting a proposed peace with the Algerines & Barbary States.²

Mr. Pinkny—Said that the sum of 80,000 dols heretofore appropriated to the purchasing peace with those States was insufficient—that it was necessary to Send a larger Sum, that Congress ought to address the States and let them know our Situation that they might provide—That we ought to send a Sufficient Sum and a person of Talents & Integrity to Negotiate a Treaty—that Mr. Lamb the person now there is not a Sober Man but of a Loose Caractor unfit for that purpose that he was surprized Congress appointed Such a person &c.

Mr. Grason—said the sum was Contemptable, that Even the great Maritime States of Europe were obliged to buy peace of those pirates, and that they at least winked at the depredations on our Trade that probably G. Brittain woud give them a larger sum than we had sent to Continue those depredations, and that if we Expected peace we Must out bid them &c.

Almost every Member in Congress rose on this Occasion, and the general Sentiment respectg. this Matter Singlely was to the Same purpose. But the Consideration how Money was to [be] procured drew into Argument the Whole affairs of the United States—So it was postponed till Munday.

According to the Order of the day, The Seneca King Captn. Abail, or the Corn planter was Introduced with five other Indian Chiefs of the Same Nation.³ They were Clean & Neatly drest in Match Coats & Leggings & clean Shirts all new. The King Advanced to the Chair & Shuck hands With the President then Went round and Shuck hands With each Member—the rest did the same. Then the King Standing in the Floor, Addressed Congress.

“Brothers I have long wanted to See the thirteen fires, and I thank the great Spirit that there is a Bright Sun and a Clear Sky at our first Meeting. I am glad to See you Sitting in Council and I look up to the great Spirit, Who is King over us all, to direct you right. We were born in the Same Country and ought to live like brothers.

“Brothers I want you to Listen to me a few Words, I am never tired to do good, I cannot be Tired of doing right, I hope you will listen and Consider my Speech, The Indians are but poor—they can’t be rich—for their harts are known, their sentiments, and mind, are fixt, therefore you will Consider and Take pittty of My people, for they have No place to go to, Nor any body to apply To, they hope you Will appoint, Some body for them to Apply to, They want you to appoint General Butler, to do business for the Indians, because they know him, and know that he is their friend.

“Brothers Consider this and look to the great Spirit and he Will direct you right.

“Brothers I want you to Consider the Speech I made before (meaning the Treaty) and do What is right.

“Brothers of the Thirteen Fires I have no more To Say only that I hope the great Spirit, Which Rules above, will direct you right, and move your hearts to do good.”⁴

MS (DLC: Rodney Family Papers). In the hand of Thomas Rodney.

¹ This entry is taken from a fair copy of a diary Rodney made at a later date, which includes entries for May 2, 3, and 4, 1786, as well as for the period February–April 1781 (for which see volumes 16 and 17 of these *Letters*). In addition to the retrospective comments found at the conclusion of the May 4 entry, proof that the present compilation was constructed from other, contemporary notes is found in a separate page of notes dated “May 1th 1786” located in the H. F. Brown Collection at DeHi, which was been quoted in notes 1 and 2 of Rodney’s Diary, May 4. The document printed as Rodney’s Notes of Debates, May 18, 1786, is a unique item in the Thomas Rodney Collection at DeHi, archivally unrelated to the other Rodney diary entries printed in these *Letters*.

² For this report, which was submitted to Congress on April 5, see *JCC*, 30:152–53.

³ For the adoption of this “Order” and discussion of the efforts of the Seneca chiefs to visit Congress, see David Ramsay’s Speech, May 5, note 1.

⁴ Rodney’s version of this speech was apparently set down from memory. In the version preserved in the PCC (item 56, fol. 407), which also served as the basis for the report of the Indian reception published in the May 8 issue of the *New York Daily Advertiser*, Cornplanter’s speech was recorded as follows:

“Brothers of the thirteen fires I am glad to see you: It gives me pleasure to see you meet in Council to consult about public affairs. May the great Spirit above direct you to such measures as are good. I wish to put the chunks together and to make the thirteen

fires burn brighter. We thank you for sending this man (General Butler) among us. We know him to be a good man, and wish he might be continued to do business between us. One man cannot do every thing, we therefore wish you would fix upon another man to help him. We have long known general Morris and would be pleased you would appoint him. He is also a very good man, and much beloved by the Indians. We wish you would appoint men to whom we might apply for a redress of any evils that may be done us. We pray the great Spirit above to direct you and us that we may live together in peace.

"Brothers I have spoke my mind on other matters to General Butler at Carlisle and he promised to send my talk to you. I hope you have received it, and that you will give me an Answer to what I have said, I need not say it again as you know it already."

Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell

Dear sir

Wednesday night May 3d 1786 New York

After a passage of eighteen Days from Wilmington, I arriv'd here Yesterday half after twelve & finding Mr White here we boath presented our Credentials & took oure seats this Day.¹ Receiv'd Your Instructions with the resolve of the Counsil & am sorry to inform You that the treaty was receiv'd & entered on the Journals before we came here.² Under these circumstances I judge it will be prudent, to let the matter rest Untill Mr Blount takes his seat whose Assistance will be of infinite advantage in the Undertaking, & the Delay will not be attended with any Ill consequence. It is not in my power to give You any satisfactory accounts of the Business before Congress, as time has not furnished an oppertunity for my own information. Shall embrace the first oppertunity to furnish You with proper Intelligence & shall esteem it an honour to be favoured with Youre advice on every subject of importance.

I Received Youre warrant but Mr Reed could not pay one shiling. Was made under the necessity of bringing som tar, which I find will nett 3/ per barrel if I am fortunate in the sale. Pitch cost me 16/ per Barrel, & the freight 5/ & it goes current here for 11/ all goods.

The Assembly of New York now siting, has pass'd an Act for emitting paper Currency. Also an Act to comply with the requisition of Congress respecting the impost, but will not suffer Congress to remove the officer of the Impost for Maladministration,³ their remedy in that case, is to complain to the Executive who may remove him if they pleas. This measure gives umbrage to the Delegates, but it has not com officially before Congress Yet, but expect a copy will be layd before them tomorrow for their perusal.

I Remain Dear sir, with the Utmost Esteem, Your Most Obedient & Very Humble Servant,

Timothy Bloodworth

RC (Phi: Gratz Members of Congress Collection).

¹ North Carolina had not been represented in Congress for more than six months

since William Cumming last attended in mid-October 1785. In November 1784 the state's assembly had elected Bloodworth, William Blount, Charles Johnson, Adlai Osborn, John Sigreaves, and Richard Dobbs Spaight as delegates to attend the following November and on December 12, 1785, had elected Cumming and James White to replace Osborne and Spaight who had resigned. See *JCC*, 29:836, 838, 30:228–30.

From his letter to the North Carolina assembly of December 3, 1785, it is clear that Bloodworth had tried to book passage from Wilmington, N.C., to New York in October pursuant to Gov. Richard Caswell's order to attend Congress but "such was the exhausted state of the publick funds, that my Draft could not be paid, which prevented my going forward." He appealed to the assembly to find "means to forward me on to Congress." Legislative Papers, Nc–Ar. Likewise, White wrote to Caswell on February 1, 1786, asking for copies of the delegates' credentials and assuring him that his "commands to the Northward, . . . shall be executed with the utmost attention." Governors' Letterbooks, Nc–Ar. Bloodworth and White were joined by William Blount on May 10. *JCC*, 30:249.

² For Caswell's April 3 "Instructions" opposing the four treaties recently negotiated with the southern Indians, see *N.C. State Records*, 18:591–92. See also Charles Thomson to Benjamin Hawkins, April 18, note 2, and to the States, April 22.

³ See the following entry, note 2.

Stephen Mix Mitchell to Jeremiah Wadsworth

Sir,

New York May 3d. 1786.

Your Genl. Election approaches fast, when by all I can hear you will have electioneering to go thr'o a second Time,¹ & be under the necessity of making a Governor; as the freemen seem not to be well agreed in their choice, I do not grudge you the pleasure of that business.

I expect Doctr. Johnson will shoulder some of us out of Council & perhaps others who stand in Nomination may step forward who are not now in the Council.

I wish to hear whether a sufficient Number of the Council meet this Week, to make a Quorum for yr. supreme Court, & whether The Leuit. Governor is sufficiently recoverd. to attend, how they proceed &c &c &c.

This Day we have ten States represented in Congress, & one Delegate from each of the other three, Georgia excepted; Tomorrow we propose to bring forward the Question relative to our Cession of the western Territory, but we have but little hopes it will be accepted, there is a per adventure that it may be & we shall leave no stone unturn'd. To effect our purpose, we dare not delay it any longer as the Assembly meets next Week, perhaps a Delay of a few Days would prove favorable.

The Impost is granted in this state after a Sort & the paper money is receivable in pay for the Duty & a promise (I am told in the Act which I have not seen) that if any Depretiation should take place upon the money, by which the Continent should be subject to a Loss, the state will make it good.²

Another Obstacle has arose to the operation of the Impost in Pennsylvania, which is, that the Impost on their part shall not be carried into Execution unless the Supplementary funds are provided in all the States, when the time will arrive for all the States to agree in any one thing I know not.

No late Intelligence is recd. relative to the Success of our Legations to the Barbary powers. Everybody prognosticates ill success in that Business on Acct. of the blundering Talents of our Connectt. Man Mr. Lamb, & we have the morti[fi]cation to see now & then a Shrug & Sneer at his Expence, I hope he will convince the world he is a Ram or at least an Old Sheep, the world speak of him in a very contemptible Light.

I intended to have seen you at Hartford e'er this time, but cannot yet content myself to leave the state unrepresented when we have only two New England States on the floor, ours included.

I enclose to you a Letter for Col. Trumbull which was handed me this Day & beg you to forward it. I find the Society of Cincinnati is very generally unpopular & tho't to be a dangerous body, hope nothing will be done to render the deserving Sons of Mars unacceptable in the Eyes of their Brethren.

You will think I am as tireless in writing as speaking to you, with Sentiments of Cordial Respect I am, Yours,

Stephen M. Mitchell

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ In the Connecticut gubernatorial election where there were several candidates, governor Matthew Griswold had outpolled Samuel Huntington 2,160 to 1,701, but since neither candidate received an absolute majority of the vote, the election was thrown into the Connecticut Assembly. There a "dump Griswold" movement developed, and the freemen cast 94 votes for Huntington, 39 for Oliver Wolcott, and only 10 for Griswold. Larry Gerlach, *Connecticut Congressman: Samuel Huntington, 1731-1796* (Hartford: American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Connecticut, 1976), p. 87.

² Although this act was not officially adopted until May 4, the Senate had signified its approval of the bill with amendments on May 1, with the House coming to agreement on the amended bill May 2. The Council of Revision signified its final approval of the whole on May 4. See *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New-York* (first meeting of the ninth session, begun January 12, 1786), pp. 168, 171, 173, DLC(ESR). The act was objectionable to most delegates in Congress not only because it provided for payment of duties in New York paper currency, but also because it substituted state for federal collectors. Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, pp. 176-77.

David Ramsay to Thomas Jefferson

Sir

New-York May 3d 1786

I have received your favor of ———.¹ The deficient pages of my work

I suppose have been furnished by Mr. Dilly long ago. Your wish to get some shrubs from Carolina shall be gratified if possible. Mr. Watson shall be applied to and if he can furnish what you desire they shall be transmitted to New York to Mr. Otto to be forwarded by him.

I have to return you many thanks for your attention to my interest; but I have a much higher obligation to acknowledge. Your notes on Virginia have been lately put into my hands and been read with infinite pleasure. I admire your generous indignation at slavery; but think you have depressed the negroes too low. I believe all mankind to be originally the same and only diversified by accidental circumstances. I flatter myself that in a few centuries the negroes will lose their black color. I think now they are less black in Jersey than Carolina, their [lips] less thick, their noses less flat. The state of society has an influence not less than climate. Our back country people are as much savage as the Cherokees. I believe in opposition to Dr. Robertson² that were it not for the commercial cities on the sea coast even the use of a plough would far to the westward be forgotten.

You have given M. Buffon a decent but a merited correction. Europeans affect to under value Americans. I acknowledge an inferiority but this is chargeable on the state of society. Less industry, less perseverance & less knowledge will answer the purposes of our country than in old established countries but human nature is certainly radically the same in both. Your book has set me thinking on a variety of subjects. I wish such an one was written in every state. Our country suffers in Europe for want of being known. They abuse us for not paying our debts. The same objections would be made against themselves in our circumstances. We are a country of farmers and planters & as such credit is not a matter of the last consequence; but John Bull forming his ideas from the mercantile punctuality of a commercial people instead of philosophising on the state of society in a wide, extended, fertile country supposes there is more natural honesty on the one side of the Atlantic than the other.

With the most exalted sentiments of respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, your most obedient & very humble servt,

David Ramsay

RC (DI.C: Jefferson Papers).

¹ Apparently Jefferson's letter of January 27, for which see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:238.

² That is, William Robertson (1721–1793), whose two-volume *History of America* had appeared in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London editions in 1777.

David Ramsay to Benjamin Rush

Sir,

May 3d 1786 New-York

I have receivd your two friendly letters together with the two pamphlets inclosed for which I thank you. I can write the general history of the revolution with more ease than I have wrote a part of it. Indeed I have got the parts already collected. Mr Thomson has all General Washingtons letters copied in books in the order of time & from my access to papers, the remembrancer,¹ & the regularity of records in the offices of Congress, I have been enabled to do a great deal in a little time. For some months past I have spent from five to 8 hours every day at this work. The drudgery is already nearly done. I have got my facts & I shall put them together in Carolina.

I thank you for your freindly offers of your papers &ct. I have on more occasions than one found your advice & friendship salutary. I owe more of my present independence to yourself than to any living person. Your example has animated me to industry & your advice has directed it to proper channels.

We have now eleven States. I sat in my chamber this morning till near eleven, from that hour till half after three in the chair of Congress & heard some of the best reasoning & most elegant speaking I have ever heard in my life.² My present station has excused me from all committees which has given me more leisure for my history. M[y] time will be out next week & I shall then set out for Philada. Present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Rush.

I am with the greatest esteem your friend & very humble sert,

David Ramsay

RC (PPL: Rush Manuscripts).

¹ That is, John Almon's *The Remembrancer; or, Impartial Repository of Public Events*, 17 vols. (London, 1775–84), which reviewed both British politics and American affairs.

² See the following entry.

Thomas Rodney's Diary

Wednesday May the 3d. [1786]

Mr. Pinckney of S. Carolina, Moved that a grand Committee be appointed, To Take into consideration the affairs of the nation.

Said our Situation was Such that it Was necessary To inform the States thereof—that it was necessary that Congress Shoud be Invested with greater powers and therefore it was Necessary to appoint a Convention for that purpose or that Congress Shoud call on them by req-

quisition for Such powers as was Necessary to enable them to Administer the Federal Governme[n]t or it Must fall—That the Confederation Was deficient in powers of Commerce; in raising Troops, and in the means of Executing those powers that were given &c.

Mr. Munroe of Virginia Alledged that Congress had ful power to raise Troops; and that they had a right [*to*] Compel a Compliance in every case Where they Acted agreable to the powers given them by the Confederation; That all the States but N.Y. had invested them With Commercial powers (a member informd that N.Y. past an Act for that purpose yesterday) therefore he Saw no Occasion for a Convention &c.

Much was said pro, & Con, on this Subject to the same purpose on one side or the other and then the Matter was refer'd to a Committee of the Whole on Tuesday next.¹

A Report respecting the great Official Departments came forward—Much debating—pospon'd Till Munday.²

Loan officer for the N.Y. State Voted for—5, for Caughran, 2, for Livingston, 3 blanks so not determined—postpon'd.³

MS (DLC; Rodney Family Papers). In the hand of Thomas Rodney.

¹ See *JCC*, 30:230. See also William Grayson to Richard Henry Lee, March 22, note 7; and Jensen, *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, 13:32-33.

² There is no mention of this issue in the journals (*JCC*, 30:228-31), but see Edward Carrington to Timothy Pickering, April 13, note 4.

³ Although this election had been set for this date, Secretary Thomson omitted all mention of this balloting this date. John Cochran was elected commissioner of the Continental loan office for New York May 8. See *JCC*, 30:219, 239.

Roger Alden to John Jay

Sir Office of Secy of Congress, May 4th. 1786

I have the honor to inform You that Friday the 5th Inst. at 12 oClock, is appointed for a second visit from the Seneca Chief & his Associates.¹

As he is to receive assurances from the Chairman of Congress of the ratification of the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, will You give Yourself the trouble to order the original treaty to be transmitted to the Office of the Secy of Congress.²

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Your most Obedt & Most humble Servt,

Roger Alden

FC (DNA; PCC, item 55). In the hand of Roger Alden.

¹ See David Ramsay's Speech, May 5.

² For the definitive treaty ratified by Congress January 14, 1784, see *JCC*, 26:23-28. The original document Alden was requesting is now preserved among the General Records of the United States Government, RG 11, DNA.

Timothy Bloodworth to Abner Nash

Dear Sir

New York Thursday May 4th 1786

Last Tuesday Landed in this Town, and Yesterday took my seat in Congress with Mr White.¹ We have now ten States on the floor, which will enable Congress to proceed on business. It is not in My Power to give You any satisfactory accounts, of the business before the House, as time has not favoured me with an opportunity for information. A paper currency has taken place here, & the Assembly, now sitting, has pas'd an act to enable Congress to Collect the impost, but will not suffer them to remove the officer of the Impost, for Maladministration. Their remedy in this case, is to complain to the Executive, who may remove him & appoint som other in his place. This measure gives umbrage to the Delegates before whome it has not yet com officially. A copy of this act is to be Lay'd before them this Day. Am exceeding anncious to see You here with Youre Amiable Lady, as I am convinced the state of North Carolina will stand in need of able Advocates. I earnestly wish Youre Families Good & remain (with Compliments to Mrs. Nash) Dear Sir, Your Most Obedient Servant, Under Various Obligations,

Timothy Bloodworth

RC (Nc-Ar: Bloodworth Papers).

¹ See Bloodworth to Richard Caswell, May 3, note 1.

Rufus King to John Adams

Sir,

New York 4 May 1786.

By the January Packet I was honored with your letter of the 23 of December, and by Mr. Anstey who arrived in the February Packet, I received your's of the 22 of January.¹ I pray you to accept my acknowledgments for these kind attentions, and to be assured that if any communications in my power concerning our common country, will afford you any information, the pleasure of transmitting them, will be my best and most satisfactory reward. Long before this time, the Dispatches from Mr. Jay's Office will have convinced you that Congress entertain the same sentiments, which you possess, on the Subject of an exchange of ministers between the United States & G. Britain; they will not be inattentive to the Dignity of their country, nor the Etiquette of courts. Mr. Temple will be confined to the authorities of his commission, & will not be permitted to travel out of his consulate. The Determination is, that the court of St James must send a minister here of your Rank in consequence of the proposal for that purpose, or congress must recall their minister at London.

Although it is admitted by every one, that the Duties of your legation have been ably discharged, yet it seems to be as generally allowed, that little good can be expected, in the present disposition of the British ministry from the continuation of a minister from our country at the British Court. On this Subject congress will be very temperate, and nothing will be decided hastily—there certainly was a time since the war when there existed a very general disposition in America to be intimately allied with the country of your present Residence. That disposition has since changed, is now universally weakened, and in several parts of America does not now exist.

Whether the measures pursued in the British Cabinet, and which have produced this change in America, were best calculated to advance the prosperity of Great Britain or America, a short futurity will determine. Certain it is, that they have a tendency to produce that Unanimity in America so much to be desired, as the Basis of those national Regulations, which alone can establish our commerce, and make our country respectable. Indeed they have in some sort already produced this good Object. The Arrets of France relative to the Cod Fishery tend to the same purpose—America begins to learn, that she must depend upon herself, for Prosperity & Happiness.

With perfect respect, I have the honor to be your Obt. & very Humble Servt.,

Rufus King

RC (MHi: Adams Family Papers).

¹ Adams' letters are in King, *Correspondence* (King), 1:117–19, 149–50.

Stephen Mix Mitchell to Jeremiah Wadsworth

Sir Thursday afternoon 5. oClock May 4th. [1786]

I yesterday wrote you that we intended, to bring forward our Cession this Day, which has accordingly been done,¹ and the Doctr.² altho he has been heretofore very diffident & modest in Speaking, on this Occasion came forth & shewed himself perfectly & compleatly master of his Subject, with his wonted Eloquence he did justice to his Cause, acquir'd honor to the State which he represents & to himself. As the Subject was new to many Members & very few, if any, could fully understand the whole grounds of our Claim they strenuously urged a postponement of the Determination a few Days & altho' an early Day was urged by us with all the powers we were master of; the Day assignd. for concluding this Business, is this Day week, unfortunately for me, as it will keep me longer from home. I have many hopes we shall succeed, Pensylvania are wavering, whether tis good policy for them to join in accepting the Cession, this is a good Omen. We shall not omit Exertions with their members; Petit wishes to take advice from home first, I

believe if Wilson had staid we might have counted St. Clair & him on our side. I expect this week of Consideration, will be a week of hard Labor for me, Genl. Parsons has just come into Town & I intend he shall help, in a good Cause; you will not fault me for employing him here, while you are making Governors.

Wishing you a good Election, & a good Governor, I am with wonted Esteem, Your
S.M. Mitchell

RC (CtY: Wadsworth Family Collection).

¹ Secretary Charles Thomson made no mention of this debate in his journal for this date (*JCC*, 30:232–34), but see the following entry. For the background of this issue, see Connecticut Delegates to Matthew Griswold, April 12, note 1.

² That is, William Samuel Johnson.

Thomas Rodney's Diary

Thursday 4th May 1786.

The report respecting the Cession of Connecticut to the United States (to wit all of that Country to the Westward of a line runing parallel with the Western bounds of Pensylvania, and one hundred and Twenty Miles distant therefrom).

Mr. Johnson, to shew the right of Connecticut to this Country, gave a Well digested historical account of the Charters, of N. England, Virginia, N. York and Pensylvania, and of the disputes that had arisen about them, and the decisions on the King and Concil in Several Instances and then Made Many judicious Observations thereon.¹

He said one of three things Must be done

1. Congress Must Accept the Cession—or
2. Contest their Claim—or
3. Admit Connecticut to Settle the Lands.

That the only Objections he had heard was

That Connecticut by Agreement with N.Y. had fixt their Western boundary.

That their Tittle has been Tried in a Court of Law (in the dispute With Pensylvania) and the decision was against them—And That the Territory they offer to Cede is already Ceded by NY and Virginia and these he Endeavour'd to Answer.

Mr. Grason of Virginia Opposed the Cession and asked the Gentleman of Connecticut if he remembered the Canada or Quebeck bill or Act passed in 1774.² Limitting the Western boundary of all the Colonies—Did Connecticut put in her Claim on that Occasion or remonstrate against that bill—Did she ever Claim the Western Territory before the Revolution—the Quebeck act took in all that Country, and Virginia, had a right to what She Conquered with her own

arms, and the United States had a right to all the rest of that Country by Conquest.

That the Crown did no more with respect to the Quebeck bill than, they did in grants of N.Y. & Pennsylvania, by taking away what had been granted before—therefore the Canada Bill having fixt the rights in the Crown the Land belongs to the United States by Conquest &c.

My persecutors being hard at work agst me at home my stay was short in Congress at this Time.³ Never the less I advised those who were disposed that way on a mode of seconding the Ordinance respecting the back lands and laying them open to sale. Also prevailed on leading Members to alter the principle of requisition for Taxes which had occasioned so much distress in the Country & as far as possible to Cure the Evils of former ones for several years past—both these things were soon after done.

While at Congress at this Time I was waited on by all the foreign officers & returned their visits. I was frequently waited on by Gardoqui the Spanish Ambassador—Who seem'd particular in his Attention to me.

Mr. Pierce & Mr. Burrell two of our Commissioners for settling Accts. and Mr. Anesty the English Commissioner for settling the Refugee Accts. board in the same House. To wit at the House which was Lord Sterlings & was kept by a Mrs. McEwing. Major Patten My Colleague, and Mr. Pettit Member for Pennsylvania boarded in the same House. Also an English Barron & his Lady—she was a fine woman & fond of Chat. I sat up Many Evenings with her and found her manners & conversation very Agreeable—being able to Converse with about England gave her great pleasure, but Neither she nor Any of the English could bare to converse much on the loss of America they would some times Even shed tears—but Whenever this subject was Mentioned I advocated America in a manner they could not answer.

A German Major who came with the Barron & his lady also boarded here. He was Emashediated by the Reumatism—but was a very sprightly sensible man—said he had been Injured by Genl. Robinson the Brittish Genl. while at N.Y. & swore he would kill him if Ever he got to him.

Col. Blunt & Col. Hawkins of NC, Mr. Petit of P., *Col. Monroe* of Virginia, & Doctr. White of NC were frequent Companions at this Time all members of Congress but Hawkins. But our House was often full—we were much visited by members, Officers & Acquaintances we kept a good Table. &c &c.

MS (DLC: Rodney Family Papers). In the hand of Thomas Rodney.

¹ There is another account of this speech, also in Rodney's hand, in the H. F. Brown Collection, DeHi, which reads as follows:

"Mr. Johnson—Connecticut, Congress must Except their Cession—or Contest their Claim—or Admit Connecticut to Settle the Lands offer'd to be Ceded—That Congress

have not admitted the receivg. the Cession of any State to be an Admission or the Claim of such State.

"Traces the Title.

"Cabot Takes possession of America &c. agreeable to the then form.

"34. 41. granted Virginia & to Second Compy. 1606.

"No Patents subsequent to their to Virginia.

"Objectns. That Connecticut by Settlement, with N.Y. fixt their Western boundary.

"That their Title has been Tried in a Court of Law and disapprovd.

"That the Territory they Mean to Cede has been Ceded already, N.Y. and Virginia, therefore the Cession woud be usefss, &c."

² In the document cited in the preceding note, Grayson's speech, mis-attributed to "Mr. Harrison," is recorded as follows:

"Mr. Harrison—asks the gentleman of Connecticut if he re[me]mbers the Quebec Act in 1774. Limmiting the Western Country. Did Connecticut remonstrate on that Oc-casion. Did She ever claim the Western Country before the Revolution. Virginia has a good Right by Conquest—to What She Conquered & the united States to the rest.

"The Crown did no More with respect to the Quebec bill than they did, in the govts. of N.Y. and Pensylva. (to wit grantg. subseqt. Charters or grants out of former ones)—The Cannada bill having fixt the rights in the Crown.

"By Conq[ues]t the Land belongs to the United States."

³ Rodney obviously appended these and the following retrospective observations to this manuscript at a later date.

Rufus King to John Adams

Sir

New York 5 May 1786

It has undoubtedly been said in England that the Act of congress of the 15 of February relative to the federal Revenues,¹ is full proof that the United States are in the utmost confusion, and that the Union is nearly dissolved—ignorant as the People of England still are of the Genius and Temper of the Citizens of America, it will not be extraordinary that such Opinions should be fondly embraced—when in fact the Resolutions, to which they refer to establish the Justice of their conclusions, have produced measures the reverse of their expectations, and most salutary in favor of our union. If the people are truly informed of their situation, they will eventually accede to such Measures as will best secure their Freedom and Honor. Rhode Island, which had continued five Years in opposition to the system of a general impost upon the Terms recommended by Congress passed an Act agreeing to the system in consequence of the Act of congress of the 15 of Feb.; Georgia has likewise made the Grant, and Maryland has acceded. New York has passed an Act upon the subject within a few days; it has not been before congress, but if I have heard it truly recalled, it is imperfect. However as twelve States have made the Grant to the acceptation of Congress, I think there can be little Doubt, but that the next Assembly of New York will fully accede to the System,

and thereby authorise the commencement of a plan of Revenue substantial & productive.

That there exists a criminal neglect in several of the states in their most important Duties to the confederacy cannot be denied. I hope a reform will take place. The People generally through the confederacy remark that we are at a crisis—our Finances are not on that firm basis, which the Riches of our country will authorise without Danger to the liberties of the Citizens. Our commerce is almost ruined, because Jealousies of an unwarrantable nature have been disseminated through the more southern States. But there is good reason to expect that our Finances will be strengthened, and made certain—and a proposition has originated in Virginia for a convention of Delegates, in September, from the several States to agree on such commercial regulations as shall extend the american navigation & promote the Trade of the Union. The most important states have already appointed Delegates for this purpose, to assemble in Maryland and if any thing can be concluded from the general Reputation of the Delegates already appointed, there is reason to hope that wisdom will govern their Deliberations, and that their Result will produce an union of Opinions on the subject of Commercial Regulations through all the States.

The situation we are in with the Barbary powers is a great discouragement to certain Branches of Trade; Wheat may be shipped from America cheaper than has been the case for many years. Produce of all sorts has greatly fallen in price—but it is difficult to persuade our Seaman to navigate unarmed vessels on those Seas where the Barbary corsairs cruize. The consequence is, that even our own merchants charter foreign Vessels which are protected from the Barbary Cruizers, to carry our produce to Market. We are in anxious expectation of the issue of the Barbary negotiations—every one wishes the Abilities of our Country were more adequate to an effectual Bribery of these powers than they are; and my own wish always has been, that the small sum dedicated for these negotiations, had been put into abler hands than those of Mr. Lamb; but I suppose a better character could not be obtained by the commissioners when he was authorized.

The arrets of the French King, relative to the cod Fishery, will very materially affect our Eastern Brethren.² The difference of 15 Livres the Quintal on the west India Fish destroys all competition. Add this farther circumstance concerning the west india Trade from the Eastern States—you very well know that we took from the Islands large quantities of Molasses at a very low price, and distilled it into Rum with a handsome profit. Since the war the French Merchants & Planters have gone into the business of Distilling their molasses, of consequence they have increased the price; and so considerably as to affect the Profits of our Distillation. For all these disadvantages to which our

commerce is exposed there is a full remedy in the power of the States—that remedy you long since have discovered and repeatedly recommended. I hope the proper measures will be agreed to—these inconveniences will urge their adoption; and in this view are far from disagreeable. They will teach America, what [s]he has to learn, that her Honor, prosperity, Riches, & Glory, must depend upon herself.

I pray God that the day may soon arrive when all our fellow Citizens may see this subject in the same light that you do—when this is the case, their natural good sense will dictate the necessary measures.

With perfect respect I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obt. & very hble servt.,
Rufus King

RC (MHi: Adams Family Papers).

¹ See *JCC*, 30:70–76.

² See King to Jonathan Jackson, April 22.

David Ramsay's Speech

Brothers

[May 5, 1786]¹

We are glad to see you and to find that you have so great a friendship for our people. The United States alone possess the sovereign power within the limits described at the late Treaty of peace between them and the King of England. The white people who are subjects of that King must move off, from all the lands within these limits. The United States are therefore the most natural friends and Brothers of the Indians, as they will remain with them, when all the rest are gone. The United States are now at peace with the King of England and all the Kings of Europe. When that peace was made at the close of the late war the King of England gave up to the United States all the lands to the South of the great Lakes which are described in this Treaty. (The ratification of the definitive treaty signed with the hand of the King of great Britain was then produced and its contents explained to Captain O'Beel.) Here is the name of the King of England subscribed with his own hand and in this he gives to the United States the land of the Indians therein described. The treaty, which our Commissioners have shewn you is a true Copy from this Original,² you may assure your Nation, and all the Indian Nations that what the Commissioners of the United States have told them is true, and that all the treaties lately made with them, were made by order of Congress; and that Congress faithfully keeps their arrangements as specified in these Treaties. You may also assure the Indians that they tell lies, who say that the King of England has not in his late Treaty with the United States given up to them the lands of the Indians. They are also bad

men who say, that the United States will not abide by the Treaties, which they have lately made with the Indians by these Commissioners.

The United States will take care that none of their Citizens shall intrude upon the Indians within the bounds which in the late Treaties were allotted for them to hunt and live upon; and if any of the people of the United States shall molest the Indians within the said bounds, upon a proper Representation they shall be calld to account for it.

Congress have under their Consideration a plan to open the path between them and the Indian Nations, and to send a trade among them, and will do what is right and proper for the Indians. We believe what you have said, and that you have been appointed to speak to us in behalf of your Nation. We do not therefore think it Necessary at present, to send any of our beloved men to your Council fire, but when it shall be necessary we will do it.

Congress recommend it to you and all the Indians to remain quietly and peaceably on the lands allotted to them by the late Treaties; and if the people belonging to any other Nation, disturb them within those Lines, Congress desire that the Indians will make a proper Representation of the matter to them, and they will inform the King of those people of the conduct of his subjects and will use their endeavors that the Indians shall have justice done them.

We present to you Captain Hutchins who is the Officer appointed by Congress to survey the lands purchased from the Indians at the late treaties. We recommend him and his Companions to your kind Offices and protection while agreeably to our orders he is employed in doing our business.

Congress hopes to enjoy the friendship of the Indian Nations, and to live with them like brothers as long as the sun and Moon shall last. We recommend to you peace and a steady adherence to the Treaties made between the thirteen States and your people. We wish you a good Journey home, and pray that the great spirit above may direct you, and take you under his special care.

Tr (DNA: PCC, item 56).

¹ Richard Butler, one of the commissioners for Indian affairs for the middle department, had notified Congress in an April 25 letter that six Seneca chiefs led by Cornplanter had appeared at Fort Pitt in March desiring to pay a visit to Congress, had then been conducted to Carlisle to meet with him, and had just arrived in New York. He went on to explain that he believed a congressional reception would be very beneficial considering the unrest in the West, and enclosed transcripts of the speeches he had exchanged with Cornplanter (Kyentwachcate—known as Capt. John O'Bail or O'Beal) at Carlisle. Butler's letter was read in Congress April 26 and referred to a committee consisting of Stephen Mix Mitchell, John Kean, and James Monroe, whose recommendation that the chiefs be received on May 2, and that presents be purchased for them, was adopted by Congress April 28. See *JCC*, 30:210–13, 225; and PCC, item 56, fols. 341–58. For this reception, see Thomas Rodney's Diary, May 2.

In addition to receiving the chiefs, Congress on May 2 also referred the texts of the speeches Butler and Cornplanter had exchanged at Carlisle to a second committee which recommended that the chiefs be invited to a second audience, at which Ramsay delivered the present address, described in the journals as an answer to Cornplanter's speech of the 2d. *JCC*, 30:227n, 234–36. As the deputy secretary of Congress, Roger Alden, was simultaneously directed to procure the original treaty of peace with Great Britain from the office of the secretary for foreign affairs for this event, it is clear that Congress was still concerned with reports that the Indians did not believe that their lands south of the Great Lakes had been ceded to the United States, as demonstrated by Britain's continued occupation of several frontier posts. See Roger Alden to John Jay, May 4; and PCC, item 56, fols. 407–8.

² For the procurement of the original treaty of peace for displaying to the Indians, see Roger Alden to John Jay, May 4.

³ According to the report of this event preserved in PCC, item 56, fols. 407–10, "Captain OBeel" then delivered the following reply.

"Brothers, What you have said is good. You advise to what is proven. My mind has been disposed to war, but you wisely recommend peace, and I thank you for your advice, and for the good things you have said, and pray that the Great Spirit above may take care of you."

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Gerry,

New York 6 May 1786

I now inclose you Translations of the two Arrets concerning the cod Fishery. Fifteen livres the quintal in favor of the French Fish introduced into the west Indies must destroy all competition. Will you inform me what will be the operation of these arrets on our Fishery. These Regulations were urged by our freind Marbois, and will afford him peculiar Gratification.

If you have concluded your contract for the Cambridge Estate, will you inform me what it costs you? I request this information upon the idea that the contract is a notorious one, if this is not the case, you will consider the request as improperly made.

Although I informed you in my last that Eight States only were represented and it was quite uncertain when a greater number would be on the Floor, yet the Fact now is, that north Carolina & Delaware have come on, and we number Ten States—*Two only from New England* and a number of visionary projects already introduced and proposed to be adopted by Congress. What we shall do, I know not—this is certain that I should feel much happier were the new England States all represented.

No arrivals from Europe, consequently no foreign information—nothing domestic has occurred worthy of communication, except that *the assembly* of New York this day broke up having granted the impost to Congress, to be collected by Officers of *their own* appointment & accountable to & removable by the Legislature—the regulations to be of *their own* making, & the Duty to be paid in Paper money or

Specie at the option of the persons paying the Duty. This you observe is a total Deviation from the Grants of every other state. So we are where we were.

Adieu—Yours affectionately,

R King

[P.S.] Compliments to Mrs. Gerry & Miss Kitty, your freinds are all well.

RC (NHi: King Papers). Endorsed by Gerry: "N York Lettr, Mr King, 30th April & 6th May, 1786, and 18th May."

¹ See King to Gerry, April 9, note 3.

² Because New York was the last state to authorize Congress to levy a Continental impost, interest in the state's authorizing act had been intense. Although such an act finally passed on May 4, opposition efforts to cripple the bill by amendment had succeeded—the provisions requiring state rather than federal collectors and allowing the payment of duties in depreciated paper currency were unacceptable. The New York act was referred on May 12 to a congressional committee which submitted a report that was read June 16, debated July 27, and adopted August 11 specifying the act's deficiencies and urging Governor Clinton to call the legislature into special session to rectify them, which he refused to do. See Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, pp. 176–80; William F. Zornow, "New York Tariff Policies, 1775–1789," *New York State Historical Association Proceedings*, 54 (1956): 60–63; PCC, item 75, fols. 179–83; and *JCC*, 30:263, 345n, 439–44, 31:513–14, 963.

Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin

Sir,

New York 7th. May 1786.

We do ourselves the honor to transmit herewith a Copy of a Representation from the Board of Treasury to Congress, recommending the discharge of the additional Commissioner for liquidating and certifying the Claims of the Citizens of Pennsylvania against the United States and for settling the Accounts between the Union and that State.

This Representation has not yet been acted upon in Congress, but it is likely to be, and probably will be taken up and decided upon in the Course of a few days. In the mean time it would be highly pleasing as well as instructing to us to be favoured with the Sentiments of Your Excellency and the Council on this Proposition. We are induced to believe that a considerable Proportion of the Claims of the Citizens of Pennsylvania yet remain unliquidated, and that from the want of a General Knowledge among those Citizens of the time limited for presenting their Claims, which expired the seventeenth of March last, many hundreds of those Claimants are now left remediless by other Means than an Application at the Treasury Office in New York; that considerable time must elapse, before Mr. Stelle can enter upon the Settlement of the State Account; and that therefore two Commissioners may yet continue to be usefully employed in Pennsylvania for some time to come.

We have also conceived that it would be proper to obtain an Extension of the time for Claimants to present their Applications in Pennsylvania for the Reasons before suggested. Congress have been moved to grant such Extension in the State of New York, but without Success. If Council should be of Opinion, that it ought to be done in Pennsylvania, we hope to be armed with their Instructions for that Purpose as early as may be.

We also transmit the Report of a Committee on a Proposal of the State of Connecticut to cede part of the Claim of that State to lands lying Westward of Pennsylvania. If the Proposal had been to cede the whole of the Claim of that State to the western territory, there would scarcely have been any hesitation in accepting it, without enquiring how far the Claim was well or ill founded. But an Apprehension that the Acceptance of a Part, as such, may be construed as an Admission of their Claim to the Residue, creates some difficulty. The proposed Deed in order to obviate this Objection, is worded in such manner as not to express any Reservation. The Delegates of Connecticut urge warmly for an Acceptance of this Cession. Cessions somewhat similar have been accepted from New York and Massachusetts which are pleaded as Precedents. They urge as a Special Motive for our agreeing to it that it will induce the State of Connecticut to discountenance the farther Pretensions of the Delaware and Susquehanna Companies to Lands in Pennsylvania, and tend to detach the Real Settlers at Wyoming from the more disorderly Partizans of these Companies.

Permit us also to mention that an Advertisement has appeared in the Connecticut Paper calling a Meeting of those Companies on the 17th of this Month for certain Purposes, and amongst others to take Measures for counteracting the Machinations of the State of Pennsylvania.

Some debate has already passed on this Report of the Committee and from the Warmth with which an early Decision is urged for we imagine a decision will be obtained in the Course of this Week, and from present Appearances it will probably be in favour of the Report.

We have the honor to be very respectfully, Your Excellency's Most obedient and Most humble Servants,

Charles Pettit, for the Delegation.

RC (PHarH: RG 27). Addressed: "To His Excellency the President of the State of Pennsylvania."

¹ Enclosure not found or identified.

² When this letter was taken up May 10 and 11, the Pennsylvania Council focused on the proposed cession of Connecticut's western land claims, the subject of the second half of the letter. This Franklin hastily reported on May 10, explaining that the council wanted additional time to consider the subject. And in a second letter written the following day, Franklin simply repeated that the council was primarily concerned about "disagreeable consequence from the cession," observing rather casually that "in regard to the additional Commissioner, it does not appear to be of so much consequence." See *Pa. Council Minutes*, 15:19–20; and *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 10:759–60.

³ For the rejection March 10 of New York's request for an extension of time for settling Continental accounts in that state, see *JCC*, 30:109–10.

⁴ For this report, which was read in Congress April 10 and finally taken up in debate on May 22, see *JCC*, 30:160, 256, 295–96.

⁵ This "Special Motive" ultimately provided the justification for Pennsylvania's acceptance of the Connecticut cession, for which see also William Grayson to George Washington and Charles Pettit to Jeremiah Wadsworth, May 27.

⁶ This "Advertisement" from the May 1 issue of the *Connecticut Courant* has been printed in *Susquehannah Co. Papers*, 8:316–17.

⁷ Pettit was apparently signing for himself, John Bayard, and Arthur St. Clair, although it is impossible to establish the precise dates of the Pennsylvania delegates' attendance at this time. The roll call votes for May indicate that Pettit attended regularly throughout the month; that he voted with Arthur St. Clair May 1 and with John Bayard May 9 and 11; and that Bayard, Pettit, St. Clair, and James Wilson all attended May 15–26. See *JCC*, 30:221, 247, 257, 265, 268, 285, 296, 301, 308, 311, 313, 324.

Charles Thomson to Unknown

Dear Sir,¹

New York May 7. 1786

The honble. Mr J Kean, who does me the honor to take charge of this letter is a delegate in Congress for the State of South Carolina. He is on a journey for the recovery of his health and purposes in his tour to visit Bethlehem. Having myself had repeated proofs of the civility of the Brethren, I have assured him of a friendly reception and every attention & mark of respect from the good people of Bethlehem. I can assure you, my dear Sir, they cannot be bestowed on a more worthy & deserving character. I therefore recommend him in the warmest manner, to your notice and attention, and shall esteem every mark of civility shewn to him as a favour conferred on myself.

I am, Dear Sir, With sincere Esteem, Your obedient humble Servt,

Cha Thomson

RC (PHi: Society Collection).

¹ Not identified. In view of the fact that he was an old friend of John Ettwein, Bishop of the Moravian Brethren at Bethlehem, Pa., Thomson could be expected to address such a letter of introduction to the bishop. But all of Thomson's known letters to Ettwein contain more formal marks of address and none are known to have been alienated from the Archives of the Moravian Church, although it is possible that Kean never actually delivered the letter.

Maryland Delegates to William Smallwood

Sir

New-York May 10th. 1786

Conformably to our Engagement, We herewith transmit You an Abstract of the State of the Treasury for the last Month.

We are with the highest Respect, Yr. Excellency's Very humble
Servts.,
Wm. Hindman

Wm. Hindman

Will. Harrison

¹ A May 1 letter from the treasury commissioners transmitting "an Abstract of the State of the Treasury for the month of April" is in PCC, item 140, 1:219-20, but the abstract is missing.

Only one such monthly estimate appears to have survived—that of May 1786. When they submitted it to Congress the treasury commissioners misdated their letter of transmittal “May 5th” (it is clearly endorsed “Letter of June 5th. 1786. Board of Treasury”). The editors of the printed journals erroneously entered this estimate with the proceedings for May 8, the date another, unidentified “May 5th” letter from the board was “Referred to the Committee of the whole house.” See *JCC*, 30:242; and *PCC*, item 140, 2:237–38, item 144, fol. 207, item 190, fol. 99.

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, May 10th. 1786.

I have the honor to inform you that in pursuance of the Act herewith enclosed the United States in Congress Assembled have been pleased to elect you a Commissioner for settling the Accounts of the Quarter Masters and Commissary's Departments.

With great Respect &c. &c.

CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For the enclosed May 8 "Act," see *JCC*, 30:239-40. At the foot of this letter Thomson indicated that he also wrote "the same" to Benjamin Walker, "except that instead of Quartermaster & Commissary's—Hospital, Marine & Cloathiers Departments were inserted."

² Thomson also wrote a brief letter this day to John Cochran, former surgeon general of the Continental Army, notifying him of his appointment as "commissioner of the Continental loan office for the state of New York," which he accepted the following day. See *JCC*, 30:228, 239, 262n; and *PCC*, item 18B, fol. 49.

Charles Thomson to Richard Claiborne

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress. May 10th, 1786

Your petition of 5th July 1785, stating "that You served as Deputy Quarter Master from the 12th of Sept 1778 to the 5th of August 1780—that during near two Years service, You recd in value only 334 30/90 dol-

For the recommendation of the committee of the week against Horton's appeal, which Congress endorsed on October 19, 1785, and referred "to the Secretary of Congress to take order," see *JCC*, 29:634–35, 841–42; and the preceding entry.

James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York May 11. 1786.

Since my last I have recd. yours of Decr. 11th & Jany. 27th last.¹ Un- till lately we have had so thin a Congress that few acts of consequence have pass'd, a very pointed recommendation to those States who have hitherto declin'd, to accede to the recommendation of² re- specting a revenue system only excepted. Since which R. Island & Georgia have acceded to the impost fully, so that it now depends on New York, who has also granted it but under restrictions as to the officers to carry it into effect, & Pena. & Delaware who have limited the operation of that part wh. respects the impost to the adoption of the other or supplementary funds by all the States, having adopted both themselves. I am inclin'd to believe this measure will pass the union in the course of the year, so as to be carried into operation. We have now 11 States present & a member from the other two—it is expected we shall have the 13 shortly. The Commissrs. for treating with the western & southern Indians have concluded treaties in both instances with the principal tribes & return'd a stat[e]ment lately of their proceedings to Congress.³ The object for wh. these commissions was instituted seems to be now fully obtain'd, and as further managment of those tribes so as to regulate the trade & keep up a good understanding with them, is to be effected by some permanent arrangment, I apprehend these commissions will be annull'd and such system adopted. The subject is now before a Committee.⁴ In my last I mention'd to you that the propriety of the acts of Congress founded on the condition of the acts of cession from the States, fixing the limits of the States westwd. was question'd. A proposition or rather a report is before Congress recommending it to Virga. & Mass. to revise their acts as to that condition so as to leave it to the U.S. to make what division of the same future circumstances may make necessary, subject to this proviso, "that the sd. territory be divided into not less than two nor more than five states."⁵ The plan of a temporary govt. to be instituted by Congress & preserv'd over such district untill they shall be admitted into Congress is also reported.⁶ The outlines are as follows. Congress are to appoint, as soon as any of the lands shall be sold, a govr., Council, Judges, secretary to the Council, & some other officers; the Govr. & Council to have certain powers untill they have a certain number of inhabitants, at wh. they are to elect representatives to form a genl. assembly—to consist of the govr. & council & sd. house of representatives. It is in ef-

fect to be a colonial govt. similar to that wh. prevail'd in these States previous to the revolution, with this remarkable & important difference that when such districts shall contain the number of the least numerous of the "13 original States for the time being" they shall be admitted into the confederacy. The most important principles of the act at Annapolis⁷ are you observe preserv'd in this report. It is generally approv'd of but has not yet been taken up. The treaty with Prussia will be shortly ratified and forwarded for exchange.⁸ Upon the subject of commerce I have nothing new to give you. The plan of a convention at Annapolis which I believe will be carried into effect, has taken the subject from before Congress. As it originated with our State we think it our duty to promote its object by all the means in our power.⁹ Of its success I must confess I have some hopes. The investigation of the subject will always be of advantage since truth and sound state policy in every instance will urge the commission of the power to the U. States. You will be surpris'd to hear that I have form'd the most interesting connection in human life, with a young Lady in this town, as you know my plan was to visit you before I settled myself, but having form'd an attachment to this young Lady (a Miss Kortright, the daughter of a gentl. of respectable character & connections in this state tho' injur'd in his fortunes by the late war) I have found that I must relinquish all other objects not connected with her. We were married abt. three months since. I remain here untill the fall at wh. time we remove to Fredericksbg. in Virga. where I shall settle for the present in a house prepar'd for me by Mr Jones to enter into the practice of the law. I intended to have made you a remittance by this packet to replace the money you have advanc'd for the Encyclopedia but have been unable. I shall not neglect this. We were unfortunate in an imposition at Annapolis—but yrs. I hope ended there—mine has since been increas'd. A young Mr. Grymes in the most imminent distress, prevail'd on me lately to be responsible for his payment of 50£ Virga. currency. He moved off and the payment fell on me. I have since made application to his father in Orange¹⁰ who I hear disowns him and will have nothing to say to his engagements. My friend Short will I hope pardon my not writing him at present—a variety of circumstances have interrupted me for a few days since, so as to put it out of my power. If the packet does not sail tonight I will. I observe the {king of France}¹¹ has {issued} an {edict} to encourage his own {fisheries}. I mention this more for the purpose of suggesting to you that this event has reach'd us circuitously—that this circumstance has been noted here. There are always some who deal in things of this kind and although it was no sooner suggested, and that in {private}, than an apology was made for the suggestion, yet I have thought proper to {bring it to your view}. Believe me most sincerely your friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC: Jefferson Papers).

¹ See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:94–95, 236–37.

² Monroe apparently intended to insert the date April 18, 1783, for which see Charles Thomson to the States, January 12 and February 15, 1786.

³ See *JCC*, 30:185–95.

⁴ See Monroe to John Jay, April 20, note.

⁵ See *ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ That is, the plan of government for the western territory adopted by Congress on April 23, 1784, for which see these *Letters*, 21:547n.1, 574n.1.

⁸ See South Carolina Delegates to William Moultrie, March 4, note 3.

⁹ See Nathaniel Gorham to Caleb Davis, February 23, note 4.

¹⁰ Not found, but Monroe had applied to Ludwell Grymes, the father of John Dawson Grymes on whose behalf Monroe may have recently become indebted to Arthur Lee. See Monroe to Joseph Jones, March 2, note 4.

¹¹ Words printed in braces in this text were written by Monroe in cipher.

David Ramsay to Gouverneur Morris

Dear Sir,

New-York May 12th 1786

I am much obliged to you for your judicious letter on the subject of an American coinage.¹ I have shewn it to several members of Congress who speak highly of it, & it is probable when the subject will be considered that your plan will meet with warm advocates.

I am on the point of setting out for Carolina² and shall not be present when the subject of a coinage will be considered. Will you oblige me by drawing up at your leisure a statement of the confusion & disorder that prevailed in the various departments of the American army at the time Mr. Morris came into office, & also a detail of his arrangements for the remedy of these evils. I have it in contemplation to write something more in the way of history about our late revolution. As I conceive Mr. Morris's reforms intimately connected with the success of our arms in the year 1781 I wish to state the particulars of them exactly. You will oblige me particularly by information on this subject. You have been a witness of what has been said on the short paragraph I have already published on that subject. I wish to enlarge on it & to descend to particulars. If I receive the information I wish for in six months it will be soon enough for my purpose. I only beg that you would charge yourself with it when at leisure. I have the honor to be, with great respect, your most obedient sevt,

David Ramsay.

RC (NNC: Gouverneur Morris Collection).

¹ See Jared Sparks, *The Life of Gouverneur Morris, With Selections From His Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers*, 3 vols. (Boston: Gray & Bowen, 1832), 1:276–80; and Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 4:26.

² Ramsay's credentials expired this day and on Monday, May 15, Nathaniel Gorham was chosen to succeed him as chairman, Ramsay "having departed." *JCC*, 30:264.

William Samuel Johnson to Samuel William Johnson

My dear Son,

New York May 14th. 1786.

I have receiv'd yr. several favours of the 25th of Decr. 1785, Febr'y 21st, March 4th, & 28th 1786, but not in the Order in which they were written, the first having come to hand last of all. To that of Jany. 24th, which arrived first, I answer'd by the only Opportunity that has offer'd of writing since you left us. I heartily bless God for the restoration & continuance of your Health, & for your favourable prospects in business. We too through the favour of Heaven have been bless'd with good health upon the whole, tho' as I mention'd to you, Charles had had a Fever of short continuance, & I have this Spring had several returns of the Gout, but they have happily not been severe; nor confined me for any length of time, & the whole Family seem now to be in perfect health. Mr. Verplank & Betsey are on a Visit at Stratford, where I have not been since the beginning of March, but hope soon to make an excursion there. Mr. Verplank go's to Fish Kill before they return here. Our Winter has been moderate, but the Spring is backward, as the phrase is. The severest snow Storm since you left us, was on the first of April. In the fine Climate of Bermudas, I presume, you experience few inconveniencies from the changes of Weather which give us so much trouble here. Your Introduction into that country has been favourable, & I hope your continuance (while you shall chuse to remain there) will be equally fortunate & agreeable. It was particularly fortunate, it seems, that you fell so early into Mr. Van Dams hands, from whom I had a very friendly Letter upon the subject & have returned him my hearty thanks for his kindness to you, & pray God he may have a happy Meeting with his sister & Neices, who go in the Vessel by which I expect to send this. I am also under very great Obligations to the Governor, & all those other Gentlemen you mention, who have shewn you so much polite Attention, to whom I wish you, if it be proper, to present my Compliments & assure them of my gratitude. It gives me particular pleasure to see that you have so speedily & successfully engaged in Business, & pursue it with so much Ardour. You seem at once to have adopted the true Spirit of business, to engage boldly in everything, & to labour earnestly in all things; It is the sure road to fame & fortune, & tho' it is not to be expected but that you will meet with difficulties in affairs, yet I hope by perseverance & assiduity, you will experience the truth of Seneca's observation "*Non quia difficilia sunt, non Andemus; sed quia non Andemus, difficilia sunt.*"¹ The Admiralty Cause was indeed a bold undertaking at so early a period of your Practice, but it was happily successful, & success justifies the boldest at-

tempts. Even failure is sometimes honourable in noble & generous designs. *Est quoddam magnis cecidere Ansis.*² I am much obliged to you for your frequent & particular Letters & hope you will continue them, that we may be as often as possible acquainted with the situation of your affairs. The last Vessel, said to come from Bermudas, bro't us none; but we trust it was accidental, & console ourselves with those we have receiv'd, & the pleasing hope that others are on the way, & may soon arrive. We will certainly sell your Farm, as soon as it can be done to any tolerable advantage. But in truth there is so little Money in our Country, & so much Land at Market, that the prospect of obtaining a beneficial price for it, is by no means favourable. I shall however be attentive to it, as far as my situation will admit of. Charles, I imagine is now at Middletown taking what Care he can of it, & I have directed him to offer it for sale at every probable opportunity. I shall also endeavour to sell Property of my own whenever I can do it to advantage, & it will be indifferent to me out of what funds I advance to you, provided I can but obtain what is necessary for you, & yr. Brother & Sisters. But in all these matters, you are sensible, my residence here produces unavoidable embarrassments & delays, which however I will surmount in the best manner I can.

I will certainly procure, if possible, a Copy of our Act of Confiscation for Mrs. Brown³ when I go again into Connecticut. You are sensible that our Laws have been revised since the War, & consequently that those temporary Acts are out of Print, but at worst I can have it transcribed from the old Law Book. As far as I now recollect, it do's not specifically comprehend Estates Tail, & consequently cannot affect the Estate in Remainder after the Death of the Tenant in Possession who incur'd the Forfeiture, but there is no dependance to be plac'd upon Memory in such Cases, & we have so few entail'd Estates that it could hardly have been an object of attention.

Charles has sent some Books, but not all that I wrote for. Whether he could not find them, or what other reason there was for it, I cannot tell, as there is no Letter come with them. I shall buy Burrough's Repts.⁴ here that you may have a good series of L. Mansfields Decisions, & add a French Book or two which I have with me. There are no Books properly upon the Theory & Practice of the Admiralty that I know of except *Praxis Curiae Admiralitalis*, & the *Pract. of the Ecclesiastl. Courts* therein Cited.⁵ An old Edition of the latter is sent, the former is not come, & must be deferr'd till I go to Connecticut, when I will also select some other Books for you. The Practice of the Admiralty, of the Ecclesiastical Courts, & in Chancery you are sensible all stand on the same general ground, & are derived from the Civil Law, so that the same general Principles apply to them all. The Books of Practice in Chancery are very similar, the *Cursus Cancellariæ*⁶ now sent you may I hope answer your purpose for the present, but if there is any other

more in Use with you upon mentioning it I will, if possible, procure, & send it to you. The Causes Celebres are French, somewhat in your professional line, & tho' odd Volus. it makes no difference, as the Cases are totally unconnected & independent of each other. I will send you other volumes of them, if, upon trial, you find this kind of reading agreeable & useful to you.

I am unfortunately disappointed with respect to Burrough's Repts.—there is not a set of them to be had in New York. I have therefore substituted Stranges⁷ & Wilson's Repts.⁸ & even of the latter I am obliged to borrow a second hand set under an engagement to replace them with new ones as soon as the Ships arrive from Ireland, when I hope also I shall be able to get Burrough for you. Such other Books as you particularly wish to have you will mention. The Squash Seeds you desired, you will find in the Trunk, & by way of Stowage I have added the News Papers since the Middle of March, which tho' not important may afford you some amusement.

Charles is return'd from Middletown, & says in a Letter to me "Seth Wetmore wishes much to buy the Lott Walker has sown with Wheat. He offers £5.5.0 per Acre for it, & I am told it is its full value, & the disposal of it will not hurt the sale of the farm." Perhaps he has written you more fully in the Letter I forward you from him. And you will say whether it will be agreeable to you to sell this piece of Land detach'd from that residue of the farm, or not. They were all well at Stratford two days ago. I enclose you the key of the Trunk & a List of the articles contain'd in it, & am with the most ardent Prayers for your health & felicity, & compts. to Mr. Van Dam, Capt. Bascom &c, yr. most affectionate Father & Friend. Wm. Saml. Johnson

RC (CtHi: Johnson Papers).

¹ Seneca *Epistles* 104. "Our lack of confidence is not the result of difficulty; the difficulty comes from our lack of confidence." Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*. Richard M. Gummere, trans. (London, William Heinemann, 1925), 3:204–5.

² Johnson appears to have grafted a phrase from Horace, *Epistles* 1.1.32, to a passage concerning the glorious failure of the mythical figure Phaëton found in Ovid's *Metamorphosis* II.328.

³ That is, Ruth Wanton Browne, wife of the governor of Bermuda, William Browne.

⁴ James Burrow, *Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Court of King's Bench* . . . , 5 vols. (London: 1766–80).

⁵ That is, Francis Clerke, *Praxis Curiae Admiraltatis Angliae* (London, 1679); and Henry Conset, *Practice of the Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Courts* (London, 1708).

⁶ Undoubtedly William Bolun, *Cursus Cancellariae; or, The Course of Proceedings in the High Court of Chancery* . . . , 2d ed.; (London, 1723).

⁷ That is, John Strange, *Reports of Adjudged Cases in the Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer* . . . , 2 vols. (London, 1755).

⁸ Apparently one or all of the following sets of cases compiled by George Wilson: *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas* . . . , 1694–1732, 3 vols. (London, 1740); *Reports of the Cases Argued and Adjudged in the King's Courts at Westminster* . . . , 1742–1774, 2 vols. (London, 1770–75); and *Reports of Cases in the Courts of Exchequer, from the Beginning of the Reign of King George I* . . . (London, 1755).

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My dear friend,

New York 14 May 1786

You must know the deranged condition of the confederacy. New York has granted the impost to be paid in paper money, & to be collected by Officers amenable to & removable by themselves, and under Regulations formed by their Legislature.¹ This Grant you see is a mere name—the consequence is, that Congress not having it in their power to put the impost in Operation, no money will come into the federal Treasury.

You may be assured that our Barbary Negotiations will issue in a fruitless attempt for peace. Instead of 80,000 Dollars, it turns out that 200,000 Guineas will be the least sum necessary to accomplish this Object in a proper mode—will you tell me where the money can be had? Will the Merchants lend it, or any part of it?

I have letters from Mr. Adams by the Ships which arrived last week from London. The Newfoundland Bill is renewed, and Mr. Jenkinson who is of the ministerial party, moved, and obtained leave, in the commons to bring in “a Bill vesting in his Majesty the regulation of the intercourse between his Dominions & the U.S. of America”²—this procedure demonstrates the Sentiments of the ministry to be against any commercial treaty—and I look upon the business of Mr. Adams on this subject as fully concluded.

An explicit refusal has been given to the demand for a surrender of the posts;³ and the refusal grounded on a violation of the Treaty in America by the laws passed, and existing, creating “legal impediments to the recovery of the Debts due to the British Creditors—the particular laws are pointed out; and it pleases me to find that there is no complaint agt. any State in New England except Mass, and even that not founded or truly stated. I allude to the Resolve suspending a Judgement for interest &c &c which I think justifiable & no violation of the Treaty.

These are facts and observations which do not require my comment. I am mortified as the Citizen of an enlightened State, by the publications in Boston defamatory of an order or class of men to which I myself belong—the proceedings of several Towns in correspondence with these publications, forbode a confusion which virtuous men must deprecate—to what length the authors of these measures intend to extend them I am unable to say. One inconvenience only will accrue to me in consequence of them. I intended to have returned home in Time, but as the Legislature will then be in Session, I am doubtful of doing it, lest it should be supposed I have in Contemplation to canvass for a Reelection as a delegate.

Should I return early, and resign my Trust, to which I have no manner of objection, it may be said on the other hand that this measure proceeded from a fear, or conviction, that I should not be reelected. I am a little embarrassed. I assure you as my friend, that I shall retire the instant, I discover any of those legislative measures, which I think by no means improbable to take place—the correction of abuses is wise, but an indiscriminate attack upon a class of men, prostrating the virtuous Citizen with the Knave, is wholly unworthy the Justice or moderation of Government. I have a remedy in my power. Adieu my dear friend, your's affectionately,

R King

RC (NHi: King Papers).

¹ See King to Gerry, May 6, note 2.

² A February 14 letter from John Adams to King discussing the Newfoundland Bill is in King, *Correspondence* (King), 1:161–62, but it contains no mention of Jenkinson or the “Bill” quoted here.

³ For this “refusal,” see David Ramsay to John Adams, this date, note 1.

Charles Pettit to Jeremiah Wadsworth

Dear Sir,

New York 14th May 1786

I am much pleased with your Enquiry concerning the Measures taken in the Assembly of Pennsylvania respecting the Settlers at Wyoming. An amicable adjustment of the Differences on that Subject, is and has been an Object of my earnest Wishes, and I am confident that it has been for some Time past a prevailing Disposition of the Councils of Pennsylvania to treat these Settlers [with] Lenity and Generosity as far as they will permit [such] Treatment to be safely administered. I have conceived also that the Settlers themselves have a Disposition to become orderly Citizens on reasonable Terms, if they were permitted to think and act for themselves undisturbed by the unjust and irritating Suggestions of designing Men who may conceive it to be their Interest to keep up the Ball of Contention, in order to avail themselves by Force, under Cover of Tumult & Confusion, of Possessions which an orderly Discussion would not assign to them. It is said, and I believe with Truth, that many People drawn from the neighbouring States since the Decision of Trenton, under pretence of assisting the afflicted, now claim the Rights of Possession. Whether the Conduct of certain People acting or pretending to act under the Authority of the State of Pennsylvania in 1783 & 1784, did or did not afford a plausible pr[etext] for the Settlers to associate with these Auxiliaries,¹ I shall not now pretend to say. The Transactions alluded to did not meet with the Approbation of the People of Pennsa. nor of the Legislature. The Disapprobation of the Government was shewn by the

Punishment in a legal Course of some of the Offenders;² but the Misconduct of Persons on both Sides had run so high, that it became the Wish of good Men to cover, as with a Veil, Enormities which could not have been strictly accounted for in a legal Course without endangering many Lives & hazarding Consequences which every good Man would deprecate.

The Assembly chosen in 1784 were much disposed to lenient Measures. In March 1785 They sent a respectable Committee of their own Body to confer with the Settlers in a conciliatory way, to enquire into their Complaints, their Expectations & their Wishes. The Report of this Committee did not fully justify the Expectations which had been formed of the Moderation & conciliatory Disposition of the Settlers. The State was nevertheless disposed to Moderation as far as could be consistent with the necessary Dignity of Government. An Act was passed, at a Subsequent Session, for quieting the Disturbances at Wyoming & for pardoning such offenders as should enter in to Recognizance by a certain Day for future good Behaviour.³

In the early part of the last Session a Resolution was passed to strengthen the Hands of the Executive in Case Force should become necessary, and some of the old Leaven of Resentment seemed to urge for Active Measures; but towards the Close of the Session it subsided, & the Minority joined with an appearance of Cordiality in lenient Views. A Bill was brought in & published for Consideration for laying off a new County in which Wyoming will probably be the Seat of Justice.⁴ By this the People will have the Choice of their Officers [from among] themselves, and be the Jurors to try the Causes arising within the County. If they prudently improve the Opportunity, the Bill will probably be enacted at the next Session,⁵ and by it I imagine they may obtain every reasonable Object of their wishes. Having not the Acts & Resolutions alluded to with me the Information I now give you may be less minute than you wish, but the general Tendency of it I believe it substantially right. I hope the Wise & the Prudent in your State will embrace this Opportunity to induce such of their Friends as are interested in the Welfare of the Settlers at Wyoming to act with Prudence & Discretion. In such Case I doubt not the establishment of Peace and a fair Investigation of and Decision upon every reasonable Claim to Property in that Part of the Country. I am, Dear Sir, with much Esteem, Your most obedient Servant,

Chas. Pettit⁶

RC (CtHi: Wadsworth Papers).

¹ For this reference to the turmoil in the Wyoming Valley following Pennsylvania's arrest of Zebulon Butler for treason against the state in October 1783, see *Susquehannah Co. Papers*, 7:xxxvi–xxxvii, 307–9.

² See *ibid.*, pp. 407–11, 423, 427–32.

³ Ibid., 8:282–84.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 313–14.

⁵ The act creating Luzerne County, Pa., was adopted September 25, 1786. See *ibid.*, pp. 405n.10, 408, 415–16.

⁶ Under this date Edmund C. Burnett printed an extract from another letter he identified as one from Pettit to Wadsworth of May 14, transcribed “from the collection of the late Adrian H. Joline of New York,” a text that is clearly from another, unidentified document. Burnett, *Letters*, 8:361. The following transcript of the text copied from Joline’s collection is now in the Burnett collection, DLC.

“...I am not at a loss to answer your other question as to what we are doing in Congress. It has been but a short time that we have had a Congress adequate to the important Parts of Business and the greater part of that time has been spent in forming opinions on various subjects without maturing scarcely anything. The subject of Indian affairs and western territory are pressing. Some are for adhering to the ordinance of last year in the mode of laying out and selling the land. Others think it impracticable and wish it to be radically changed. I am inclined to think it will end for this year in an adherence to the general principles of the Ordinance with some small amendments. . . .The charter of the bank I consider as fully at an end; the more the subject is discussed, the more the idea of a chartered bank and a democratic government seems to be reprobated, and I see no prospect of its gaining permanent ground again in Pennsylvania. . . .

“Believe me with real regard dear sir your most obedient humble servant, Chas Pettit.”

David Ramsay to John Adams

Sir

New-York May 14th 1786

Your favor of the 9th of February with the pamphlet inclosed came to hand on the 13th instant for which please to accept my thanks.

Your official dispatches of the 4th of March contain very important intelligence. I am not distressed at the footing on which the British put their tenure of the western posts. It will promote the general cause of justice & restrain our legislatures from interfering in private contracts which they are too apt to do.¹

The Algerine depredations have made more converts to the necessity of vesting Congress with larger powers and of supporting public credit than the many labored addresses heretofore presented to the public. I hope for much good out of these partial evils.

Mr Dilly has declined publishing my history from an apprehension that it would expose him to prosecutions.² I cannot but be of opinion that his apprehensions are ill founded. I expect the end of the matter will be a pirated edition & that mine will remain unsold. I flatter myself he will make no difficulty in furnishing you with the copy designed for your own use.

Congress have now eleven States on the floor. I have to tell for the first six months we did not for four days exceed eight. A strange languor seemed to prevail; but I hope it is going off. When the contents of your last dispatches are communicated confidentially to the Gover-

nors I think they will produce salutary consequences. The British posts will effect a repeal of every legal impediment to the recovery of debts. The Foreign debt will force on us systems of revenue which will also comprehend the Domestic debt. Things for some time past have been proceeding from bad to worse. I trust we have already reached the point of ultimate depression from which public affairs will revert in a direction contrary to what they have lately been in. The States seem generally impressed with ideas of the necessity of commercial systems. Almost all have appointed deputies to attend the proposed convention in Annapolis. A plan will shortly be brought into Congress to recommend a continental convention for the purpose of enlarging the powers of Congress. Our government hitherto has rather been advisory than an efficient system. You do me great honor by requesting a continuance of my correspondence. Your letters have given me infinite pleasure & have established your reputation in the minds of every member of Congress as not only the industrious but the able Statesman. In this opinion no one joins more heartily than he who has the honor to subscribe himself with the most exalted sentiments of respect & esteem your most obedient & very humble servant,

David Ramsay.³

RC (MHi: Adams Family Papers).

¹ The "intelligence" that Adams conveyed served to underscore his lack of progress in opening a dialogue with the British ministry since presenting his credentials as minister plenipotentiary in May 1785. Although the British foreign minister, Lord Carmarthen, had assured Adams that Britain sought cordial relations with the United States, Adams soon realized that the United States was in fact viewed as a serious commercial rival to be reduced by any means. Given the ministry's unwillingness to negotiate, Adams had presented Carmarthen on December 8 a pointed memorial of November 30 which conveyed Congress' March 7 instructions concerning immediate withdrawal from frontier posts and territories held by British garrisons, the evacuation of slaves and other American property contrary to the 7th article of the peace treaty, restrictions on American trade, and losses American merchants would sustain if "unseasonably and immoderately pressed" for payment of prewar debts. Adams' March 4 "intelligence," therefore, was Lord Carmarthen's blunt response of February 28 in which he cited repeated American violations of article 4 of the treaty stipulating that creditors would meet with "no lawful Impediment to the Recovery . . . of all bona fide Debts." He also supplied Adams with a "State of Grievances" from British merchants and other citizens which listed numerous laws passed by Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Georgia inhibiting debt collection and a particular "Case and Memorial" from British merchants who had traded to Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina before the war and whose property had been seized and sold. "It would therefore be the Height of Folly, as well as Injustice," Carmarthen concluded, "to suppose one Party alone obliged to a Strict Observance of the Publick Faith. . . whenever America shall manifest a real Determination to fulfill her Part of the Treaty, Great Britain will not hesitate to prove her sincerity . . . for carrying every Article of it, into real and compleat Effect." See *JCC*, 28:123, 31:781-97; *PCC*, item 84, 6:147-78; *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-89*, 2:542-43, 580-91; and Norman A. Graebner's essay, "Adams in London," in his *Foundations of American Foreign Policy: A Realist Appraisal From Franklin to McKinley* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1985), pp. 27-34, 41-44.



David Ramsay

According to Secretary Thomson's despatch book, Adams' letter, his memorial, Carmarthen's response, and its enclosures were read in Congress May 15. The following day Secretary John Jay was ordered to consider and report on the documents, the ramifications of which were so far-reaching that the "Injunctions of secrecy [were] taken off 17 May." Carefully considering whether state infringement of a national treaty constituted a violation of the peace, Jay concluded in his voluminous report of October 13 that under the 9th article of Confederation Congress had "the sole and *exclusive* right and power of determining war and *peace*, and of entering into *treaties* and alliances," and therefore "the Legislatures of the several States cannot of right pass any Act or Acts for interpreting, explaining or construing a National treaty." All such acts should be "forthwith repealed" as a necessary pre-condition to serious negotiations with Great Britain on the contested points. See *JCC*, 31:781-874; *PCC*, item 185, 3:162, item 190, fol. 100; and *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1783-89, 2:591-648.

² For a review of Ramsay's troubled relations with London publisher Charles Dilly, see Ramsay, *Writings* (Brunhouse), p. 103n.5.

³ Ramsay also wrote a brief letter to James Monroe from Philadelphia on May 21 on behalf of Samuel Stanhope Smith who wished to see a copy of Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* which had been circulated only among Jefferson's close friends and acquaintances. Ramsay informed Monroe that he would sail for Charleston "on Tuesday," May 23. Franklin Papers, CtY.

James Monroe to Nathaniel Gorham

Sir

New York May 15th. 1786

As some circumstances will put it out of my power to act as a judge for the decision of the controversy between the States of Massachusetts & New York, I take the liberty to present thro' you my resignation to Congress.¹ But at the same time that I withdraw myself from this office, it is with particular pleasure that I assure your Excellency, of the high sense, & grateful regard I bear to the States who have conferr'd this honor on me. I am with sentiments of greatest respect & esteem yr. Excellency's most obt. & most humble servant,

Jas. Monroe

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78).

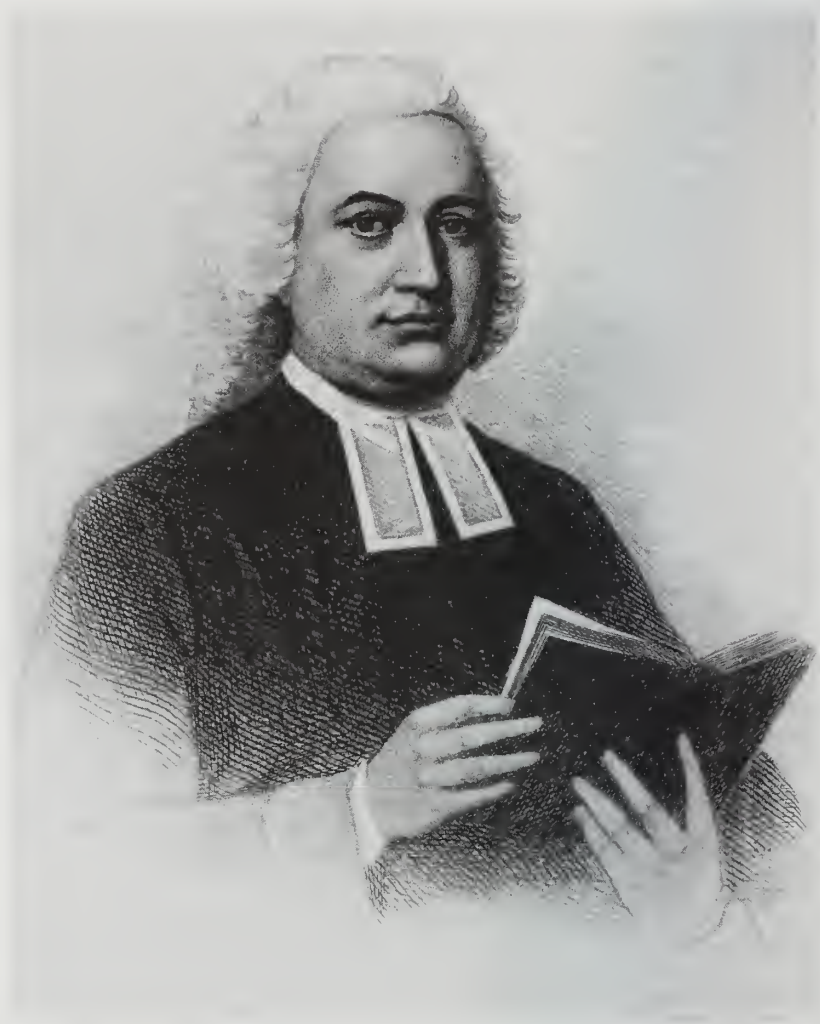
¹ Gorham had been appointed this day to succeed David Ramsay as chairman of Congress, for which see *JCC*, 30:264. For Monroe's original appointment as a judge in the Massachusetts-New York land dispute, see New York Agents' Journal of Proceedings, December 4-9, 1784, notes 5 and 6. This letter was read in Congress this day. *JCC*, 30:265-66. For the circumstances that apparently led Monroe to resign, see Monroe to Elbridge Gerry, July 14, note 4.

Charles Thomson to Benjamin Franklin

Dear Sir,

New York May 15. 1786

Agreeably to my promise I send you herewith enclosed an extract from the contract made at Versailles the 21st of February 1783, in



James Manning

which you will perceive that it is the pleasure of Congress that you and the Surveyors appointed pursuant to the Ordinance of the 20 May 1785 proceed in the execution of the Ordinance, but under this restriction that you are not to run farther northerly than the east & West line mentioned in the said Ordinance.¹ You will be pleased to give due information of this to the Surveyors who have accepted their Apointments.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Sr, your obedt humble
Serv, CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Mr Thomas Hutchins, Geographer of the United States."

¹ See *JCC*, 30:248.

James Manning to Hezekiah Smith

Dear Sir,¹

New York 17th. of May 1786

Yours of the 22d ult came safe to hand, for which I thank you, & should have answered it before had not my hands been full. Mrs. Manning informed me of the application to you to be my successor in the Meeting at Providence. I should be happy in your society & should Providence order your Lot there I shall, while there contribute my best endeavours to render your Life happy & useful to the People; but think it best to interfere as little as may be with their determinations in setting a Minister, as I conceive it might lessen my Influence in his favour, when settled, should they have it in their power, when his support might be felt, to say that I was any means of it. Not that I hereby mean to excuse myself from doing my personal duty in that case; which I hope would be a pleasure. I hope, should you accept of their Invitation, that your Piety would more than compensate the defect of Politeness, a high degree of which I cannot deem primarily essential in a Gospel Preacher, any more than distinguished Rusticity. Habits of easiness in access & gentle unaffected manners are most pleasing in that Character.

I hope you may have the Pleasure to find that your Labours at Providence are followed with a blessing. The Lord is doing wonders in this City & its vicinity; but especially in the Jerseys, at the Plains, Mount Clair, Piscataway & Cranberry. I attended the June Meeting. Mr Runyan, on Saturday baptized 12. The Sabbatarian Minister 3. Great Power appeared to attend the Preaching—multitudes appeared deeply affected, &, during the Meeting several professed to be brought into Gospel Liberty. Such a Meeting I believe was never seen at Piscataway before—I am told the Thirsay following 12 were baptized at Quibble-

town, & Lords day 13 at the Plains. There appears a remarkable turn in the Minds of the People, throughout that quarter. Mr Wilson flames out & is remarkably blessed, & goes on Preaching, Exhorting & baptizing from place to place, with surprizing success. The Lord, indeed, is doing great things in this Land.

Of your mother I can give no Information, but presume she is living, or Mr Guthrie or your Brother Jeremiah would have told me of her death. My situation here is, indeed, very awkward without a Colleague, without money, & in dout what to resolve on. Our public Affairs wear a cloudy Aspect, I hope it is that the Interposition of Heaven may be seen in extricating us from difficulty. His former unmerited favour to this guilty Land, encourages one to hope for it, though it should almost be against hope.

The Savages have begun their barbarous depredations on our Western frontiers, but probably not without Provocation from some of that Lawless Banditti which forms the Van of those Settlements. It is expected, on investigation, this will be found true. Many of the innocent must, doubtless, be involved in ruin in consequence of it. The wretched deranged State of the finances of the federal Government, will allow us, if disposed, to afford these People but feeble aids.

I am treated with respect by Congress & the Heads of departmts, and think the present Congress possess great Integrity, & a good share of Abilities, but for want of more States on the floor the public, & important Business is from day to day neglected. We are, however, in daily expectation of a fuller Delegation. If personal matters could be so adjusted that I were not disquieted, I should be very happy in my Situation here, for I commonly preach onc[e] or twice on Lords Days, either in Town, Long, or Statten Island or in the Jerseys.

Please to present my best Respects to Mrs Smith & friends, and beleive me to be your old, unvarying friend,
J Manning

RC (RPB: Manning Collection). Addressed: "Reverend Hezekiah Smith, Haverhill. To the Care of Mr. Nicho. Brown, Mercht, Providence." Endorsed: "Providence, June 30, 1786. Transmitted By His very Obedt. Friend, Geo Benson."

¹ Hezekiah Smith (1737–1805) was minister of the Baptist Church in Haverhill, Mass., from its organization in 1765 to his death. For his relations with Manning, with whom he graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1762, and for whom he served as a stand-in minister when Manning was absent from Providence, see Guild, *Early History of Brown University*, pp. 55–56, 121–23, 146–50, 170–71, 236–37, 385–87, 430, 435–36, 442–45, 451–52, 455–57, 460–61, 476–77, 482–83, 493–94.

Manning's absence from Providence at this time resulted from his determination to obtain a response to the June 1785 petition submitted to Congress by Rhode Island College, which he served as president from its founding in 1765 until his death in 1791, for compensation for use of its building by Continental troops during the war. See Massachusetts Delegates to James Bowdoin, September 28, 1785, note 2. He explained his acceptance of a seat in Congress to pursue this goal in the following letter of April 7 to the Rev. Caleb Evans, president of the Baptist academy in Bristol, R.I.

"The appropriation of the Edifice to public uses during the war was productive of great damage to it, for reparation of which, as well as for the rents, the Corporation

sent me last year to Congress, with the state of our accounts and claims and sufficient vouchers. We obtained a hearing before a committee appointed to report on the subject of the petition, and obtained a favorable report, but lost it before Congress when the report was acted upon. Our late Professor Howell was then a member, and had great influence; but as he had effectually opposed some continental measures, he thinks the question was lost by that means, together with the small number of the states represented on the floor. By the articles of the confederation, he is not again eligible for three years; nor could we find any man, probably, to be chosen, who would deeply interest himself for the College. This induced me, at his earnest importunity, together with his giving the greatest encouragement that a grant might be obtained, to accept the unanimous appointment of our Legislature, at their late session, as their first delegate in Congress till next November—an appointment to me most unexpected, as I had considered politics out of my province, and on that account had declined a former nomination to that office. The interests of the College lay near my heart, and the necessities of it call aloud for the exertions of all its friends. I thought proper to give you these hints, lest upon hearing of my being in Congress you might think I meant to assume the political character; than which, in general, nothing is more remote from my intentions, notwithstanding the great importunity of many of the Legislature for me to continue in the office." See *ibid.*, pp. 388, 431.

Charles Thomson to John Hancock

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, May 17. 1786

In Obedience to the Order of Congress I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency herewith enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress assembled passed the 15 instant and their proceedings thereon.¹

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's
Most Obedt & Most hu Serv, CT

1.B (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ Thomson undoubtedly enclosed the proceedings related to the election of Nathaniel Gorham as chairman of Congress, "to serve until the first Monday in June next," succeeding David Ramsay, whose term as a South Carolina delegate had expired. Ramsay had presided over Congress in the absence of President Hancock since November 23, 1785; Gorham continued to serve as chairman until he was formerly elected president on Tuesday, June 6. See *JCC*, 29:883, 30:264, 330.

Nathaniel Gorham to James Bowdoin

Sir New York May 18h. 1786

Your Letter with the inclosures has been recd, and the Book deliver'd to Mr. Temple.¹ Inclosed is the report of the Treasury Board on the subjects of the Mint.² Congress have not yet taken any resolution upon it—but will do it in a few days When it is most probable that the American Dollar will be made exactly of the same value as the New Spanish Dollar. I have seen in the News papers that some person

has made a proposal to the Legislature of Massachusetts relative to a Copper Coinage—but it is thought here that it will be attended with great inconveniencies if the States act in this matter saperately. After Congress have agreed upon a plan which they will soon do—there may be a uniformity in the money—and Massachusetts & any other State may make a better bargain after they know the Terms on which the Board of Treasury conduct the business than they probably can now do.

I am much obliged to your Excellency for the Books you were so good as to send to the Delegates, and remain with the most perfect respect & esteem Your Excellencys most Huml Servt,

Nath Gorham

RC (CSmH: HM 39002).

¹ John Temple, the British consul general, was Governor Bowdoin's son-in-law.

² For this April 8 report, see *JCC*, 30:162–82; and Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell, August 16, note 7.

Rufus King to James Bowdoin

Sir

New York 18 May 1786.

The revival of the Newfoundland bill in the late Session of Parliament & the renewal of the Act vesting in the King in Council the regulation of the intercourse between the US & his dominions is satisfactory evidence to every impartial man, that Great Britain will not enter into a commercial treaty with this Country; & that if the accomplishment of that measure is the only object of the residence of a minister at London, Mr. Adams may be recalled without farther delay or disappointment.

These acts are for one year, & if during that term the States of America continue as destitute of an union of measures, as they have remained since the peace they will probably be made perpetual—unless the fear of a rival in America induces the British Government to relax their Navigation Acts, no other motive will; for in fact the effect of every project of a commercial treaty must be an alteration of the Laws of Navigation.

The present ministry are unquestionably against a treaty; indeed were they well disposed to treat they would not dare do it without the approbation of Parliament; *there* the measure would find few or no advocates—the nation is wedded to their ancient regulations; & the prejudices of the Kingdom are so much in favor of the Navigation Laws, that he must be a bold minister who should propose an alteration.¹

It is said however & from probable authority, that the Nation would have relaxed these Laws in favour of the United Netherlands could

they thereby have prevented the defensive alliance between them & the King of France. But the party of the Prince of Orange, together with a corrupt attempt of the english minister, failed, & the alliance was concluded in November last.

It was tho't that this alliance would have disposed the British ministry to measures of friendship with our Country, & that apprehensive that the United States might become a party in this combination they would not readily deny or refuse to evacuate the posts now possessed in America in contravention of the treaty. In pursuance of this idea & under instructions for that purpose Mr Adams made a demand for an evacuation & surrender; & in February Lord Carmarthen delivered to Mr Adams the answer of the King which declares his Majesty's firm determination to abide by, & carry into full & complete effect every part of the definitive treaty of Peace between his Majesty & the US but remarks that it cannot be expected that his Majesty will carry the same into effect unless he discovers a disposition in the US in like manner to abide by & execute the same.

That the 4th article of the treaty stipulates that no legal impediments shall be opposed to the recovery of the bona fide debts of British creditors, but that Laws exist in many of the American States which are interpreted by their respective Judicatories legal impediments to such recovery—that so long as these impediments remain in violation of the Treaty on the part of the US they have no right to require a full compliance therewith on the part of his Majesty; but that his Majesty will unequivocally execute the same as soon as he is ascertained that a similar disposition prevails in the United States.²

An abstract of the Laws of the several States which are said to be in violation of the treaty was delivered by Lord Carmarthen to Mr Adams, & by this minister, transmitted to Congress.³ No Acts of any of the four New England States are complained of, except the Act of Massachusetts, passed in 1784 relative to interest, this however is not truly stated, & as it exists cannot be construed in contravention of the treaty.

It is a pleasing reflection, that nothing is charged against any of the States on the subject of the Refugees—this silence tends to evince the truth of the construction which has been contended for by many persons in America that the clauses in the treaty relative to a restitution of their property & their residence within the States are merely commendatory, & not absolute.

The foregoing communications are considered as of the first political importance. I have written in much haste; but judging the information necessary, I have tho't it my duty to transmit it to you as first Magistrate of our Commonwealth—my *remarks* are totally unnecessary—one truth is most obvious, “that the happiness, prosperity, & safety of Our Country must depend upon the United Systems & exer-

tions of the several States & not on the sepearte arraignments of individual States, or the kindness, favor or friendship of foreign nations."

Mr Gorham informs me that he shall write to you in answer to your last. I will do myself the honor to inform your excellency by the next post of the condition of the negociation for procuring peace from the States of Barbary.

With perfect respect I have the honor to be your excellency's Obedient & very humble servant,

Rufus King

Tr (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letterbooks).

¹ For John Adams' efforts to negotiate a commercial treaty with Britain, and the ministry's indifferent and hostile responses to his overtures, see Ritcheson, *Aftermath of Revolution*, pp. 26-30, 40-44.

² For the argument that Adams himself had been responsible for the British disposition to make the evacuation of the northwest posts conditional upon the American removal of legal obstacles to the recovery of British held pre-war debts, see *ibid.*, pp. 77-86. For discussion of the diplomatic issues that shaped Anglo-American relations and a detailed study of Britain's motives in retaining the northwest posts and United States' efforts to force their evacuation, see Morris, *Forging of the Union*, pp. 196-206; and Alfred L. Burt, *The United States, Great Britain and British North America from the Revolution to the Establishment of Peace After the War of 1812* (1940; reprint ed., New York: Russell & Russell, 1961), pp. 82-105.

³ For this February 28 letter and enclosed "abstract," see David Ramsay to John Adams, May 14, note 1.

Stephen Mix Mitchell to Oliver Wolcott, Jr.

Dear sir,

New York 18th May 1786

I wrote you some time since in answer to your's,¹ & have made diligent Search for a long time for the paper referd. to in your's, which was deliverd. to the Treasury board & by them mislaid, have not as yet seen it alth'o 'tis found. As I expect soon to return to Connecticut, have not time & Oppertunity to attempt a Relief of your Embarrasment.

The reason of my writing now is, that 'tis probable a Delegate will soon come on from Hartford to supply my place, 'Tis best to make him fully acquainted with your Difficulties & the needful Amendments in the Directions to the Commissioner.

No such Letters as you seem to suspect have ever been reced. from the Commissioner by the Board of Treasury or Comptroller. 'Tis my belief that the wish of the treasury board as to the Commissioner & the Directions, are similar to your's.

We have made an Attempt to reduce the Salary of the Commissioners to one thousand Dolrs. & have lowered it to 1250—also pressed hard that their appointments should be annual, which if we had obtained. we might have gently eased down a Commissioner once a year. Had Congress been accustomed to make the Appointment them-

selves, without the approbation of the particular States, tis probable it would have been effected, but the Danger that much Time would be lost by nominating in Congress & Sending to the States for their Approbation, prevented the Adoption of this salutary measure.

I sent you per Capt. Barnard the journals of Congress, which I trust you duly receivd. With Congratulations upon the Genl. Election, I am with much Esteem & respect, your very humbl Sert.,

Stephen Mix Mitchell

RC (NjMoHP: Lloyd W. Smith Collection).

¹ See Mitchell to Wolcott, March 7.

James Monroe to James Madison

New York May 18. 1786.

I have not heard from you lately but hope it hath not arisen from ill-health. Two days since we recd. dispatches from Mr. Adams in which he informs us of his demand of the surrender of the posts, & remonstrance agnst the violation of the treaty also in the instance of the negroes, with the answer of the minister to his memorial.¹ In this answer it is stated that the King admits a violation in those points on his part, but on the other hand states the instances of violation on our part with respect to the debts in particular enumerating the acts of all the States contravening it, finally giving assurance that it is the Kings desire to carry the treaty fully into effect on his part provided the U.S. will do the same on theirs. This I think is the amt. of the communication recd. & from which the injunction of secrecy is remov'd. It appears as if his expectation was that we shod. take the first steps in this business.

In my last² I suggested the probability of my being able to accompany you in a trip up th[e Mohawk,] but of this at present I have doub[ts. There are] present 11 States & the business [of last May is] before Congress, so that I fear I cod. [not reconcile] it to my duty to be absent upon th[e present] occasion.³ I have pd. Taylor the [money for] the first payment so that that difficulty is at an end. I am Dr. Sir yr. friend & servt,

Jas. Monroe

[P.S.] We shall be happy to see you here & indeed calcul[ate] on a visit.

Reprinted from Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 9:59.

¹ See David Ramsay to John Adams, May 14, note 1; and Pierse Long to John Langdon, May 21, note 1.

² That is, his letter of April 28, which has not been found, but in which he responded to Madison's March 19 suggestion that they "explore the ground" in New York before extending their joint purchase of land. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 8:505, 9:29. In his May 13 reply to Monroe's April 28 letter, Madison addressed Monroe's concern about

the forthcoming Annapolis Convention and Charles Pinckney's call for a federal convention to amend the Articles of Confederation. "I think with you that it would have an odd appearance for two Conventions to be sitting at the same time, with powers in part concurrent. The reasons you give seem also to be valid against augmenting the powers of that which is to meet at Annapolis. I am not surprised therefore at the embarrassment of Congress in the present conjuncture. Will it not be best on the whole to suspend measures for a more thorough cure of our federal system, till the partial experiment shall have been made." *Ibid.*, 9:55. See also Nathaniel Gorham to Caleb Davis, February 23, note 4; and William Grayson to Richard Henry Lee, March 22, note 7.

³ For Monroe's three-fold responsibility at this time for developing an ordinance for the government of new western states, seeking a revision of Virginia's act of cession, and formulating plans for an Indian department, see Monroe to John Jay, April 20.

Thomas Rodney's Notes of Debates

Thursday May 18th 1786. In Congress.

Mr. Johnson moved to Take into Consideration the Connecticut Cession.¹

Mr. J. Wilson (Pensylvania). Objected that if Congress accepted this Cession it woud imply that Connecticut had a right to grant and of Course, to the ungranted Territory between this Grant and the West bounds of Pensylvania, and that He Suspected under cover of this they wou'd renew their Claim to that part of Pensylvania that was lately decided against them in favour of P—— by the federal Court at Trent Town. That the United States had never pretended To Claim the Territory reserved or ungranted by Virginia, New York and Massachusetts, but that their acceptance of the part Ceded was considered as a ful acknowledgmt. of the part of the United States, that the Ceding State was entitled to the reserved Territory, and that this Construction was Agreeable to the Municipal as well as to the Law of Nature & Nations, &c. &c. &c.

Mr. Johnson, replied, That Connecticut only wanted Congress to Accept their Cession on the Same Terms that they had done those of the other States, That according to the Idea of Congress, the Accepting those Cessions only Operated as an Extinguishment of the Claim of the State in the Lands Ceded and Not as an approbation of the Claim of such State to the Land reserved or Not granted. &c. &c. &c. That as to the Claim of Connecticut to the Lands held by the Delaware & Juniata companies which been determined by the federal Court to be in Pensylvania, there was no intention of Connecticut actg. against the Decission of that Court &c. &c.

Mr. Wilson then introduced a Motion, to make it a Condition in accepting this Cession that Connecticut shoud ackowledge the right of Pensylvania to said Lands &c.

Mr. King (Massachusetts) then observed that this was unnecessary and improper, That the Matter had been decided in a Regular Judicial Manner by a Court appointed agreeable to the Confederation for that purpose. And that it had been the Uniform Idea of Congress, that these Cessions were only Considered as an Extinguishment of the Claim of the State to the Lands Ceded and that the acceptance thereof by Congress was not to be Considered An Acknowledgment of the Claim of the State to any Lands reserved or not Ceded; That therefore the Claim of Connecticut to the Lands not Ceded would be in the same situation after acceptance as before, that it would be neither better nor worse, therefore all provisos were unnecessary.

Mr. Dana² (Massachusetts) spoke to the same purpose.

Mr. Mitchel (Rhode Island)³ spoke to the same purpose.

Mr. Grason (Virginia) Objected to the Amendment, for several reasons, he said that he Considered the Accepting the Cession as an Acknowledgement of the right of Connecticut not only in the Lands Ceded but in the Lands reserved or not Granted, And that this Amendment confirmed that acknowledgement. That the grant of Virginia differed from this Grant, that grant only reserved the Lands to the Southward of the Oye, and had granted all the Lands north of that River to the United States as well the jurisdiction as Soil, That New York and Massachusetts had done the same and their grants included the same Territory that Connecticut now Claims both to Cede & reserve, and therefore it would be Acknowledging the right of Connecticut in the 120 Miles reserved, that is in the Territory already granted to the united States. &c. &c.

Mr. Carrington, (Virginia) Spoke to the same purpose.

Mr. Monroe (Virginia) Spoke to the same purpose and then Moved an Amendment (to wit) "Provided also that Accepting the said Cession shall not be Taken or deem[ed] an Acknowledgement of the Right of Connecticut in the Land laying between the said Cession & the West boundary of Pennsylvania heretofore ceded to the United States by Virginia, New York and Masachusetts."

Mr. Pinkney (S. Carolina) Introduced a general Motion to supercede both the others, Implying a right in all the States to grant western Territory, and to have the rights of the United States only as it Stood upon the Cessions of the Individual States.

Postponed Till Tomorrow.⁴

MS (DeHi: Thomas Rodney Papers). In the hand of Thomas Rodney.

¹ Secretary Thomson made no mention of these proceedings in his journal entry for this date, recording only a request for postponing the date set for a meeting of state agents in the South Carolina-Georgia boundary dispute. However, it is significant that his entry for May 22 recorded that Congress *resumed* consideration of the Connecticut cession, which was undoubtedly a reference to the resumption of this day's debate. See *JCC*, 30:287-88, 295.

Another manuscript located in the Rodney Collection at DeHi also provides conflicting evidence concerning the activities of Congress during this period. Although there is no entry in Thomson's journals for May 20, the following document in Rodney's hand is labelled "Members of Congress Present—May 20th 1786."

"N. Hamshire. Mr. Long.

"Massachusetts. Mr. Gorham, Mr. King, Mr. Dana [Dane].

"Rhode Island. Mr. Maning.

"Connecticut. Mr. Johnson, Mr. Mitchell.

"N. York. Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Smith, Mr. Haran [Haring].

"N. Jersey. Mr. Sims, Mr. Hornblower.

"Pennsylvania. Mr. Wilson, Mr. St. Clair, Mr. Pettit, Mr. Bayard.

"Delaware. Mr. Rodney, Mr. Patten.

"Maryland. Mr. Hinman, Mr. Harrison.

"Virginia. Mr. Grason, Mr. Carington, Mr. Munroe.

"N. Carolina. Mr. Blunt, Mr. White, Mr. Bloodworth.

"S. Carolina. Mr. Pinkney, Mr. Kain.

"Georgia. Mr. Houston, Mr. Few."

² That is, Nathan Dane.

³ That is, Stephen Mix Mitchell of Connecticut.

⁴ Rodney also wrote the following note this day.

"Mr. Rodney presents his Compliments to Don Diego De Gardoqui, and assures him he will Accept his invitation with pleasure if he Shoud not leave the City before that time. Thursday May 18th." Rodney Papers, DeHi.

Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[May 18–29, 1786]

May 18th. 1786. transmitted to the Office f. Affairs.

1785—Novr. 24th, 24th. Mr. Adams.¹

1786—March 12. Mr Jefferson.²

Feby. 11th. Marquis De La fayette.³

1785—Novr. 15th. Mr Dumas. . . & translation July 20th.⁴

May 29th. 1786. transmitted to the Office of f. Affairs.

1785—Octr. 2d. Mr. Adams, Octr. 11th. Mr Jefferson {Joint letter}
with Prussian Treaty.⁵

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, April 4–24, 1786.

¹ These letters of John Adams to John Jay are in PCC, item 84, 5:733–40.

² This letter from Jefferson to Jay is in PCC, item 87, 1:243–45.

³ Lafayette's letter to Jay is in PCC, item 156, fols. 446–49.

⁴ Charles W. F. Dumas' letter to the president of Congress is not in the PCC, but his draft of it is in the Dumas Papers, Inventaire II, fols. 766–67, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague (DLC microfilm).

⁵ For this letter to Jay, signed by Adams at London October 2 and by Jefferson at Paris October 11, see PCC, item 86, fols. 321–24; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 8:606.

James Manning to Nathan Miller

Sir

New York 19th. May 1786

I am continually interrogated by Congress when my Colleague is likely to be on the floor.¹ I am tired of telling them that I expect him soon. Pray have you not obtained the money necessary? If not are you likely to obtain it & when? I wish you to inform me by the first opportunity. Some great national matters are now before Congress, and are suspended for a fuller Representation. Eleven States are now on the Floor. New Hampshire & Rhode Island are the only delinquent states. You see that what is called the Southern Interest, has greatly the Advantage of the Eastern, and, in many cases, we have found the want of these two States. But I know you are not delinquent of choice.

If you are doubtful of your being able to come at all, I should wish to know it by the first Opportunity, that I may make my Arrangements accordingly. I perceive that [our] State have directly violated the Treaty with Great Britain in making the Paper Money a tender in all cases of debts contracted before its Emission. You may find this in the 4th Article of that Treaty. We have just received, through Mr. Adams, the British Minister's Answer to the demand to deliver up the western Posts; & he assigns as the principal reason the Laws made in several States, whereby British Subjects are deprived of their Property, as they cannot recover their Bona fide Debts, as stipulated in the Treaty. Congress have now referred to a Committee to report the necessity of repealing all these Laws, & sending it forward to ob[t]ain, as soon as possible, a repeal of such Laws in the respective States. I am sorry that Rhode Island is now to be ranked in the Number of the States, which have violated the Treaty aforesaid.

I have been severely handled by an obstinate Diarhea, almost ever since my arrival here, but am now some thing better. I have not yet taken permanent Lodgings, but have remained at my Brother James, expecting your arrival. I believe they would be willing to take us in to lodge, should you think it best, but I mean to let this matter rest till you arrive.

Please to write me by the first, & every Opportunity.² I have the Honour to be, Sir, Your very Humble Servt, James Manning

RC (RPB; Manning Collection).

¹ None of the Rhode Island delegates elected May 4, 1785 (John Brown, George Champlin, Paul Mumford, and Peter Philips), ever attended Congress. Manning and Miller had been elected in a special appointment March 2, 1786. Manning first attended Congress May 3; Miller did not arrive until July 14. *JCC*, 30:228, 407. The state

had not been represented since the adjournment of the previous Congress, November 4, 1785, and the expiration of the terms of William Ellery and David Howell.

² Miller wrote the following response to Manning from Warren, R.I., on May 27.

"I have yours of the 19th Inst. now before me, in Answer to which I have not received any mony or do I Expect to receive any more than the Hundred dollars which I mentioned to you before you went forward. I weighted on the Assembly and Let them know that I Could not go forward without haveing the Cash advanced and Told them you was gone forward without any mony with Expectation of my receiving the Necessary and following; and Likewise at the same time informed them that I should not attend Congress and sacrifice my time and Spend my mony and returne and receive theire Pay in a depreciated Paper Currency.

"I think I find a Disposition in many of our new faces in the Legislature to not send any Members to Congress, but they are small Men, they Have Heads and so has board Nailes. I want much to be with you and if I can muster one Hundred dollars more to put with what is all ready in Bank I will Come on so as to be on the flore of Congress time Enough to Write the Assembly at theire sessions in June the fourth mondy; that we shall returne as soon as the Mony is gone,

"We are Signing the new Emission of Paper and intend it shall Pay all Past, Present and to Come Both furren and Domestick. What will be the End god Only knows, I Expect Serious Consequences, the Contagion is Spreading through Masachusetts very fast of a paper Currency and the destruction of Public securutys, our Assembly when they meet in June are going to Strike off Two thirds of all the State debt or Call on the Holders of securitys and Know att what rate they have Purchased them and give them a new Obligation for the same with a deduction of the Surplus Interest and to be Paid in the Paper which they Intend to Collect in a Tax to be Levied; but I think theire Plan is not fully digested, but sum thing Capital will take Place you may depend.

"I will not say more for fear of tiring you with the Politicks of the State, am sorry to heare of your Illness but Happy in finding you so far recovered, all frinds are well and am most respectfully your Very Humbl. Sert., Nathan Miller." Roberts Autograph Collection, PHC.

Massachusetts Delegates to James Bowdoin

Sir

New York 19 May 1786

We do ourselves the honor to inclose to your excellency a law passed in the late Session of the Legislature of New York relative to the controversy between them & the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: the last clause of this Act authorises the Agents on the part of New York to compromise the Dispute without the expence of a federal Trial.¹

We pray your excellency to lay this communication before the general court at their next Session.

With perfect Respect we have the Honor to be your excellency's
Obt. & very Humble Servts.,

Nathaniel Gorham

Rufus King

Nathan Dane

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters). Written by King and signed by King, Dane, and Gorham.

¹ By terms of this April 28 act, the New York Assembly appointed four additional agents (John Haring, John Lansing, Melancton Smith, and Robert Yates), and empowered them "to settle the said Controversy between this and the Commonwealth of the Massachusetts, otherwise than by the said Fæderal Court . . . in such Manner as they shall judge most conducive to the Interest of this State." See *Laws of New York*, 9th Session (1786), chapter 49; and *The Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Julius Goebel et al., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964-69), 1:573-77.

Rufus King to Theodore Sedgwick

My Dear Sir,

New York 21 May 1786

Since the receipt of your kind letter of the 21 of April, I have been in daily expectation of the pleasure of your arrival, but I now fear that the indisposition which you mentioned has increased and thereby your Journey is prevented. I hope your health will soon be confirmed, and that your engagements will permit you to join us in Congress.

Be good enough to accept my affectionate Gratitude for your polite and freindly congratulations, at the same Time be assured that the event must be far more extraordinary than marriage, which will separate me from Massachusetts; the Frenzy however, which at this Time possesses numbers of our fellow Citizens relative to our profession, if carried to an Extent by no means improbable, would go farther in my mind, towards removing my Residence than almost any imaginable Event.

I forbear writing a Detail on the subjects before Congress, Questions of the highest national Magnitude are at this Time under their consideration; and if the Wisdom of our Confederacy is now fully represented, my ideas of the Abilities of our country men have been improperly magnified, and I am forced to the Beleif, that Great Events are more frequently the Effects of Accident, than the Result of human systems.

The British ministry will not consent to any commercial Treaty with Mr. Adams, they know our disjointed condition, and despise us.

Mr. Adams demanded the Evacuation of the Posts, and has been officially refused. Repeal your laws against the Recovery of British Debts before you demand a compliance with the Treaty on our part, is the language of the Reply to Mr. Adams's Demand.

Eighty Thousand Dollars were appropriated for the Barbary Treaties—the sum is too small, 150,000 Guineas being the least sum necessary.

There is no money in the federal Treasury—the civil list is in arrears—the Troops in service mutinous for pay—the loans abroad exhausted—the foreign Ministers destitute of Funds to draw on for their Daily support—and the payments made by the four Eastern & three southern States for 15 Months past not equal to 4 thousand Dollars. Adieu—Believe me my Dr. Sir your affectionate friend,

Rufus King

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

Pierse Long to John Langdon

Sir

New York May 21st. 1786.

The Packet for France in whose bag I put your letters sailed the 14th instant since which finding Vessels have arrived from England—by whom Congress have received letters from Mr Adams, as late as the beginning of March in one of which he says Lord Carmarthen has officially informed him that his Britanick Majesty was determined to hold the western posts until the United States on thier part manifest a real determination to fulfil the treaty among things less important the States of South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and the Massachusetts must repeal certain acts now in existance that prevents justice being done to British creditors.¹

Mr. Adams likewise advises Congress that an envoy is in London from Tripole on the business of bringing about a treaty with us—he was very particular in his questions respecting extent, climate and soil of this country and from the information he received aforesaid it was a great country. But Tripole was at war with us but are disposed to be at peace which was his business with him—he has proposed to Mr Adams to make a perpetual peace for 30,000 guineas 12,500 paid in land and 3,000 per annum—until the 30,000 are paid. He has assured him that Tunis and Morocco are ready to agree to their terms and has no doubt but the Algerine Monarch will come into the same agreement which four sums will amount to 120,000 Guineas besides a large present that must be made to the Ambassadors and 500 guineas to each consul. I am inclined to think that this business including all charges will cost 200,000 guineas. Mr Jefferson is arrived in London to assist Mr Adams in negotiating this affair.

We have eleven States on the floor sincerely wish New Hampshire was here for it appears to me New England should never be unrepresented.

The act of Assembly of New York passed in consequence of the recommendation of Congress of the 28th April 1783 is together with all

the other acts on the same subjects, referred to a committee whose report will be before Congress in a few days² at which time I will do myself the honor to inform you how far the several States have complied with said recommendation.

I am with great respect and esteem, Your Excellency's Most Obedient Humble Servant,
Pierse Long

Tr (DLC: Peter Force Collection).

¹ According to the dispatch book of the office of foreign affairs letters from John Adams to Secretary John Jay of February 16, 17, 20, 22, 26, 27, and March 4 were received May 12. PCC, item 127, fols. 253–55. These letters, which explained the marquis of Carmarthen's response to American demands for the Northwest posts and Adams' meetings with the envoy from Tripoli described in the following paragraph, are in PCC, item 84, 6:95–147; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:565–91. See also David Ramsay to John Adams, May 14, note 1.

² For the referral of the New York impost act of May 4 to committee on May 12 and the submission of the committee's report on June 13, see Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry, May 6, note 2.

Charles Thomson to Ebenezer Sproat

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, 22 May 1786

I have the pleasure to inform you that the United States in Congress assembled have in Conformity to their Ordinance of the 20 May 1785 elected you a Surveyor for the state of Rhode island in the room of Mr Harris resigned.¹ I enclose you a copy of the Ordinance² & the minute of yr appointint. & beg leave to refer you to Mr T. Hutchins the geographer for further information & instructions.

I am Sr.³

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For Caleb Harris' resignation of this post and Sproat's appointment, see Thomson to Harris, February 24, note 2; and *JCC*, 30:294.

² *JCC*, 28:375–81.

³ Also this day Thomson's clerk John Fisher wrote the following letter to New Jersey governor William Livingston in response to an "application" that had been made to the Secretary's office.

"The Honorable Mr Symmes a Delegate in Congress for your State, made application to this office, for a Copy of the Impost Law, passed last session by the Legislature of the State of New York, in order to transmit it to your Excellency, for the information of your Legislature; he receiving very hastily on Saturday last, intelligence of Mrs. Symme's extreme illness (who is now at Lanington), and requesting his immediate attendance, forgot to enclose the Act above mentioned. He wrote me from Elizabethtown and requested, I would forward it to your Excellency, which I have the Honor to do by this day's Stage. Mr Symmes would have wrote to Mr Hornblower on the subject, but supposed he would be out of Town." Livingston Papers, MHi.

Josiah Hornblower to John Fitch

Sir,¹

New York 24th May 1786²

I have examined your plan for empelling a Boat forward by the force of a steam engine, and do apprehend it to be rather too complicated to succeed well in practice. The Well and pump which you propose for obtaining a partial vacuum is certainly necessary yet perhaps injecting of cold water into the cylinder would be better as it would obtain a compleater vacuum. The horizontal position of the cylinder may be proper for the reasons you mention and also for the more convenient application of the power, yet I fear it will be apt to make a leaky Piston—but as action and reaction are equal may not the end proposed be obtained simply by discharging the steam under the surface of the Water at the stern of the Boat; no objection lies against it, but the great expence of steam. However I wish you success in whatever mode you may pursue and am sir Your obedient svt,

Jos. Hornblower³

RC (DLC: Fitch Papers).

¹ John Fitch (1743–98) was a metal craftsman and inventor. He was born and raised in Connecticut, spent several years at Trenton, N.J., and settled in Bucks County, Pa., at the end of the war. In 1785 he turned his attention to the development of a steamboat and spent the last 13 years of his life seeking support for his inventions from Congress and several state legislatures. *DAB*.

A memorial from Fitch of August 29, 1785, had been referred to a congressional committee consisting of Rufus King, James McHenry, and Jacob Read, but received short shrift as the committee was discharged August 31 and his papers were ordered returned to him the following day. A second letter from Fitch of March 15, 1786, was read April 7, but was simply "Ordered to be filed." See *JCC*, 29:669n, 672–73n, 30:158; and *PCC*, item 42, 3:131–34, item 78, 9:543–45. For discussion of Fitch's early efforts to develop steam navigation, including the text of the undated plan that Congress returned to him September 1, 1785, see Frank D. Prager, "An Early Steamboat Plan of John Fitch," *PMHB*, 79 (1955): 63–80.

Hornblower's tepid response here to Fitch's plan was apparently all too typical of the receptions he encountered.

² Also this day Secretary Charles Thomson wrote the following letter to the treasurer of the United States, Michael Hillegas, concerning a payment to the New York printer John Swaine. "Please to pay Mr John Swaine one hundred dollars by a check on the Bank at Philadelphia or otherwise as shall suit your convenience, and on delivering me this with his rect. thereon I will give credit on the treasury board's warrant on you in favour of Sr, your humble Servt. Cha Thomson." Thomson Papers, DLC.

³ Although Hornblower attended Congress almost continuously from November 8, 1785, through November 7, 1786 (*JCC*, 29:872, 31:928, 930), this is the sole letter written by him while a delegate that has been found. His claim for £540 compensation from New Jersey for "attendance in Congress from 6th of November 1785 to the 6th November 1786 inclusive deducting 5 absent days, is 360 days, at 30/ per day," is in the Gratz Collection, PHI.

James Monroe to Richard Henry Lee

Dear Sir

New York May 24. 1786

I have no excuse for having been so indifferent a correspondent except that I had nothing to communicate to you & I knew that of this you were apprised by yr. brother & Colo. Lee.¹ Lately however we have recd. dispatches from Mr. Adams of a very interesting nature. He presented sometime abt. November last a memorial to the ministry requiring a delivery of the posts & compensation for the infraction of the treaty respecting the negroes, to which he recd for answer "that it was unquestionably true that by the 7th article the posts shod. have been evacuated, but that by the 4th and 5th it was also stipulated that there shod. be no legal impediment in the way of the recovery of British debts—that these articles had been violated by almost every state in the confederacy. Ld. Carmarthen enumerates all the acts of the several states which militate against the treaty, with great precision & finally states that it wou. be folly for one party to carry its engagements into effect while the other neglected theirs—that provided the U.S. wou. comply on their part the King wou. on his."² This I think is the amt. of dispatch from Mr. Adams from which the injunction of secrecy is remov'd so that you may be under no restraint in yr. communications on the subject.³ We shall state it to the Executive for the information of the Legislature. We have lately been much perplex'd by a proposition from Connecticut for ceding her claim to territory westward 120 miles of the Pena. Line by which she obtains a right by implication to 120 miles. We have been informed that she & Pena. are on the point of variance with respect to Wiomin & that this land is necessary to satisfy the Susquehannah & Delawar Companies of Connecticut who create this mischief, whereby peace will be restor'd to the union. We are also assur'd that unless we accept this cession Connecticut will open an office for the whole degree claim'd by her to the Mississippi for sale. A proposition has been made reserving to the U.S. whatever they have acquir'd under the cession of Virga., & negativ'd, & one confirming the decree of Trenton or rather requiring that Connecticut shod. cede her claim to Pena. as therein decreed met with the same fate, the latter as connected with the former which being negativ'd gave a more pointed implication in favor of Connecticut. Their it now stands; to day it will be taken up again & I suspect will be pass'd.⁴ When shall we have the pleasure of seeing you here? You have in a very high degree the friendship & good wishes of our family. Miss Kortright & Mrs. Monroe desire to be most respectfully remember'd to you. I shall always be happy to hear from you & am sincerely yr. friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

RC (PPAmP: Lee Papers).

¹ That is, Arthur Lee, then serving in New York on the board of treasury, and Henry Lee, a Virginia delegate.

² This passage is not a direct quote but a summary of Lord Carmarthen's February 28 reply to John Adams' memorial of November 30, 1785, for which see David Ramsay to Adams, May 14, note 1.

³ The injunction of secrecy had been lifted May 17. *Ibid.*

⁴ Debate on Connecticut's act of cession had begun May 18 and continued May 22, 24, 25, and 26 when it was accepted. See Thomas Rodney's Notes of Debates, May 18; *JCC*, 30:295-96, 299-304, 307-8, 310-11; and Charles Pettit to Jeremiah Wadsworth, May 27, note 1.

William Grayson to Unknown

Dear Sir

New York May 26th. 1786.

I wrote to you sometime since informing you, that I had requested Mr. L. Lee [to] give notice to the defendants & to appoint the first of May for the survey of your lands in the County of P. Wm. and at which I meant to attend; I am sorry to inform you that I have never recieved a line from him in answer, neither do I know whether any steps have been taken relative to the affair.

When I undertook this business I did it in expectation of being able to go through with it agreeable to your satisfaction, and in such a manner as would advance both your and my interests; I now, (in consequence of my appointment to Congress) find it extremely inconvenient to conduct the matter in such a manner as will an[s]wer your expectations or satisfy my own feelings: the great distance, between this and our State, and the duties imposed upon me by the trust which has devolv'd on me, will I hope be a sufficient reason with you for this request; & which I would not make if I thought I could give you satisfaction in the management of it; but which however seems impossible on account of the above mentioned causes: I am willing however to do you justice and to make you immediate satisfaction for the small tract of land purchased, which will be some assistance in conducting the suit; I shall be extremely thankful for an answer to this letter, immediately; all I am sorry for is that I had not made the proposition on my being first appointed to Congress.

We have very little news here; Mr. Adams has informed us, he has made a demand of the Posts & been refused by the British Court: the King it seems will not comply on his part till the states shew a disposition on theirs to carry into effect that part of the treaty which relates to the debts.

I remain yr. Affect. frd & Most Obed serv, Willm. Grayson.

RC (ViFreJM: Hooes Collection).

James Manning to John Collins

Sir

New York 26 May 1786

Agreeably to the directions of the General Assembly at their Session at Greenwich I proceeded to New York & took my seat in Congress, as a Deligate, the 2d of this Inst., in full expectation that General Miller would follow me in a few Days, with the necessary supply of money, to support us; but to my surprise I have not heard from the General since my departure from Rhode Island. Destitute of money to defray my necessary Expences, & at a loss to conjecture the reasons of the General's delay, you must naturally conclude my situation is far from being agreeable. I wish to be informed whether the State mean to support a Representation in Congress or not, that I may act accordingly. My private purse will not support me here, and you Sir, know the Expence attending this Character too well to be informed that money in hand is necessary for the support of your Delegation.

Congress are highly displeased with the conduct of Rhode Island in not sending forward her Delegates. I have made the best Apology I could for this neglect, but am obliged now to be silent, as I have no advice on the subject. I think it my duty to inform you that this honourable body is not a little alarmed at the present Crisis; with an empty Treasury, while pressed on all sides for money. The Requisitions not complied with in many of the States; the Collection of Taxes postponed; Our trade embarrassd & all most prostrate; The Barbary Powers fitting out more formidable Armaments than ever sailed out of the Straights. G Britain, through our Minister, has absolutely refused the Surrender of the western Posts, until the United States comply, on their part, with the 4th Article of the Treaty, which provides that British Merchants shall be under no legal incapacity of recovering, in *Sterling money* their bona fide debts from the Citizens of the United States. Against which Article (since the passing the money bill in our State) Nine States in the Confederacy have passed Acts; and several of the Indian tribes, as we learn from recent dispatches, have already commenced Host[il]ities on our western frontier. This is our deplorable Situation, and Congress obliged this day to adjourn for want of a sufficient Number of States to proceed in the necessary & most important business of the Confederacy!¹ In a word, Sir, all the old members here look serious, & are alarmed for the safety of the Confederacy. A motion is made, & it is proposed to assign a day to go into the State of the Nation in a Committee of the whole house, that we may send forward to the States, without loss of time, the dangerous Situation of the federal government, that they may acquit themselves of censure, should disastrous Events happen through the neglect of the States. This motion has only been postponed for a fuller Representation, as they were in daily expectations of having both Rhode Is-

land & Hampshire on the floor. I assure you, sir, that the above is not an exaggerated Account, but done in the words of truth & soberness.

We have lately been employed in reducing the expence of the civil List,² which we have done upwards of ten Thousand Dollars; nor do we mean to stop here, but embrace every Opportunity to retrench, as much as possible, the Expences of the federal Government. I have the pleasure to inform you that I think the present Delegation in Congress Rhode Island apart possess great Patriotism, Ability & unanimity. But the want of energy in the federal, & the respective Governments of the States, is by every true friend of this Country to be lamented.

With the highest Sentiments of Esteem, I have the Honour to be,
Sir, Your Humble Servt,
J Manning

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

¹ That is, only eight states were represented this day; and delegates from only six states attended on Monday, May 29. *JCC*, 30:310, 312.

² Such a committee was originally appointed April 11 and renewed July 20, 1785. It was renewed again on March 16, July 19, and September 18, 1786, and February 12, 1787. *JCC*, 28:246n, 29:564n, 30:115n, 418n, 31:667n, 32:42n.

William Grayson to George Washington

Dear Sir

New York May 27h. 1786.

I should have done myself the honor of writing to you sooner, if any thing had occurred at this place worth communicating. There has been a great dearth of foreign news, & till within a short time the representation has been so thin as to render it impracticable for Congress to undertake any matter of importance, although there are many which require their serious attention. Of late there has been tolerably full representation but the time of Congress has been chiefly taken up with an investigation of the Connecticut cession of Western territory.¹

That State some time ago offered to cede all her claim to Western territory within the following limits Beg[innin]g, 120 Miles Westwd. of the Pensylvania line at the beginning of the 42nd degree, extendg. N. as far as two minutes of the 43rd, West to the Mississippi, the meanders thereof the same breadth; East to the beginning, reserving out of this cession the 120 M[ile]s between the ceded lands & the Pensylvania line, with the jurisdiction of the same; this cession was at first much opposed, but Congress have at length agreed to accept it whenever the delegates of that State shall be authorized to make a proper deed; The consequence of which is I apprehend a clear loss of about six million of acres to the United States & which had been already ceded by Virginia & N. York: for the Assembly of Connecticut now sitting will

unquestionably open a land office, & the fœderal constitution has not giv'n a Court in this instance. The advocates for this measure, urged in favor of it's adoption that the claim of a powerful State although unsupported by right, was under present circumstances a disagreeable thing; & that sacrifices ought to be made for the public tranquillity as well as to acquire an undisputable title to the residue; that Connecticut would settle it immediately, with emigrants well disposed to the Union, who would form a barrier not only against the British but the Indian tribes upon the Wabash & lake Michigan; That the thick settlement they would immediately form, would enhance the value of the adjacent country and facilitate emigrations thereto.

Some alterations have been made lately in the Land Ordinance; the surveyors are now allowed to survey by the magnetic Meridian, & are limited to the territory lying Southward of the East & West line as described in the said Ordinance; the navigable waters and the carrying places between them are made common highways & forever free to the Atlantic States as well as any new States that may be created, without any tax or impost therefor. An attempt was made to change the system altogether, but negatived; indeed the Eastern States & some others are so much attached to it, that I am satisfied no material alteration can ever be effected; the Geographer & surveyors have directions to proceed without delay to carry the Ordinance into execution,² which I presume they will execute provided the Indians will permit them, of which however I have very great doubts.

Mr. Adams has informed Congress by letters lately received, that he has made a demand of the Posts, and has been refused; the Marquis of Caermarthen has giv'n as a reason for the refusal that many of the States in the Union have violated the treaty with respect to the debts; that the King of G. B. will comply with his engagements when the States shall shew a disposition to perform their part of the contract respecting this matter; the States not included in the accusation are N. Hamshire, R. Island, Connecticut, N. Jersey & Delawar. I beg leave to inform you confidentially that there does not appear at present the most distant prospect of forming treaty either with Spain or G. Britain; That the treaty with Portugal is in a proper train; that peace can be procured with Tripoli & Tunis on reasonable terms, ie. for 30,000 Guineas each, & probably with Morocco & Algiers for double that sum respectively, if money can be loaned in Holland for that purpose. The late treaty with Algiers cost Spain one million three hundred thousand dollars. I found in Philada. the book respecting Corks, which I committed to the care of Mr. Fitzhugh son of Mr. Fitzhugh of Mermin, which I hope you have recd.

My compliments to Mrs. Washington & remain, with the highest respect & esteem, Yr. Affect. Hhble servt,
Willm. Grayson.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ See the following entry, note 1.

² See Charles Thomson to Thomas Hutchins, May 16.

Charles Pettit to Jeremiah Wadsworth

Dear Sir,

New York 27th May 1786

Your Favour of the 21st now claims my Acknowledgement. Yesterday Congress agreed to accept a Cession [from] the State of Connecticut of her Right, Claim &c to Western [terri]tory, lying westward of a Line drawn from lat. 41. to lat. 42° 2", 120 Miles westward of & parrallel to the Western boundary of Pennsylvania, whenever the Delegates of Connecticut, duly authorized, shall execute a Deed of Cession for the same.¹ This Subject has undergone much Discussion, & has taken up more Time in various Manœuvres than I thought it merited; but the various Interests and Views of Parties whetted the Jealousy of each other in a high Degree & called forth great Exertions in various Modes of Attack & Defence. I was the less exercised on the Occasion, because I felt the State of Pennsa. perfectly secured by the Decree of the federal Court against all State Claims on the Part of Connecticut. Some of my Colleagues, however, wanted an express Reservation which should cover our State from future molestation, on a supposition that the implied Reservation of Connecticut, might weaken our present Security under the Decree of the Court. It was thought by others that such a Reservation in behalf of Pennsa. would imply a Right in Connecticut to the 120 Miles not ceded, which Right they (the circumscribed States) would not willingly acknowledge. The States who have made Cessions tho' they disavow any Intention to claim by Implication, any strengthening of their Claim to Lands not by them ceded, yet are very careful to avoid relinquishing the strength that pretence may hereafter give them. From Considerations of these Kinds you will perceive three or four different Interests which in their Nature are opposed to each o[ther]. The Delegations of Pennsylvania & of your State per[ceive] this Dilemma, & desirous of promoting Peace & Harmony in the Union, & in order to obtain a good Understanding between the two States, agreed to meet each other on the ground of reciprocal Confidence & Generosity. It is understood that the State of Connecticut will on her part give no farther Countenance to the Claims of the State or of her Companies within Pennsa. but on the Contrary use Means to induce these Companies to relinquish their Pretensions to such Claims. That Pennsa. will take the Actual Settlers on the late disputed Territory under protection as Citizens & treat them with Generosity as well as Justice as to their private Rights. That

the implied Right of Connecticut to the 120 Miles not ceded will not be questioned by Pennsa. and that Connecticut may find Means from that Source to quiet her Companies with respect to Western Lands. These Objects were not unperceived by Congress & their Desire of promoting Peace & Harmony induced them to acquiesce in the Views of the two States under an Expectation, as I conceive, that Connecticut, paying the Proportion of Expence in purc[hasing] it from the Indians & avoiding any Claim of States Jurisdiction will enjoy & dispose of the soil within the 120 Miles. But these Things being understood rather than expressed, may be differently conceived of by different Minds, & therefore I cannot pretend to say what Interpretations may hereafter be given on this Subject. In Compromises of this kind it is [fo]und dangerous to go too minutely into Explanations. The [cir]cumscribed States do not like the Result we have come to, and will keep up their Claim to a Share of all the Lands which they suppose remained in the Disposal of the Crown immediately before the Revolution, especially that part which was severed from the old Colonies by the Description of the Province of Quebec. But the States which have made Cessions & those which expect to make them will, I imagine, acquiesce in the Ideas I have stated if Prudence be used in pursuing them, and Pennsylvania I am persuaded will observe and act upon a liberal Construction of these conciliatory Views.

You will consider this Letter as purely Confidential. I mean not to debar you from making any proper use of the Sentiments it contains; nor from drawing & even communicating such Inferences as you may think fairly deducible from what I have said; but it is intended as a confidential Key to open a view to your own Mind of a complex Business in the Light in which I view it. Others may view it in a different Light & of course may describe it differently. Such Descriptions contrasted may bring on unprofitable Discussions, and occasion the Revival of Disputes which ought never again to be unveiled. Besides I write on this Occasion with too much Haste & Freedom for the Inspection of any Eye but that of a Confidential Friend.

The Information from your transatlantic Corres[pondent] deserves attention—and it appears to me to depend [entirely] on ourselves whether his Apprehensions will be verifi[ed or] not. Our political Situation, merely from want of [a]rrangement & Combination of our Strength, is indeed wretched. Our Friends exhausted—our Credit lost—our Confidence in each other & in the federal Government destroyed. Resolutions unexecuted; Requisitions but partially complied with in the best of the States, in others not at all; Recommendations as little regarded as the Cries of an Oysterman. The States separately pursuing their own whimsical Schemes of dangerous Experiment, regardless of federal System, and destroying their own Strength by intoxicating Draughts of Liberty run mad. By attempting to conceal our

Imperfections from others, we have but deceived ourselves & increased our own Maladies. Instead of supporting the respectable Rank which we assumed among Nations, we have exposed our Follies to their View—they treat us accordingly—they severally shut the Door of commercial Hospitality against us, while ours being open they enter & partake with us at their pleasure. The Mischievous Consequences of our Folly are now pressing upon us. [They] are felt every where, but the Cause is duly perceived² as yet by a comparative few only; it must pervade and alarm the great Body of the People in every State before they will be in earnest to take the proper Measures to secure their own Strength & Safety. At present even those who are selected for the public Service & to whom the political Interests of the Country are confided, are not sufficiently awakened to keep a competent Number of States represented in Congress. Many Gentlemen really & some affectedly accept appointments to this Assembly reluctantly, and it seems to be fashionable to make public Duty yield to private Convenience even on Occasions comparatively trivial. Monthly Returns are made to the Executives of the States of their several Representations in Congress daily for the preceeding Month; by these Returns you may see how faulty your State has been in this Respect. I do not suggest this as blaming the two Gentlemen who have occasionally attended, but you will find that you have had at no Time more than two either in this year or the last, & these two in each Year never relieved, tho' I presume you have constantly had a greater number in your Delegation. If a State so respectable in point of Information & Capacity, & so conveniently situated is thus Negligent in federal Affairs, what can we expect of some others? Seven Months of the present federal year have passed away without the attendance of Nine States (a bare Quorum for most purposes) for any one Fortnight at a Time. The few who attend constantly, become wearied & soured, & find themselves unable to pursue any Plan with Effect, becoming negligent & desponding. The Comers & Goers who sometimes raise us to 9, 10 or even 11 States (which we had for a few Days) do not continue long enough to get the Information necessary to form a competent Judgment of the Business before them, & hence the most important Matters must remain in Suspence, or be decided upon at Hazard on partial Information.

Is it possible that a great political System, however wisely formed, can be preserved & well conducted in this Manner and yet we seem to be as supinely inattentive to our own Dangerous Situation as a flock of Sheep in their way to a slaughter Pen. This is not an exaggerated Description of our internal Disorder, which is hastening our Political Existence to destruction, like a spreading mortification under the lulling Influence of an Opiate.

Foreigners perceive our lethargic Imbecility. That Respect which they were disposed to shew us is held in Suspence. The Barbary Powers, as if by Way of derision, are set on to insult us. Our late Enemies seeking a Rupture with us by withholding military Posts within our Territories are teaching the Savages to despise and insult us. They openly charge us with a Breach of the Treaty by obstructing the Recovery of British Debts by Legislative Acts in some of the States; in this, however, there is some Truth, tho' less than they pretend; but I should suppose that their refusal to pay for the Negroes they purloined & which they acknowledge to be a failure on their Part, might have been a balance for this breach of ours, as it was in some Measure the Occasion or at least the pretence for it.

Such Disorders both within & without cannot fail to bring on a Crisis of some kind ere long. What will be the Result, or what Turn it will take, is uncertain. However we may dread the Event, it seems to be the only chance we have of restoration to political health, & therefore a convulsion of some kind seems to be desirable.

When I had finished the first Sheet I was necessarily taken off, intending to finish & put my Letter in the Post Office the next Morning, but a scouring of the cholera morbus kind incapacitated me for some Days & my Nerves are yet unrestored to the proper Tone.

Be assured of the Esteem of Dr. Sir, Your most obedt., huml. Servant,
Chas. Pettit

RC (CtHi: Wadsworth Papers).

¹ See *JCC*, 30:310–11. This acceptance was the climax of a chain of events beginning in January 1784 when Connecticut authorized her delegates in Congress to relinquish the state's western land claims, excepting a large tract reserved to satisfy obligations to troops of the Connecticut Line. This reservation Congress had refused to accept, and renewed attempts by Connecticut in October 1784 and February 1785 to revive the issue continued to meet congressional opposition. To break the impasse, the Connecticut Assembly adopted a slightly revised act of cession in October 1785, which came before Congress January 18, 1786, but the concessions offered were deemed inadequate and the stalemate continued. Nevertheless, the persistence of the Connecticut delegates was ultimately rewarded, as Congress was impatient to remove all obstacles to opening the northwest territory, and Pennsylvania was won over by the prospect that acceptance of the cession on Connecticut's terms would finally end unrest in the Wyoming Valley. As Pettit explained to Wadsworth, this result was "understood rather than expressed" and depended on Connecticut's adoption of an acceptable final deed of cession. The matter was carried to a successful conclusion when the Connecticut deed, "in conformity with the Act of Congress of the 26th day of May last," was accepted September 14, 1786. *JCC*, 31:654–55. See also Connecticut Delegates to Matthew Griswold, February 24, 1785, note 4, and April 12, 1786, note 1; Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin, June 9; and the preceding and following entries.

² Pettit completed "the first Sheet" (consisting of four writing surfaces) of his letter at this point. At the top of the next sheet he wrote "June 3d," indicating that he resumed his writing on that date, which he explained to Wadsworth in his concluding paragraph.

William Grayson to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York May 28th. 1786.

Your letter¹ has come safely to hand; & I should have wrote to you sooner but could not find any thing to communicate worth your acceptance. Till lately Congress have been perfectly inactive: for about a fortnight past we have had a tolerably full representation; however Delawar has grown uneasy & left us, and Connecticut having prevailed on Congress to accept her cession moves off tomorrow. It is a practice with many States in the Union to come forward & be very assiduous till they have carried some State jobb & then decamp with precip[ita]tion leaving the public business to shift for itself.

The delegation of our State was very much embarrassed with the Connecticut business, as it was said it was but neighbours fare that Connecticut should be treated, as we had been before with respect to our cession; & that cessions of claims conveyed no right by implication to the territory not ceded. We however after some consideration took a hostile position towards her & voted against the acceptance in every stage of it: it appeared to the delegation that the only proper claim was already vested in Congress by the cession of our State: & that their cession was nothing but a state juggle contrived by old Roger Sherman to get a side wind confirmation to a thing they had no right to. Some of the States particularly Pensylvany voted for them on the same principle that the powers of Europe give money to the Algerines. The advocates for the acceptance have however some plausible reasons for their opinion such as The tranquillity, of the Union: The procuring a clear title to the residue of the Continental lands: the forming a barrier agt. the Brittish as well as the Indians: the appreciating the value of the adjacent territory & facilitating the settlement thereof. The Assembly of Connecticut now sitting mean immed[iately] to open a land Office for the 120 M[ile]s Westwd. of the Pensylvany line which they have reserved: & I don't see what is to prevent them from keeping it always, as the fœderal constitution does not give a Court in this instance, & a war with them would cost more than the six million of acres is worth.

Mr. Adams has just informed Congress that he has made a demand of the Posts & has been refused; the M. of Caermarthen states in substance as a reason for the refusal, that several of the States in the Union have violated the treaty with respect to the debts. That whenever the States shew a disposition to fulfill the treaty on their part, the King will perform his engagements according to good faith.² The States which are not included in the accusation are R. Island, Connecticut, N. Hamshire, N. Jersey & Delawar.

The charge agt. Massachusetz is only this, that she has passed a law preventing executions from issuing for interest untill the judgment of

Congress should be had thereon. The only charge agt. Maryland that I recollect, is her having recieved large sums of money (the property of British subjects) during the war, from their debtors. The charges agt. N. York are heavy & numerous. With respect to Virginia I think she may at least be *speciously* justified for what has *past*; the proclamation of Governor Harrison is not imputable to her as it was not Done by any authority from the legislature, & if I am rightly informed it was dissaproved of as soon [as] they met.³ As to the installment act it never did pass into a law, & the British Commee. of merchants had no right to mention it in their report; but the State of Virginia has not repealed her prohibitory laws on that subject.⁴ To this it may be answered that no such repeal was necessary for that the definitive treaty as soon as it was ratified by the contracting parties became the law of the land in every State: if it became the law of the land it of course (by repealing anterior obstructions) opened the Courts of Justice to all those creditors who came within it's description. This principle no doubt will subject the debtor who has paid into the public treasury; but where is the hardship of this if the public are liable to the debtor for such payment. From this it must result that the British have no right to complain, untill the Courts of Justice refuse to take cognizance of their claims on the principle of prohibitory laws. Should the legislature view this business in as serious a light as I do, & wish to preserve the honor of the State with as much decency as the nature of the case will admit of, I submit it to your consideration whether it would not be proper for them to enact,

[“that the late treaty of peace now is & ever has been since it's ratification by the contracting parties the law of the land in each State & of course has repealed all lawful impediments to the recovery of any British debts therein described, any law, custom or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.”] I am not certain I am right in my positions on the ground of the law of nations as applying to foederal governments of separate sovereignties; though I have understood this was the opinion of Count de Vergennes, as it respected the treaty with France. At all events if it is doubtfull ground it is plausible ground; & I know of no other principle that will save the honor of the State. If it is said the British have first violated the treaty with respect to the negroes, they acknowledge the fact & agree to make satisfaction. What more can be desired? As to the Interest it is a subject of negotiation; if the point is gained, it will conduce to the benefit of Virga. as well as every other State; & in the Mean time where is the danger of submitting the point to a Jury, composed of American citizens. There is no doubt one great difficulty in the matter: if the State of Virginia adopts this or some other system confirmatory of the treaty, she then complies on her part; while at the same time if the other States adhere to their refusal, she leaves Great Britain at liberty to act as she pleases with respect to the negroes & the Posts: perhaps a proper attention to

this difficulty may lead to the striking impropriety of the interference of States as to the construction of a treaty in any case whatever. Your sentiments on this matter will greatly oblige me. The treaty with the King of Prussia has been confirmed in Congress: it is in my opinion as far as it respects commercial objects, of no great importance. Mr. Monro I know has informed you that a day is assigned for Congress to go into a Commee. of the whole on the State of the Nation; also for what purposes this is intended.⁵ I am apprehensive this will produce nothing & that Congress will never be able to agree on the proper amendments even among themselves; the Eastern people mean nothing more than to carry the Commercial point. There they intend to stop & would not agree if it rested with them that Congress should have the power of preventing the States from cheating one another as well as their own citizens by means of paper money.

Mr. Pinkney who brought forward the motion, will be astounded when he meets with a proposition to prevent the States from importing any more of the seed of Cain; N. York & Pensylvania will feel themselves indisposed when they hear it proposed that it shall become a national compact that the sessions shall always be held in the centre of the Empire; how will Delawar, R. Island, Jersey & some others like to vote (with respect to any new powers granted to Congress) according to their *real* & not their supposed importance in the Union? I am of opinion our affairs are not arrived at such a crisis as to insure success to a reformation on proper principles; a partial reformation will be fatal; things had better remain as they are than not to probe them to the bottom. If particular States gain their own particular objects, it will place other grievances perhaps of equal importance at a greater distance: if all are brought forward at the same time one object will facilitate the passage of another. By a general compromise perhaps a good government may be procured. Under these impressions I cannot say I think it will be for the advantage of the Union that the Convention at Annapolis produce any thing decisive: as in this event nothing more is to be expected from Massachusetts &c. &c. &c. The State of Virginia having gone thus far, it is matter of great doubt with me whether she had not better go farther & propose to the other States to augment the powers of the delegates so as to comprehend all the grievances of the Union, & to combine the commercial arrangements with them, & make them dependant on each other; in this case her own objects ought not to be pretermitted; among which a proper and liberal mode of settling the public accounts ought not to be forgotten.

Some alterations have lately been made in the land Ordinance; the Surveyors are liberated from all kind of connection with the stars, and are now allowed to survey by the magnetic Meridian, & are limited to the territory lying Southward of the East & West line as described in the said Ordinance. The navigable waters & the carrying places be-

tween them are made common highways for ever & free to the citizens of the Atlantic States as well as those of the new States without any tax or impost whatever. An attempt was made to change the system altogether and was negatived; indeed the Eastern & some other States are so much attached to it, that I am satisfied no material alteration can be effected; the Geographer and surveyors will set out it is supposed immediately to carry the Ordinance into execution,⁶ provided the Indians will permit them, of which however I have very great doubts. I beg leave to inform you confidentially, that there does not appear at present the most distant prospect of forming treaties with Spain or G. Brittain: That the treaty with Portugal now carrying on in London is in an apparently proper train; that peace can certainly be obtained from Tripoli & Tunis for 33,000 Guineas each, & probably from Morocco & Algiers for double that sum respectively, provided money can be loaned in Holland for that purpose, & (which being the only resource) will be attempted: That Mr. Jefferson has lately informed Congress that he has applied to the Court of France to destroy the Monopoly of the farmers general respecting Tobo.

His reasoning & calculations on this subject does him the highest honor: he has proved incontestably that it is the undoubted interest of both nations that this injurious monopoly should be destroyed.

I shall not make any observations on this Subject, as I am satisfied you must have long since fully considered it, in all its relations. I only beg leave to submit to you the propriety of the State of Virginia & Maryland through Congress representing to the Court of France in strong but affectionate language the fatal consequences of an adherence to this measure.

This representation when added to the Commercial Interests of France & joined by the natural enemies of the Farmers general, will possibly shake this ruinous sytem.

The delegation have lately recieved a letter from the Governor stating the depredations and murders of the Wabash Indians on the Kentucky Settlements; these Indians refused to come to the treaty last year i e, they gave no answer and are now at war with the Citizens of the United States; they have therefore left no alternative to them but hostilities; the delegation intend to move tomorrow that Colo. Harmar with 400 Continental troops and such a number of Kentucky Militia as may be necessary, march to their towns & destroy them if they do not make concessions & deliver hostages as security for their good behav[i]our in future.⁷ They will also press for the arrangement of a standing Indian department. In all this however they expect opposition, from the circumscribed States who being themselves in no danger, will reluctantly yield assistance to those who are exposed.

I have with pleasure understood from Colo. Munro, that you intend

paying this place a visit in the course of the summer. I hope you will do it in such a seasonable manner as to preclude the necessity of an immediate return, as was the case last year. I remain with great sincerity, Yr. Affect. frd. & Most Obed Servt. Willm. Grayson.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ Not found.

² See David Ramsay to John Adams, May 14, note 1.

³ The reference is to Gov. Benjamin Harrison's proclamation of December 19, 1782, directing the state's civil and military officials to apprehend loyalists obstructing the war effort, a step which the Virginia assembly may have applauded rather than disapproved. See H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia*, 3 vols. (Richmond: Superintendent of Public Printing, 1926-29), 3:408-9; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 5:453.

⁴ For the acts passed by the Virginia assembly in its October sessions in 1782 and 1783 prohibiting the recovery of British debts in Virginia courts, see Hening, *Statutes*, 11:176-80, 349.

⁵ See Grayson to Richard Henry Lee, March 22, note 7.

⁶ See Charles Thomson to Thomas Hutchins, May 16.

⁷ Gov. Patrick Henry's May 16 letters to Congress and to the Virginia delegates are in PCC, item 71, 2:427-34; and Henry, *Patrick Henry*, 3:350-55. His letter to Congress was read on May 26 and assigned on the 30th to a committee consisting of Grayson, Nathan Dane, and James Monroe which recommended on June 6 that Col. Josiah Harmar, two companies of troops, and the Kentucky militia be ordered into the area of hostilities "for the purposes of treating with the said Indians, or making war on them." Congress hesitated to act on the committee's recommendation, however, and instead directed Charles Pinckney, Monroe, and Rufus King this day to draft an ordinance "for the complete arrangement and government of the Indian department," for which see JCC, 30:332n; and Monroe to John Jay, April 20, note. Impatient for action on Virginia's request, however, Grayson moved on June 15 that Harmar be ordered to protect the western settlers, but the motion was referred to the Secretary at War to report. The following day Congress also approved a King and Monroe motion ordering the Indian commissioners, Richard Butler and Samuel Holden Parsons, to report on the state of western hostilities. Both reports were considered June 21 and the following day Congress agreed to a Pinckney motion that Harmar's troops be dispatched "to protect the inhabitants from the incursions and depredations of the Indians." On June 29 Grayson's June 6 report was finally debated and on the 30th Congress requested Governor Henry to order Virginia's frontier militia to cooperate with Harmar's forces. See JCC, 30:312n, 315n, 340, 344-51, 353, 372-81; PCC, item 190, fols. 102, 105; and Charles Thomson to Patrick Henry, July 3.

Charles Thomson to James Wilson

Sir,

Monday [May 29, 1786]

I received your Note of Saturday last and thank you for your care in forwarding the box.¹ I now in return have the pleasure of transmitting herewith enclosed a letter directed for you which came by the last post. Please to inform me with whom you left Sheridan's Account of the revolution in Sweden.²

I am Sir, With Much respect, Your Most Obt. humble Servt.
Cha Thomson

RC (PHi: Wilson Papers). Addressed: "The honble James Wilson, Delegate for Pennsylvania, Philadelphia." Postmarked: "N-York May 29."

¹ Wilson had just returned home. He was recorded on a roll call vote of Friday, May 26, but only John Bayard attended for Pennsylvania this day.

² That is, Charles Francis Sheridan, *A History of the late Revolution in Sweden* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1778).

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York May 31. 1786.

Since my last a letter has been recd. from Mr. {Jay}¹ to the following effect "that difficulties {had taken place} in his {negotiation with Gar-doqui} & requesting that a Committee be appointed with {power} to direct {& controul the sd. negotiation}."² It was immediately perciev'd that the object {was} to relieve him from the {instruction} respecting the {Missisipi} & to get a committee to {cover} the measure. That this wod. be thus brought forward I was appriz'd upon my first arrival here in the winter, & have been acquainted with all the previous arrangements, those in favr. of it found necessary to make, to prepare for its reception—his plan is, from evidence conclusive on my own mind; not to be simply quiet as to that object but to enter into engagements, at least for a certain term, for its {occlusion} & further to enter into a reciprocal {guaranty} of their respective possessions {in America}; in consideration for which we are to be admitted reciprocally, they into our ports here & we into theirs in Europe, upon an equal footing with our citizens & subjects respectively. What we are to gain on our part then simply is, the aid of this power in favor of the posts & this commercial stipulation. When the letter was presented Mr. {King} who is associated in this business in a long speech in which he took a view of the insidious designs of {France in} the late {treaty} especially, & of the little dependence to be put on her in future, made a tryal of the pulse of the house on the subject. The letter was committed, {Pettit, King} & {myself} are of the committee—as yet the Committee have not met, to morrow they will. {Jay} will attend it. From the best investigation that I have been able to give the subject I am of opinion that it will be for the benefit of the U S. that the {river} shod. be {opend} that although we may not be in a situation, nor even think of it for the present, to contest it, yet if we enter'd into engag[e]ments to the contrary, we seporate those people I mean all those {westward} of the {monntains} from the federal {government} & perhaps throw them into the hands eventually of a foreign power.

That under the direction of Congress the produce of that country will be in trade the source of great national wealth & strength to the U S. That a reciprocal {guaranty} stipulates an important consideration to them without a return. That whether it may not tend to weaken the connection between us & {France} is doubtful. That the commercl. engagement will operate upon its own merits only to the disadvantage of the U S, I remember upon a former occasion, unconnected with objects & considerations of this kind to have remarked to you—after the publick debt is pd. (& if the western land is properly dispos'd of, great part of it will be pd. shortly) the situation of these States will be such as to make it unnecessary for them to lay such duties on the trade of their citizens as the expensive civil & military establishments of the European countries will require. The duties of our citizens & their subjects in our respective ports will of course be unequal, ours depress'd with the weight of their govt. & theirs entitled to all the benefits which arise from our ease & happy situation. If we knew precisely the duties impos'd on our trade by our citizens in their ports, we might put their subjects on equal footing here. The indulgence then given to our people in our ports arising from the ease of our circumstances, superior to that wh. the subjects of other countries can possibly obtain, wou. be a manifest advantage which might enable them to improve their circumstances. {Tobo} I am also inform'd is to be exclud'd from the benefit (if it can be term'd such) of this treaty. I am clearly of opinion that {Spain} is of all the powers of {Europe} the most in our hands. That for a guaranty we might obtain not only the points in contest but whatever else we wish'd. But such is the folly of our councils & the {vice} of those who govern them in many instances, that the real blessings of our situation in those few cases which exist, cannot be turn'd to any publick advantage. {Petit} who is always here & the influential man from {Pennsylvania} is a speculator in certificates. He came forward under the patronage of {Reid}³ with impressions entirely {Eastern} and the opposition given the requisition last year by the delegation of {Virginia} has given him an opinion that she wishes to defraud the publick creditors. The evidence of her payments, of passing the requisition upon terms unfavorable to her, of her honest & federal attachments, are no proof to him. He always acts under this impression & the utmost prudence, good temper (personally), and assurance on the part of the delegation cannot remove it. His State therefore can generally be calculated on in favor of all the measures of {Massachusetts}, who is always zealous upon all subjects of old emission money—publick securities &c. She always hath some influence with {Delaware} & {Jersey}; {King} hath {married} a woman of fortune in {New York} so that if he secures a market for {fish} and turns the commerce of the western country down {this river} he obtains his object.

We have not as yet brought on the claims of the State, we shall do it in a few days.⁴ I am thoroughly satisfied they will be rejected—all the expences of Ld. Dunmore's expedition although precisely on the same footing with the first campaign at Boston will be thrown on the State. Yet Mass. hath (& did in the close of that campaign) draw money to defray its expences. It appears to me as if the State debt woud. never be settled and if it is, upon terms highly disadvantageous to us—that the certificate debt will be press'd only untill by the operation of the facility system most of the securities are mov'd southwd., after which it will be given up. We shall however bring the subject on shortly, and upon the fairest principles for the State, in the event of a decision agnst. her, put her pretensions on the journals. Many of these questions you will observe are as important as they are intricate. That to a wise decision as to the expedience, the greatest industry & ability in their management will be necessary. I must confess I have little hope that they will take a direction agreeably to my own impressions of propriety. One great advantage is, that the delegation are in genl. in sentiment, & act together—but there are such powerful combinations agnst. us, supported by & founded in considerations of private interest, that I almost despair. What effect these measures may have, especially in the instances of the {tobo} & our accts., upon the State I cannot determine. Whether they may extend their influence to other objects than those they particularly affect, is incertain; fully persuaded however I am that they will give arguments to those oppos'd to an extension of foederal powers of greater weight than any they have had before. I most sincerely wish you may come up and that if you shall not be able you will give me yr. sentiments fully on these subjects. I am yr. friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ Words printed in braces in this text were written by Monroe in cipher.

² As secretary for foreign affairs, John Jay had been commissioned on July 20, 1785, to negotiate a treaty with the Spanish minister "establishing and fixing the boundaries between the territories of the . . . United States and His Catholic Majesty." On August 25 Congress adopted the report of a committee chaired by Monroe modifying Jay's instructions and directing him "particularly to stipulate the right of the United States to their territorial bounds, and the free Navigation of the Mississippi, from the source to the Ocean, as established in their Treaties with Great Britain." Furthermore, Jay was not to conclude a treaty "until he hath previously communicated it to Congress, and received their approbation." See *JCC*, 29:561–62, 567–69, 657–58. The ensuing negotiations reached an impasse on May 25, 1786, when Jay received a letter from Gardoqui insisting that the navigation of the Mississippi River was non-negotiable, that the territory east of the Mississippi belonged to Spain by conquest, and that the United States was well advised to concede these rights. Jay's May 29 letter to Congress seeking relief from his instructions through the appointment of a special committee "to instruct and direct me on every point and subject relative to the proposed treaty" was read May 30 and referred this day to a committee consisting of Rufus King, Monroe, and Charles Pettit. The committee was discharged on August 1 after recommending that Jay's letter be re-

ferred to a committee of the whole. See *JCC*, 30:323, 31:457, 469–72; *PCC*, item 80, 2:259, item 97, fols. 93–98, 166–69, item 190, fol. 103; and *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1783–89, 3:199–202.

³ That is, Joseph Reed, Charles Pettit's late brother-in-law.

⁴ The Virginia delegates failed to "bring on" the claims of the state as expected, however, and the issue of state claims was apparently not revived in Congress until August 9. See *JCC*, 31:508n; and Charles Thomson to the States, October 16, 1786.

Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin

Sir, By the permission of Congress. New York, May 31st, 1786.

We do ourselves the honor to enclose you a Copy of Mr. Adams' Letter of the 4 March, together with Lord Carmarthen's Letter to him, respecting the frontier posts, and an abstract from a report of a Committee of British Merchants, &c., for the Information of your Excellency & Council.¹

We are with great respect, Your Excellency's most obedient & very humble serv'ts,

Cha. Pettit.

John Bayard.

MS not found; reprinted from *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 10:768.

¹ These enclosures are at *ibid.*, pp. 745–48. The enclosed "abstract" of the British merchants' "report" concerning obstacles they had encountered in attempting to collect pre-war debts in America, contains a summary of a Pennsylvania law which they charged violated Article 4 of the treaty of peace on the recovery of such debts. For a fuller text of the merchants' memorial, which contains similar information on several other states, see *JCC*, 31:783–96.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My Dear freind,

New York 1 June 1786

I thank you for your two letters of the 18 and 20 ult. Every thing here remains in the same situation as when I wrote you last, except that then we had eleven states on the Floor, and now we have only Eight—Delaware & Connecticut being absent, and our freind Kean so much out of health as to prevent his attendance.

I regret exceedingly that the four eastern states are not all represented—Massachusetts is the only one of them in congress.

If I could speak to you face to face, I should mention a particular, and in my judgment an important Reason why the New England States ought to be here at this Time—perhaps since the peace established, there hath not been before Congress a question in the Decision of which they would have been more affected.

I think however I will mention it to you by this or the next post;¹ possibly you & I may think differently concerning it. Should that be the case I should doubt my own Opinion, although the Office of Foreign Affairs accords with my sentiments.

Mrs. King has been confined ten days past with an [...] Fever, it was the return of an attack of last year but thank God she is now again in good Health, & by the free use of the Bark I hope will continue so till we both see you & yours in Massachusetts. She joins me in sincere Regards to you & Mrs. Gerry & compliments to Kitty, R King

RC (NHi: King Papers).

¹ See King to Gerry (1st letter), June 4.

Pierse Long to John Langdon

Sir

New York June 1st. 1786

In my letter of the 21st Nov [May]¹ I had the honor of informing your excellency that when the committees had reported on the import [impost] acts as granted by the respective States I would advise you thereof but as no report has as yet been made and it is uncertain when there will, I beg leave to make the following observations on some of the acts.

1st. That several of the States which have passed acts investing the United States in congress assembled with power to levy the duties on imported goods agreeable to the recommendations of the 18th April (83) have inserted in their acts express conditions that the same shall not be in force or begin to operate untill all the States in the confederacy have passed acts vesting the United States in Congress assembled with power to levy in the several States like duties.

2d That the act of the State of New York does not invest the United States in congress assembled with power to levy in that State the duties therein mentioned but revenues [reserves] to the State of New York the sole favour of levying and collecting the same in the manner directed in and by an act of that State entitled, an act imposing duties on certain goods, wares and merchandise imported into that State passed the 18 November (84) and consequently prevents the operation of the imports [imposts]: since some States have made the exercise of this power by the United States in Congress assembled an indispensable and express condition of their grants.

3d That the act aforesaid does not make the collector of the said duties amenable to and recoverable by the U.S. in C[ongress] A[ssembled].

William Blount to Richard Caswell

Sir,

New York June 2d 1786.

Mr. Nicholas Romaine of this City yesterday laid before the Commissioners of the Board of Treasury of the United States Proposals for purchasing of the Tobacco belonging to the State of North Carolina which I presume will by this days Post be forwarded to your Excellency for Deliberation.¹

This Gentleman informs me that he has not the Honor of being Known to you and that consequently you must be at a loss as to what Credit should be paid to his Proposals and has requested me to give you such Information respecting his Character as I may suppose him to merit, this I the more readily do as the Duty I owe the State demands every Information that may respect her.

Mr. Romaine and his Character have been known to me for four years last past, I have ever view'd him as a Man of the most pointed Punctuality in all his Contracts and I now consider him as a Man of large Property. If further Information respecting the Character of this Gentleman is necessary I beg leave to refer you to the Hon'ble Hugh Williamson who is perfectly acquainted with him.

I have the Honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient and Humble Servant,
Wm. Blount

Tr (DLC: Burnett Collection). Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

¹ For Romaine's proposals and June 1 letter to the board of treasury, see *N.C. State Records*, 18:638–39. For other documents pertaining to the sale of North Carolina's public tobacco in order to meet the state's Continental quota in specie, see *ibid.*, pp. 567–68, 576–80, 583, 585–86, 588, 592–95, 597–98, 603, 606–7, 620–24, 627–39, 642, 647–48, 656–58, 672–74, 678–80, 761, 777–78. For Blount's role in the negotiations for the purchase of the state's tobacco, see William H. Masterson, *William Blount* (1954; reprint ed., New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), pp. 111–12, 117–18, 121–22.

Nathan Dane to Samuel Phillips

Dear Sir

New York June 3. 1786.

When I had last the honor of writing to you¹ I expected by this time to have been in Massachusetts, and ready, if necessary, to have attended to the business relative to our unappropriated lands—but finding it impracticable for me to return as I expected there being only three gentlemen, with myself, in the Delegation who can, probably, attend Congress this Summer, I have inclosed to your Care my res-

ignation as a member of the Committee charged with the Dispositions of those lands—which I wish you to transmit to the Governor—having had some apprehensions that I might thus be detained here I sometime since in a letter to you, which I fear you have not received, hinted that it might be proper for me to resign. My connexions with you and Mr. Wells and my sincere friendship for you and him, would have induced me to have consulted you and him further on this subject, had circumstances of time permitted. But 'till Yesterday we have been in expectations that Mr. Hancock would attend in Congress, in which Case I might have returned to Massachusetts immediately on his arrival here. But now we have no expectations of his coming on to Congress at all. It being out of my power to attend to the business of that Committee, I consider it as my Duty to resign that the legislature may early in their present Sessions take measures if necessary to supply my place—and if I stay here till late in the summer my private business will be in that situation that it will be impossible for me to attend the business of that Committee, as it ought to be attended to, after I shall return.

It is of particular importance that our Delegation be kept up during the residue of the present year. Our State is now the only State East of New York represented in Congress, and there are now before that body several interesting subjects many of which have been examined in Committees only—and some measures are necessary to be taken by Congress to give them effect. The impost cannot be put into operation 'till New York, Pennsylvania, & Delaware, shall make some alterations in their laws granting it, and Congress shall separate it from the supplementary funds, and pass laws directing the mode of collecting it. *Or* until the supplementary funds shall be adopted by all the States—now adopted by three or four only. Some further measures are under consideration for expediting the sale of the federal lands—for vesting Commercial powers in Congress—for keeping up a full and punctual representation of the States in Congress—for effecting treaties with the Barbary powers—and two or three powers in Europe—for obtaining terms of peace with the Indians—for establishing a general militia—for establishing a mint and regulating the value of the Coin—for regulating the trade of the Indian Department—for forming a requisition on the States for 1786—for obtaining the ends of the proposed alteration of the 8 art. of the Confederation, which is adopted by all the States except New Hampshire and R. Island—for making the trial of piracies &c more conformable to the laws of the several States, &c.—for the future government of the New States—for the final Settlement of public accounts accrued during the late war and some other matters of less importance.

For want of a moderate but certain revenue, Commercial powers—and a full representation of the States in Congress we suffer greatly.

The States are not aware how much they suffer for want of a full representation in Congress, business is delayed and the administration of the government rendered weak and defective. Had the States assembled last November Congress might have finished the business of the union, &c. and been ready to have adjourned before this time—many gentlemen appear to attend only as it suits their private concerns; this never can answer the purpose in the administration of a government where great attention and industry is required to understand its parts, and its relation to the States.

As it will probably be the opinion of our Delegation to write an official letter to the legislature giving that information which is necessary and proper respecting the subjects now under consideration and which concern the States, I do not at present enter minutely into the affairs above referred to.

But one circumstance I will mention on Mr. Adam's demanding in December last a surrender of the Western posts from Gr. Britain. We have received for answer, that by the 7 art. of the treaty they ought clearly to surrender them.² The answer then States that by the 4th art of the same treaty³ it is as clearly stipulated that there shall be no lawful impediments to the recovery of Debts, &c—that Massachusetts by her resolve of Nov. 10, 1784—New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, N. Carolina, So. Carolina and Georgia by laws—(particularly named) have obstructed the recovery of Debts, &c. This matter is in examination, and a full Statement will soon, I expect, be made to the States of it.

With Sentiments of much esteem and friendship, Your Obedt.
Humble Servt.,N. Dane

P.S. I wish you, Sir, to communicate this letter to Mr. Wells with my esteem and friendship for him.

RC (MBvHi: Dane Papers).

¹ The only other letter to Phillips written by Dane while attending Congress that has been found is dated January 20, 1786.

² See *JCC*, 26:27; and David Ramsay to John Adams, May 14, note 1.

³ *JCC*, 26:26.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My Dear Friend:

New York, June 4, 1786.

I have long entertained doubts concerning the line of conduct, which Congress ought to pursue relative to the Territory of the U.S. Northwest of the Ohio, and am every day more confirmed in the opinion that no paper engagements, or stipulations, can be formed which will insure a desirable connection between the Atlantic States

and those which will be erected to the Northwestward of the Apalachian or Alleghany Mountains, provided the Mississippi is immediately opened. The pursuits and interests of the people on the two sides will be so different, and probably so opposite, that an entire separation must eventually ensue. This consequence appears to me so obvious, that I very much doubt whether the U.S. would ever receive a penny of revenue from the Inhabitants who may settle the Western Territory. Should there be an uninterrupted use of the Mississippi at this time by the citizens of the U.S, I should consider every emigrant to that country from the Atlantic States as forever lost to the Confederacy. Perhaps I am in error, but when they have no interest in an Union inconvenient to them in many points, I can discover no principle, which will attach them to such a connexion. I know not what advantages the Inhabitants of the Western Territory would acquire by becoming members of the Confederacy. They will want no protection; their location would sufficiently secure them from all foreign hostility; the exchange of Merchandize, or commerce, would not be across the Apalachian Mountains, but wholly confined to the Mississippi. If these conjectures are just, in true policy ought the U.S. to be very assiduous to encourage their citizens to become settlers of the country beyond the Apalachian? The object of Congress appears hitherto to have been a sale of this country for the sinking of the domestic debt; the immediate extinguishment of this debt is certainly a very important consideration; but it has its price. I suppose that a treaty could be formed between Spain & the U.S. upon principles of exact reciprocity, so that the Citizens of the latter might introduce into the European & African dominions of the former, all sorts of goods & merchandize upon the same terms on which the subjects of Spain could introduce the same articles; and on the other hand, that the subjects of Spain might import into any of the U.S. all sorts of goods & merchandize, upon the same terms, as the citizens of the U.S. would introduce the same.

I suppose farther, that the Treaty should stipulate that all the Masts, Spars, Timber &c. &c. wanted for the national marine of Spain should be purchased and paid for in the U.S. with specie, provided the quality of the materials equalled that of the same articles in other countries. I suppose yet farther that the Philippine Islands be opened to the American ships and in consequence the gold and silver of Acapulco placed within their reach. Add to the foregoing an article, not to relinquish the right to the free navigation of the Mississippi, but *"stipulating that the U.S. should forbear to use the navigation of the Mississippi for 20 or 25 years."* Would not such a treaty be of vast importance to the Atlantic States, particularly to the Western division of them? Would not the Fish, Flour and other products of the U.S. acquire thereby a manifest superiority in Spain over similar commodities of

any other country? Would not the conventional forbearance of the use of the Mississippi implicate most strongly the right of the U.S. independent of the Convention or Treaty? If these queries are answered in the affirmative, what objection is there on the part of the U.S. to conclude such a Treaty? This question brings into view the plan of extinguishing the domestic debt by the Sale of the Western Territory, the system whereby it is proposed to govern the people, who shall settle Westward of the Apalachian Mountains, within the U.S., and the ability of the U.S. at this time to contend with Spain in vindicating their right to the free use and navigation of the Mississippi. I am very sensible that the popular opinion throughout the U.S. is in favor of the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the reasons must be strong and important, which could be offered to oppose this opinion. I am also pretty well satisfied that the free navigation of that River will some day be of vast importance to the inhabitants within the Territories of the U.S.; yet admitting, what will not be denied, that Spain will on no condition agree that any people, except those of their own Nation, shall navigate the Mississippi, are the U.S. in a condition to assert their right? If you answer this question as I should, (believing as I do that a war with Spain, France, or England would terminate in the loss of the Fisheries, and the restriction of boundaries, perhaps by the Kennebeck on one part and the Apalachian Mountains on the other) is there any substantial objection against an Article in a Treaty with Spain relative to the Mississippi such as is alluded to? It is a consent to what we cannot alter, considering other benefits to be obtained. It must be wisdom then to consent.

But how will this article affect the sale of the Western Territory? The answer which the delegates of Virginia (all of whom are probably deeply interested in the Ohio and Kentucky lands) would give is, that the value of the country west of the Allaghany Mountains depends in a high degree upon the opening of the Mississippi. Admit the fact; it is desired that the U.S. should under these circumstances open that River to their navigation. If so the value placed upon these lands which depends upon the opening of the Mississippi, is an ideal value, at this time. With those therefore who do not wish to involve the U.S. in a war against policy and sound reason, this objection is of little consequence. The lands perhaps will not produce so much under the present circumstances of the Mississippi, as they would if the river was open. But to all persons desirous of becoming settlers, they will sell for a reasonable price and go a good way in extinguishing the domestic debt. But how will such an article affect the intercourse between the inhabitants of the Western Territory and those of the Atlantic States? In my judgment, very favorably. If the former are cut off for a time from any connections, except with the old States, across the mountains, I should not despair that a Government might be instituted so

connecting them with the Atlantic States, as would be highly beneficial to them both & promise a considerable trade.

My dear friend, after all, these are but speculative opinions, and I am very doubtful of them, when a variety of influential motives, which seem to promise well for my country, authorizes my assent. I alluded to this subject in my last letter to you; I wish for your counsel; I wish the New England States were here. I pray you to read these remarks with candor, and in confidence. If I had taken time and care to have expressed my sentiments on this subject, I would have requested you to have communicated this paper to your friend Gov. Bowdoin and prayed through you his advice. I shall be brought to a decision on this question. Congress must determine. If Spain don't conclude a Treaty with the U.S., I think they will endeavour to guard against the Evils they fear from us, by an intimate connexion with Great Britain. I am of a committee now in conference with the Secretary of Foreign Affairs on this subject.¹ Spain should form a treaty with us, in preference to any other nation, and there is no nation with whom the U.S. could form more beneficial treaties than with Spain and Portugal. Spain will not give up the Mississippi. But I will not add, I write in great haste and in full confidence. If you are at Boston and can consult Mr. Bowdoin I should thank you to do it. I intended to have written to him relative to the Barbary treaties, but have not been able to find time.

Adieu yours affectionately,

R. King

[P.S.] Inform me of the receipt of this and of my last.

Reprinted from King, *Correspondence* (King), 1:175–79. Tr (NHi: King Papers).

¹ For the appointment of this committee on May 31, see James Monroe to James Madison, May 31, note 2.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry.

Dr. Gerry,

Sunday Evening 4. June [1786]

Mr. Hancock has sent his resignation as President, and Tomorrow I suppose Mr. Gorham will be elected his successor.¹ You understand the meaning of this Appointment as well as I can explain it; no State is here from New England except Massachusetts.

Your freinds here are all well and make frequent enquiries concerning you. I shall not forget your mention of the situation of your Brother.

I have nothing to add but an apology for a long & incorrect letter written to you this morning upon an interesting subject.

Your's,

R King

RC (NHi: King Papers).

¹ King confirmed this in the following brief note to Gerry of June 6. "Gorham was this day elected President. Nothing can be done here, because the states will not attend." King Papers, NHi.

Charles Thomson to Nathanael Greene

Dear Sir,

New York June 5. 1786

I have received your letter of the 24 April¹ and now embrace the first Opportunity of forwarding the box with the prints,² which goes by the Schooner Happy Return, Arthur Lowry, M[aste]r, and for which I enclose you a bill of lading. I am glad to hear the politics of Georgia are taking a favourable turn and that a more enlightened and more liberal policy begins to prevail. I hope it will continue, and that as the state encreases in importance it will contribute to the utmost of its power and influence to give weight & dignity to the federal Councils. This in my Opinion is the only means of preservg internal peace and make the Confederacy respectable in the Eyes of foreign Nations.

With great Esteem & respect, I am, Dear Sir, Y.

FC (DLC: Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson.

¹ Greene's letter is in the Thomson Papers, DLC.

² See Thomson to Greene, December 2, 1785.

Charles Thomson to Thomas Hutchins

Sir

Office of Secretary of Congress, June 5th. 1786.

I have the Honor of transmitting to you herewith enclosed an Act passed the 1st Instant by the united States in Congress Assembled,¹ authorising and directing you in case any Surveyor or Surveyors fail to appear at the time and place appointed, to proceed on the execution of the Ordinance, or to appoint other Surveyors in the room of those who shall not appear as directed. I heartily wish you success in the business committed to your Charge and am, With much Respect, Sir your Most Obedient & Most humble Servant,

CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Thos. Hutchins Esqr., Geographer of the United [States] of America."

¹ See JCC, 30:324.

Pierse Long to John Langdon

Sir,

New York June 6th. 1786

I do myself the Honr. to enclose your Excelly. a Copy of a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and the King of Prussia which was ratify'd by congress the 17th Ult^o. I have the Honr. to be, Your Excellys Most Obt. Huml Servt.,

Pierse Long

RC (NH: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

¹ See *JCC*, 30:268–85. Long's enclosure was probably a copy of the special June 6 supplement to Francis Child's *New York Daily Advertiser* in which the treaty was printed.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir,

Office of Secretary of Congress, June the 6th. 1786

I have the honor to inform yr Exy¹ that His Exy J. Hancock being prevented by sickness from Attending Congress & executing the duties of president has requested their acceptance of his resignation of that Office; and that thereupon the United States in Congress Assembled proceeded to another election & have this day appointed his Exy Nathl Gorham to preside.²

With great respect, I have the honor to be &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ At this point Thomson annotated the letter to read: "'yr Exy' (to the States) 'you' (to the boards)." There is no indication in the letterbook to whom copies of the letter was sent, but the RC of the letter to John Jay, the secretary for foreign affairs is in PCC, item 55, fol. 303.

² See *JCC*, 30:328, 330.

James Manning to Robert Carter

Dear Sir,¹

City of New York 7th. of June [1786]

Yours of the 8th ult. came to hand Yesterday, & I rejoice to hear of yours, & the welfare of your family. I rejoice that the religion of Jesus prevails in your Parts; I can tell you the same agreeable News from this quarter. Yesterday I returned from Piscataway in East Jersey, where was held a Baptist annual Meeting, I think the largest I ever saw, but much more remarkable still for the divine Influences which God was pleased to Grant. Fifteen were baptized; a number, during the three Days, professed to experience a change of Heart. Christians were remarkably quickned; Multitudes appeared, with Peter's hearers



Nathaniel Gorham

to be pricked to the Heart; if silent solemnity, countenances bathed in tears, expressions of Compunction, & the closest Attention to the word, may be deemed Evidences of it. In short it appeared [to m]any to be an awful place, & none other than the House of God, & [...] Gate of Heaven. There is a great increase in the Churches of the Plains, Mt. Bethel, Piscataway, as well as in New York, & its Vicinity. Cranberry, &c. The concern of Saul² seems to have taken place in almost every family in several Neighbourhoods. Many of my Kinsmen according to the flesh are of the Number. Nine Ministers were there; & there appeared to be a remarkable Unction, as the French Divines term it, afforded to most of them. "And they shall fear the Name of the Lord from the West &c."³ What think you of the Commencement, or rather of the more compleat fulfilment of this Prophecy? Glorious things of old, were spoken of, & are now accomplishing in the City of God. I wish to ever have that prayer in my heart "Thy Kingdom come."

A wide field, on almost every hand, is opening for Labourers of the Baptist Denomination, but they are comparatively few. Let us pray therefore &c. On the 29th Ult I recd Letters from home & all were well. Mrs. Manning spoke favourably of the Behaviour of the little Boy[s]. She sais they behave as well as she could reasonably expect & attend to their Learning. I wish Tasker had as great a taste for Books as George. Perhaps Age may alter this matter. Not long since I had Letters from all the little Boys to testify their regard to me. I answered them all, & hope their Letters may be answered by their freinds, and be interspersed with wholesome Council. This will at once have a tendency to improve them in writing, & have good effects upon their conduct. But I dont mean to dictate.

Inclosed I have sent a couple of Advertizements, wishing you to enquire whether Persons of their Discription have come into your Parts. My Servant had often expressed to the Boys a desire to go to Virginia, it being a good place for a Taylor; and a Vessel sailed for Baltimore, from Providence, just about that time with a German & his wife who had resided some time in Providence. Any Attention which you may please to give in setting up the Advertizements, or inquiring relative to the premises, will be most kindly accepted by Your very unworthy friend,

James Manning

P.S. I shall endeavour to conduct the Boys living, &c for their highest Advantage, as far as I am competent to judge.

RC (DLC: Robert Carter Papers). Addressed: "Honorable Robert Carter, Nomany Hall, Westmoreland County, Virginia."

¹ Robert Carter (1728–1804), the wealthy planter of Nomini Hall, had entered Manning's Baptist universe as a consequence of a remarkable conversion in 1778, which

opened a new chapter in his quest for faith that lasted until about 1790 when he embraced the principles of Emanuel Swedenborg. For Carter's spiritual journey and religious activities during his Baptist years, see Louis Morton, *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, A Virginia Tobacco Planter of the Eighteenth Century* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1941), chapter 10.

² Apparently a reference to the conversion of Saul of Tarsus, whose dramatic experience on the road to Damascus is recorded in the New Testament book of Acts, 9:3–18.

³ Isaiah 59:19.

James Manning to Nathan Miller

Dear Sir,

New York 7th of June 1786.

I think if for a moment you would figure to your self my Situation; Alone here for more than a Month; reduced to the very last Guinea & a trifle of Change (which is the case); My lodging, washing, Barber's, Hatters, Taylors Bills, &c not paid; without the favour of a single Line from you advising me whether you mean to come or not; or sending forward the 100 Dollars on hand, which you proposed doing from the Election, if you was not likely to follow me soon: I say if you would but realize my situation you could not but pity me from your heart. I wrote you long since & begged an answer from you one way or another that I might know what measures to take.¹ But as I am now situated I can neither stay nor go, except to the New City Hall, if my Creditors exact it; & strangers have no more compassion on me than the State that appointed me. I must intrust you to forward that sum of 100 Dollars if no more can be had, by the first opportunity, with a Line advising me of your real Intentions. Matters highly interesting to this Confederacy; and indeed I think the Question whether the federal Government shall long exist, are now before Congress, & there are not States sufficient to transact the necessary Business, as we now have rarely Nine States on the floor. Our Affairs are come very much to a point; and if the States continue to neglect keeping up the Delegation in Congress, the federal government must ipso facto dissolve. I have written the Governour on these subjects & desired his answer whether we should keep up our Delegation or not.² I shall wait till a reasonable time for an answer from you & quit If I do not receive it. Send me by the Post or Packets. Frank your Letters by the Post. I shall impatiently wait the Event, &c.

With Sentiments of Esteem I have the Honour to be, Sir, your Humble Servt.,

J Manning

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ See Manning to Miller, May 19.

² See Manning to John Collins, May 26.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Gerry,

New York 8 June 1786

The lawless, and probably unjust, conduct of the inhabitants of Kentucky towards the Indians bordering on the western side of the Ohio, has lately occasioned the loss of a number of valuable lives on the Frontiers of Virginia. Nothing yet exhibited has proved to my mind, any association of Tribes against the people on this side of the Ohio; but the Murders, which have unfortunately happened have been perpetrated by a few vagrant Indians who are without a name or Tribe.

The Govr. & Delegates of Virginia clamour for war against the indian Towns, and have brought the business before Congress.¹ We are without nine states, and the question cannot be examined. I am decidedly against any such war, as I at present understand the situation and state of the Affair.

I suppose you are now at the General Court, Sedgwick joined us here a few days since,² he requests me to inform you that he had signified to Mr. Bacon & some other Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, that he could not serve as a Delegate after November, & therefore proposed not to be considered as a candidate. Since we find, *how the Senate was filled*, he prays that it may not be considered that he has withdrawn himself as a candidate for the next years Delegation, lest it should be supposed that he withdrew from an apprehension, of a Defeat in the election, grounded on his professional Character.³ I have discharged my engagements by having made the foregoing communication.

With respect to myself, although Dalton writes me, that the suggestion has been circulated, that I intend quitting Mass. & residing here, I am not anxious to combat the Falshood; I see the approaching Storm that awaits the federal Government, and shall be happier in private than in public life—in either, I shall continue affectionately your's.

R King

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ See William Grayson to James Madison, May 28, note 7.

² Theodore Sedgwick is recorded as voting with the Massachusetts delegation on June 1, *JCC*, 30:324.

³ Sedgwick was left out of the new Massachusetts delegation elected June 27, for which see King to Gerry, July 2, note 2.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Gerry,

New York, Thursday evening 8 June 1786

Possibly an attempt will be made in the General Court to issue Bills of credit—indeed I am told that this measure will have many Advo-

cates, and that some persons are confident of its success.¹ You know the paper money of Pennsylvania has been for some Time in good credit—but within a few days it has depreciated from 15 to 20 per Cent.

This Depreciation has taken place since the issueing of Paper in this State and in the State of New Jersey.

Connecticut *it is said* have refused in their present Session to emit a paper Medium, but have passed a law inabling the Citizens of that State to satisfy any Judgements, which may be recovered against them in their courts by the Citizens of any State which has emitted paper, in such paper as may be current in the state in which the Creditor is an Inhabitant—the New Jersey paper will certainly depreciate.

Adieu,

RK

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ For Massachusetts' hard money policies and political opposition to paper emissions, see Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse*, pp. 245–47.

Virginia Delegates to Patrick Henry

Sir.

New York June 8th. 1786.

We have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your letter to the Delegation, as well as that to the President of Congress: the latter has been delivered, and on motion of the State committed; the report of the Commee. is herewith inclosed; it was under debate yesterday, and a decision would have been had, if the number of States on the floor had been adequate thereto;¹ When the representation will be sufficient for this purpose, we cannot determine as the delegates of several States in the Union have been for some time past very irregular in their attendance, and there is no reason to conclude that any alteration will take effect for the better in a short time; Indeed when this event takes place, we are apprehensive the issue will be extremely doubtful as a considerable opposition was made to the report when under consideration; It is perhaps an inconvenience in this instance that so few States have extensive frontiers; as they with reluctance assent to relieving us from difficulties to which they are not themselves likely to be exposed; we can however assure you that nothing shall be wanting on our parts to get such measures adopted, as will not only promote the views of the State, but contribute to the general peace and tranquility of the Union.

The Organization of the Indian department is an object of the highest moment;² and we intirely concur in sentiment with your Excy. on this subject as well as to the manner, as to the necessity of expediting it: it has been some time in the hands of a Commee., and we hope

as soon as a sufficient representation can be procured that something salutary may take effect.

We have the honor to be, With the highest respect, Yr. Excys. Most Obedt. & Very hihble servt.,

Willm Grayson. Ed Carrington

Jas. Monroe Henry Lee Junr

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Grayson and signed by Grayson, Carrington, Lee, and Monroe.

¹ For Henry's May 16 letter to Congress complaining of Indian depredations in Kentucky and the June 6 committee report thereon, see William Grayson to James Madison, May 28, note 7.

² See James Monroe to John Jay, April 20, note.

James White to Richard Caswell

Sr

N. York June 8th, 1786

It may, perhaps be necessary to apologize to your excellency, for not having written, since my arrival,¹ for any instructions, or commands you might have to communicate. One cause that rendered me less ready to trouble you with any letters, was, that very little worthy your attention, was in my possession; moreover I expected you would be informed of every circumstance you would wish to know, by a gentleman in person who is going, & who is master of every information.

In obedience to your first directions I wrote to you on my way, to Wilmington. The letter, I make no doubt, was delivered by the person to whom I committed it, as he appeared desirous of waiting on you. Perhaps it may now be my duty to mention, that I learn from Colo. Blount, that he is much better acquainted with that gentlemans character, than I was at that time.

I must acknowledge that on my arrival at congress, I recd. official papers respecting the indian treaty. It gave me infinite uneasiness that nothing in that business, could be done by us to any effect. Every thing respecting it was transacted before we arrived. And I am not [now] to inform your excellency that those treaties require nothing further than to insert them on the journals,² without any ratification here: this was done before my arrival from Philada. where the necessity of providing for my subsistence here, had called me. If any thing can be done, at this time, to counteract the evil we have to complain of in the indian treaty, & you will please to suggest it, our duty will be to comply with it.

As nothing will compel me to leave this but the difficulty of subsisting in the way we are supplied, I flatter myself you will not be averse to giving an order for the remainder of my sallary. If it can be paid

here, that will be a relief demanding my acknowledgments; &, from what I understand of a resolution of the legislature in the May sessions 1784, That mode will not be inconsistent with their intentions.

I have the honor to be, yr. Excellency's very attached, & faithful
servt.,
Jams. White

P.S. If it is not practicable to have an order for the money payable here; please give an order for it to Colo. Blount, on acct. of my sallary.
Jams White

RC (PHi: North Carolina Manuscripts). Endorsed: "Answd. 9. July."

¹ White and Timothy Bloodworth had presented their credentials and taken their seats in Congress on May 3. See *JCC*, 30:228–30. See also Bloodworth to Caswell, May 3, note I.

² For the four Indian treaties entered on the journals April 17, see Charles Thomson to Benjamin Hawkins, April 18, note 2; and Thomson to the States, April 22.

³ Governor Caswell repeated his concern over these treaties in the following passage from his July 9 response to White. "I am really sorry the Indian Treaties had been received and entered on the Journals of Congress previous to your arrival at Congress, and not a little surprised at the mode of ratification in those cases being so different from that observed with other Sovereign Powers, as the Commissioners under the authority of Congress were pleased to treat with the Indians & under that Character I did suppose the same Formalities & essentials would have been adopted in the Ratification, but I find in that I have been as much mistaken as I was in respect to the right the Commissioners assumed of Ceding the Soil belonging to the State to the Indians. I will not at present attempt advising what may be necessary to be done on this head. Col. Blount is arrived but I have not seen him. I wish to converse with him on the business." *N.C. State Records*, 18:677.

James Manning to Jabez Bowen

Dear Sir,

New York 9th of June 1786.

Yours of the 20th ult. came safe to hand. My situation here without a Colleague, without Money; & what little I had of my own expended to the last Guinea; my Bills unpaid; without so much as a Line from General Miller, or any Instructions from Government what to do, I am placed in a Situation truly mortifying. I have addressed the Govr. & General Miller both requesting them without loss of time to give me an Ultimatum whether the State will support a Delegation or not, & hourly wait for an Answer, that I may govern myself accordingly. I know your zeal & Promptitude to support the federal & state Governments; & am decidedly of opinion that thrusting men of that spirit from the helm, in this critical conjuncture of our Affairs, augurs no good to the federal Govert. But as a wise Statesman once said *Madness is in their hearts*, and had it been only a *remanent* act, We should have had less to fear, than we now have. I have now the fullest conviction that the most complicated distress, only, will bring us to our senses;

there is, however, too much reason to fear that we shall wake up at too late an hour, when, to borrow a sacred figure, *The Summer is over & the Harvest is ended &c.*¹

The Genius of Liberty & the spirit of Patriotism have flown from this Country. An Ideal, impracticable, selfish & topical Policy have been, & I fear will be the ruin of this Confederacy. Tracing back the transactions of America, I am fully convinced, that flagrant injustice have not only, in the Eyes of the Nations, stained our national Character, but provoked the just rules of the Universe. The cloud thickens in the west portending a Deluge of Blood on our extended, & almost defenceless frontiers. The subject is under Consideration in Congress, whether to send a force into the Indian Country, especially against the Wiandots, with the Sword in one hand and Conditions of peace in the other, but has been postponed from day to day for want of a sufficient Number of States on the floor. Of those here on my arrival, Connecticut, Delaware & South Carolina are off, & North Carolina talks of going soon. This too is the only reason why we have not drawn up & forwarded, before now, a pointed address to the States. In expectation of more we are reduced to a less number of States. The same reason has prevented me from even moving in the Affair of the College;² for it is rarely we have nine States on the floor, & then so much business of National Importance, which, together with my being a new member, have prevented me from moving in that Business. Congress are highly displeased that the States are running mad for & in the Emission of Paper money; but it is even out of our power, with any Grace to remonstrate against the Measure. It is considered by them tantamount to a Declaration that they will not support the federal government.

I have laid your Demand,³ inclosed before Mr. Walker, who is at the Head of the marine Department. He sais that the Books by order of Congress were sent to, & still remain at Boston where Pennel left them, & the Treasury Board will immediately make Application to Congress to put that Business in train to be settled. He assures me that as soon as he can become possessed of the Books it shall be the first business he would transact. It was necessary to leave the award in his Office, but has given me a Receipt of its Lodgment there for Adjutmt., which I think sufficient. Would you have me retain, or transmit this Receipt to you?

A letter read yesterday from General Clarke addressed to the President of Congress, informs us that several tribes of Indians in Conjunction with the Wiandots, had in a War Council declared war, in a formal Manner, against the United States,⁴ & urges the speediest decisions of Congress on a subject so important & interesting to our western Frontier.

With sentiments of Esteem, I have the Honour to be, S, Your Humble Servt,
J Manning

RC (RPJCB: Brown Papers). Addressed: "Honble Jabez Bowen Esquire."

¹ Cf. "The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved." Jeremiah, 8:20.

² See Manning to Hezekiah Smith, May 17, note.

³ Not identified.

⁴ This information was contained in an undated letter from George Rogers Clark to former president Richard Henry Lee, which is endorsed "read June 8th 1786." See PCC, item 56, fols. 279-82.

James Manning to Nicholas Brown

Sir,

New York 9th. of June 1786.

Yours of the 22d & 23d ult; & also of the 29th have been duly recd.; & the reason why I returned no answer was, that I could not satisfy you on the subjects of Enquiry. The Acts of the several States granting the 5 per Ct. & the requisitions of Congress were committed before I recd your Letter, & I have waited for them to report, which has not yet been done. Whether Congress can receive them upon said grants remains yet to be decided: for those States which have granted them have embarrassed them with such proviso's that it is doubted whether these can be accepted. I have several times enquired for Information on this subject & have recd, for answer that it cannot be known till Congress takes up this Business, which I see no prospect of their doing soon, for want of a sufficient number of States on the floor. This is the 3d day running that Congress have been obliged to adjourn for want of a sufficient number of States to transact Business.¹

I have felt several of the members on the subject of the Loan Officer, or a Deputy in Providence, but am silenced by being told that this is admitted in no other State, where they have to travail some hundred miles to get their Business accomplished. They seem not to listen to the complaints of the Distance of 30 miles, though by water, & the Island some part of the year inaccessible. I can give but little encouragement that an Application will succeed, in this Business; but if you think proper to try, by way of Petition to Congress, which in my opinion is the best way, I will afford it all the support in my power, but I cannot speak encouraging as to its success, though I think with you, that it is a real Grievance. It would furnish a Precedent which would give Congress a great deal of trouble in the larger States. When you reflect on the tardiness of the State in supporting their Delegation, you cannot think that they would pay much attention to the complaint of Ellerys appointmt. before our Delegates arrived.² I would wish, should you petition, that Argument to be omitted. The appointment of a Person to transact the Business at Providence, would also augment the Expence, which is contrary to the present views of Congress who are determined to reform, as much as can be deemed reputable, the civil List. Besides the Treasury is at present intirely empty,

for I heard that board this very day tell the Minister at War that they would not, on any account furnish him with 100 Dollars to forward the amunition to the troops on the frontiers, & that they had yesterday borrow'd 16 Dollars to reimburse the Indians, robbed in Elizabeth town, as ordered by Congress, such is the situation of our Treasury! As to any other method proposed for paying the public debt, I have heard of none besides requisitions, 5 per Ct. & the sale of the western territory; none of which promise very soon to be productive, while Congress, or the federal Government, is so totally inefficient, & the States (disregarding the federal Government) by their paper emissions, inattention in keeping up a Delegation in Congress, & postponing the Collection of Taxes already assessed, &c, &c, &c. totally defeat all the plans of Congress. In short it is my candid Opinion without a very speedy reform in the policy of the states, they will not long be cumbered with a federal Government. Then where we shall land next is out of my province to divine. I yesterday proposed going immediately into a Commee. of the whole house on the state of the Nation, and to draw up, if expression did not fail to describe our Situation, a true state of the Confederacy & forward it, with our best advice to the respective states, that we might acquit ourselves from that heavy censure which must eventually fall upon Congress if she did not lift up her voice like a trumpet, & shew the People their transgressions, & warn them of their rapidly approaching ruin. It was thought that the remonstrance of only 7 States, for there were no more present, would be disregarded: & that we should wait for a more full representation. To day I proposed that, in addition to that measure, we should immediately, on forwarding this address adjourn to next September, to save the states expence & ourselves the reproach of sitting here to do nothing of the least Importance. Should the States form, in the interim, a Convention & vest Congress with adequate powers to conduct the federal Government, we might then meet to some purpose; & the States be convinced that it imported them to be more federal if we meant to retain a name amongst the nations. Several Gentlemen thought well of the Idea, & I hope yet to see it reduced to practice.³ I wish it may be in time to be laid before the next meeting of our General Assembly, but this will, probably, depend on the arrival of more of the States by their delegates.

You can easily see from the foregoing that I have not had the least chance to propose the affair of our College; nor have I much reason to expect a sufficient number of States on the floor to flatter us with the least prospect of success. Should an opportunity offer, I mean to embrace it.

Not a lisp have I recd from General Miller, nor a copper from Government for my support. I am now reduced to my last Guinea & my Bills unpaid. Relying on G^l Millers promise to send forward an 100

Dollars from the Election, then on hand, should *he* not then come forward, has placed me in this untoward situation. As he has not written I have been in hourly expectation of his Arrival. I have written to him, & to Govr. Collins on this subject but recd no answer. Congress do not think that the Confederation, even by implication, sufficiently vests in them the Power of Coining or emitting, exclusively, paper Money. Besides the present Congress dont chuse to assume any powers which are not expressly delegated to them. They too well know the Jealousy of the States to risque their Character in this way. The consequences of paper Emissions cannot be veiwed by you ruinous, in a stronger point of light, I believe, than they are by me, though possibly you may have a more *feeling* sense of it. At present, should the Eastern States support their delegations, there is little reason to fear that the southern States can carry it for an indiscriminate location of the western Territory, though I am fully of opinion that there is an impracticability in carrying into effect the Land Ordinance, as at first established. I have mentioned to several Members a plan of my own, which I think will nearly meet the ostensible wishes of both the Southern & Northern Interests. It is to survey, if possible, the whole tract from a Point where the Southern boundary line of Pennsylvania intersects the Ohio, down said River to the River Scioto, up that River till it intersects a line drawn due West from the place of the beginning, & thence due East to the Ohio. But as the present hostile State of the Savages may not suffer them to actually survey the lines of the Townships; that, after running round it, the Surveyor General delineate the Townships upon paper, with the respective Lotts, and immediately advertize in every State in the Union that said Lotts shall be sold at Auction in New York, under the direction of the Treasury board, beginning perhaps the first of next November. This measure would certainly very soon extinguish a considerable Sum of the domestic debt, & woud avoid many of the inconveniencies complained of in the Ordinance. This is thought well of by several to whom I have mentioned it. But it is time to request you to present my best respects to Mrs. Brown & Family, & assure you how much I am, Dear Sir, Your very humble Servt,

J Manning

RC (RPJCB: Brown Papers).

¹ Manning apparently means that the withdrawal of one or more delegates during the proceedings had been forcing early adjournments, for according to Secretary Thomson's journal Congress was in session on each of these days. See *JCC*, 30:333–36. Curiously, Manning himself did not attend from June 1 to 7, for which see *JCC*, 30:316, 324, 328–29, 333.

² William Ellery had been appointed Continental loan officer for Rhode Island, upon the nomination of Pierse Long of New Hampshire, April 18, 1786, at a time when the Rhode Island delegation was unrepresented in Congress. *JCC*, 30:198.

³ Secretary Thomson made no mention of this proposal or discussion in the journals. *JCC*, 30:336.

Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin

Sir,

New York, 9th. June 1786

Yesterday we had the Honour to receive Your Excellency's Letter of the 4th Instant.¹ We went to wait on the Governor of this State with the Communications committed to us, but His Excellency, tho' daily expected, is not returned from a Journey northward on which he set out some Weeks ago.²

The Delegates from Connecticut being absent from Congress, we have transmitted to Mr. Mitchell, one of those Delegates (who we understand to be also a Member of the Legislature and now at Hartford) a Copy of your Excellency's Letter of the 4th Instant, except the cautionary Part respecting the intercepted Letter. Also a Copy of Mr. Shaw's Letter to Your Excellency,³ leaving out the name of the writer of the intercepted Letter, and the Name of the Person to whom it was directed.

This Morning Dr. Johnson has resumed his Seat in Congress.⁴ We have communicated to him the Contents of your Excellency's Letter & Inclosures. He expresses great Concern that the Distractions in Pennsylvania are thus Continued, but seems very confident that the State of Connecticut will discountenance it's Citizens in all farther pursuit of Claims in Pennsylvania other than such as the Laws and Policy of the latter shall warrant. He has not lately been at Hartford where the Legislature are now sitting, but says he is well informed that the Act of Congress respecting their proposed Cession will enable the State to induce the Susequehanna Company to transfer their Views from Pennsylvania to a more Western Country. This done, the Insurgency in Pensa. will probably subside.

We have the Honor to be, with perfect Respect, Your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servants,

Cha. Pettit

John Bayard

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Written by Pettit and signed by Pettit and Bayard.

¹ Not found.

² For President Franklin's correspondence with Gov. George Clinton concerning efforts of Ethan Allen of Vermont and Solomon Strong of New York to encourage a separatist movement in the Wyoming Valley, see *Susquehanna Co. Papers*, 8:357, 423.

³ For this May 18 letter from William Shaw, see *ibid.*, pp. 332–33.

⁴ Johnson's stay was a brief one, as he attended this day only (*JCC*, 30:336), and returned home Sunday June 11. According to his diary, he also attended a committee meeting on Saturday June 10, the day he wrote the following brief letter to his son Samuel William Johnson. The diary and letter are both in the Johnson Papers, CtHi.

"Your dear Mamma & I came here two Days ago to accompany yr. Sister & Mr. Verplank, who have been some time on a Visit at Stratford, & return again tomorrow Morning. We have been every Moment engaged since we came, & I have now only time to acquaint you that by the favour of Heaven we are all very well here, & left Charles & Mrs. Kneeland so a few days ago. I had the pleasure to receive yrs. of the 14th of May just as I

was setting out for Stratford, & since my return here, see by a Letter from Mr. Smith, yr. Vendue Master, to Dr. Romaine, that you was well on the 24th of May, for which I bless God. I send you the Silk for Waistcoat & Breeches, & shall be able to get Burroughs Repts. for you on my return here, which may probably be a fortnight hence, as I must go to Hartford before I return."

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, Circular Office of Secretary of Congress, June 9, 1786.

I have the honor to transmit to your Excy herewith enclosed two copies of the continuation of the journal from 3 March to 2 instant, one for the legislative the other for the executive branch of Government, and also two copies of the treaty of Commerce lately concluded between the United States of America and his Majesty the King of Prussia.¹

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excys Most
Obedt & Most humbe Servt,

LB (DNA; PCC, item 18B).

¹ See *JCC*, 30:268–85.

Nathan Dane to James Bowdoin

Sir New York June 10. 1786

I do myself the honor to enclose to your Excellency for your private information at the request of Mr. Temple Copies of the demand made by Mr. Adams of the W. posts and Lord Carmarthen's answers which Copies Mr. Temple yesterday gave me.¹

On this occasion permit me to observe Sir, that a few weeks since Congress received dispatches from Mr. Adams enclosing copies of his dem[an]d of those posts and the answer of Lord Carmarthen with a Statement of sup[pose]d. grievances similar to those mentioned in the inclosed papers. All the matters to which these papers refer are under the Consideration of Congress and in a train of examination. The Injunctions of Secrecy relative thereto being removed the several Delegations would probably before this time have communicated to their respective States Copies of those Dispatches touching the posts—but on attention to this subject and said Statement of Supposed grievances it appears proper previously to ascertain several facts relative to it. Some doubts arise how far several laws mentioned in that Statement ever had in fact the effects of laws—and what constructions the Courts of Justice have put on those laws which passed in due form the several branches of the legislature, [and] how far other laws of the

States and various important consideration are also to be attend[ed] to in order to determine with propriety how far the grievances stated by the Br. merchants are well founded.

But Congress cannot come to any determina. on those subjects till there shall be a fuller representation of the States.

And on this occasion also, Sir give me leave to express that anxiety I feel arising from the present feeble administration of the federal Government owing principally to the nonattendance of the Delegates from several of the States. *(The powers vested in the Gover't by the federal Compact even as it now is seem to be vested in a body where in many instances they are scarcely for the reasons above mentioned ever used.)* It must give peculiar concern to any who feels for the honor and welfare of this Confederacy to observe our interest negociations with foreign powers *(where the prosperity, liberty and property of many of our Citizens are so deeply concerned, where the honor and welfare of these are so deeply interested, exceedingly. . .)* impeded and delayed for many months together by this inattention—and at a time when so many good, well informed men in the union are disposed to cement the Social compact and *(when the exertions of federal men ought to be aided by a due adm'n of the powers already vested in Congress)* with this anxiety I cannot but express my ardent wishes that the attention of the Several States may be turned to the adoption of means for keeping up a full and punctual representation in Congress and to the adoption of those regulations that shall make it a Duty in the Delegates to attend not to be dispensed with, So [far] as shall be necessary to keeping each State represented. But these regulations I leave to the wisdom of the States to provide and only beg leave to add that it is with the most sincere satisfaction I see the executive powers of the Govt. of which I have the honor to be a member again lodged in your hands.

With much esteem and respect, I am your Excellencys Most Obedt.
Humble Servt.,

N. Dane

FC (MBevHi; Dane Papers). In the hand of Nathan Dane.

¹ For this Adams-Carmarthen exchange, see David Ramsay to John Adams, May 14, note 1. John Temple, the British consul general at New York, was Governor Bowdoin's son-in-law.

Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[June 10–15, 1786]

June 10th transmitted to the Secy. f. Affairs 4 copies of the
 Journals from March 3d to June 1st, 1786
 To Board of Treasury 4. . .do.
 To Secretary at War 1. . .do.
 To the States 26. . .do. 9th June.

June 13 To Mr Milligan 3 copies from Novr. 1st to June 3d 1786.
 June 15th transmitted to the Board of treasury the acts of Georgia.
 Impost, requisition of 1785, &c¹ to be returned.
 returned July 1st 1786.

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, May 18–29, 1786.

¹ These five February 13, 1786, acts of the Georgia Assembly—concerning the Continental Impost; Georgia's 1785 quota; provision for officers, soldiers, and seamen; census; and authorization to amend article 8 of the confederation—are in PCC, item 76, fols. 302–42. They had been referred on May 8 to a committee consisting of Rufus King, William Samuel Johnson, and Zephaniah Platt, for which see PCC, 190, fol. 99; and *JCC*, 30:245.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Gerry

New York 11 June 1786

I am sorry to see any mention made in Mr. Bowdoin's speech¹ of the payment over from the Treasurer to the loan Officer of a sum of old emission money to complete the payment of Requisitions made antecedent to the act of Cong. of the 18 of March 1780 for sinking the same.

If the measure was accomplished it was sufficient; there existed no necessity for telling all the world of it; we shall hear of it in congress.

Another mistake (unfortunate just at this moment) is committed by the Govr.; he says that Mass. did not grant to Cong. '*the power to levy the impost*,' but agreed to levy it themselves, and grant the product.² Now this is a misrepresentation—examine the act and you will find that it grants to congress "*the power to levy*" &c with certain Provisos. New York have done just what Gov. Bowdoin says Mass. did; and for that, among other reasons but principally for that Reason congress cannot accept their Grant.

Adieu.

R King³

RC (NHi: King Papers).

¹ Gov. James Bowdoin's June 2 address to the Massachusetts General Court was published in the June 10 issue of Francis Childs' New York *Daily Advertiser* and the June 1786 issue of the *Boston Magazine*, 3:251–57.

² According to Bowdoin, Massachusetts had complied with Congress' request for authority "to levy. . . certain duties," but with "this deviation"—"that instead of empowering Congress, they have by an Act of their own laid the recommended duties: subject to this proviso, conformably to the recommendation, that the Act shall not operate until all the United States have passed Acts for imposing like duties." *Ibid.*, p. 254.

The October 20, 1783, act to which King is referring is in PCC, item 74, fols. 201–3.

³ King also wrote the following brief note to Gerry June 13: "We have only seven states—the consequence you will understand. No state from New England except Massachusetts." King Papers, NHi.

Rufus King to Jonathan Jackson

Dear Sir,

New York 11. June 1786

I intended sooner to have replied to your's of the 10th ult, but have been disappointed from post to post until this Time. I wish, most sincerely, that your Opinions concerning the manners, and Government, of our country were more general, than I think they are. The views of individuals are so various, and the imaginary interests of the States are so opposite, that without the Danger of some Evil that will affect each member of the Confederacy, a reasonable Hope cannot be indulged of a Reform.

The Situation of the federal Government is now critical; the authority of the confederation is found to be inadequate to bring money into the common Treasury, and the Credit of the states is not sufficient to procure loans at home or abroad: indeed if the public credit was better, it could not, in my Judgment, be reconciled to the principles of common Honesty to borrow, without foreseeing the means of Repayment.

In this condition every inconvenience, which can flow from a Violation of national engagements, & a loss of national Character, might justly fall on our Country.

The embarrassments of commerce are better known to you than me. I cannot discover how the merchants of America, can bare a competition with Foreigners. No commercial nation will regret our disjointed condition, or wish the states to unite in any System of commerce. Every partizan of France or England residing among us, uses his utmost exertions to inspire the People of the different States with Jealousies of each other; and some of them have even sounded the alarm that the liberties of the People were endangered by the plan of delegating additional powers to congress.

How long the most valueable, & important, interests of the States, will continue to be sacrificed to these unfounded Jealousies, cannot exactly be determined, but it is not possible that the public Affairs can be in a much worse situation, & there is therefore consolation in the Reflection that they will not long remain as they are.

I fear that the commercial convention proposed to be held in Maryland in September, will go but a little way in Effecting those measures Essentially necessary for the prosperity and safety of the states. Georgia & South Carolina have not appointed Delegates; and their legislatures will not be in Session before the Winter. Maryland has not appointed; although the convention is to be in that State. The Assembly of North Carolina have not elected Delegates, but it is said that the executive of that State has nominated persons for the Office.¹ It is doubtful What the real Sentiments of Virginia are on the Question of *commercial powers*—this is certain, that the proposition for the Annapo-

lis convention, which originated in the Assembly of Virginia, did not come from the persons favorable to a commercial System common to all the states, but from those, who in Opposition to such a general System have advocated the particular Regulations of individual states. The merchants through all the states are of one mind, & in favor of a national system. The Planters in the southern states are divided in their Opinions & it is to be feared that the majority is against the only plan, which can insure the prosperity & honor of the confederacy.

Your Ideas of the French Trade correspond with mine; their Farms, and Monopolies, are hostile to liberal commerce. How the experiment of American Oil will answer is very doubtful. The Marquis & Mr Adams² think that it will be a Great acquisition to procure a longer time than January 1787 for the introduction of american Oil under the Reduction of Duties. The Duty exacted from strangers is 36 L[ivres], 15 Sous, the Barrel of 500 lb French Weight. This Duty on the same quantity is reduced to 11 L[ivres], 5 Sous; or about 2 livres for every English hundred weight, on all american Oil imported before Jany. 1787.

This Relaxation is stated to be an indulgence; but it ought however to be remembered, that this Sum is precisely the same as that, which is stipulated, in an ancient treaty between France and the Hanse Towns, to be paid on oil imported into France by the Hanseatic Merchants, and consequently, since the Treaty between the United States & France gives to each the rights of the most favored nation, that the Merchants of the former have a right to import into France their Oil on the same Terms as the Hanseatic Merchants.

The monopoly of Tobacco by the Farmers General was the subject of the letter written by Mr. Jefferson,³ to which the Marquis alludes. I have taken an Abstract of the letter and will inclose it—it produced no beneficial Effect; little attention was probably paid to it; the Reform would have affected the Farmers General, whose influence has been sufficient heretofore to shake a Minister in his Office.

Mr. de Calonne at this Time would be particularly careful to stand well with all men of influence about the court, being apprehensive lest Neckar shd. displace him, and again come into the Department of Finance.⁴

But it is time that I put an end to Politicks. Mrs King joins me in respectful compliments to Mrs. Jackson, and in sincere wishes that the present Season may prove favorable to her Health. Mr. & Mrs. Guild passed us to the Southward without our Knowledge, although I had learnt by a French Gentleman from Boston, some Time before, that they were coming this way. Unfortunately Mrs. King was confined the two or three days they stayed here, on their Return to Boston. They left us a few days since & I hope will arrive safe. Mr. Gerry & myself have strengthened our Defence by the acquisition of our common

friend Mr. Osgood. I hope we shall be able to justify ourselves without calling in the Assistance of 'Advocates'; this would appear too much like countenancing "*the Order.*"

With sentiments of Respect, I have the honor to be, Dear Sir, Your most obedt. servt.,

Rufus King

RC (MHi: Lee Family Papers).

¹ For the election of delegates to the Annapolis Convention and attendance of those from the five states represented at the convention in September—Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia—see Mervin B. Whealy, "'The Revolution is not Over': The Annapolis Convention of 1786," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 81 (Fall 1986): 230–35; and Shirley V. Baltz, *A Closer Look at the Annapolis Convention, September 1786* (Annapolis: Maryland Office for the Bicentennial, 1986), pp. 8–10.

² Two letters from John Adams of November 24, 1785, and one from the marquis de Lafayette of February 11, 1786, had been laid before Congress by John Jay on May 17. See PCC, item 80, 2:341–42, item 84, 5:733–40, item 156, fols. 446–50; and JCC, 30:287n.

³ For Thomas Jefferson's January 2 letter to John Jay, enclosing a report of his conversations with the French foreign minister, the comte de Vergennes, on several trade and economic issues, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:136–46.

⁴ The references are to Charles Alexandre de Calonne, the French comptroller general, and Jacques Necker, former director of the royal treasury and director general of finances, 1776–81, who returned to office in August 1788 when France was on the verge of bankruptcy.

James Manning to Nathan Miller

Sir,

New York 12th of June 1786

Yours of the 27th ult came to hand two days ago.¹ Am mortified exceedingly that you are not come forward nor sent on the money on hand, for I am reduced to but a few Shillings & my Bills not paid. My Situation, without a Colleague, without money, & without any instructions, or favourable prospects from Government is painful. Rhode Island has not many more strides to make to compleat her disgrace & ruin too; but that is not all, she is likely to hold a distinguished rank amongst the contributors to the ruin of the federal Government. Never, probably, was a full delegation of the States more necessary than now, for you may rest assured, that in the opinion of every Member of Congress, & in the several departments, things are come to a Crisis with the federal Government. You say you think the present house do not want a Congress, they may, more than probable, very soon see the Accomplishment of their wishes: For without a speedy reform in the Policy of the States, the federal Government must be no more. The flagrant violations of the public faith, solemnly plighted, in the late Emissions of Paper money on the Conditions on which it is emitted, is here considered as the com-

pletion of our ruin as a Nation; but I wrote you before on this subject, it is too painful to repeat.

Pray send me on the money on hand, or come and bring it yourself without loss of time. At least write me by every vessel.

With Sentiments of Esteem, I have the Honour to be, Sir, Your
Humble Servt,
J. Manning

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ See Manning to Miller, May 19, note 2.

Theodore Sedgwick to Henry Van Schaack

My dear Sir,¹

New York 12 June 1786

I have this moment had the Pleasure, to receive the letter you was so kind, as to write me on the 3rd.² Believe me my dear Sir when I assure you that most of the connections which my heart holds dear are circumscribed within the limits of Berkshire.

You may be assured that my "sweet nephew" is wholly mistaken or worse in the opinion that I was the contriver of the *adjou[r]nement* for the purpose of defeating the measure, for neither in this or in any other instance did I ever practice a *Trick* to obtain the most important object.

I have not the least doubt but that many honest men have opposed the cause of America from principle. Nor do I hesitate to believe that the same adherence to principle may at some future period mark the same men as the props & supporters of american freedom & independence, but beware of the fate of your Carolinian freind McDonald (if I have not forgot his name).

I had procured a case of Claret for myself, but upon the suggestion of my Freinds that it would not bear removal I have kept it here. If you wish to run the risque let me know, and I will obey your directions. Mrs. V. S. shall have her China sent forward with Bacon's things. Make her my affect. compts. & believe me your sincere freind,

Theodore Sedgwick

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers). Addressed: "Henry Van Schaack Esqr., Pittsfield." Endorsed: "Recd. 19th June answerd the same day."

¹ Henry Van Schaack (1733–1823), a loyalist of Kinderhook, Albany Co., N.Y., had established a friendship with Sedgwick during a period of wartime exile spent in Berkshire County, Mass., where he returned to take up residence after the British evacuation of New York. For his long-standing correspondence with Sedgwick, see Henry Cruger Van Schaack, *Memoirs of the Life of Henry Van Schaack* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1892), pp. 78–79, 82–84, 91–95, 98–99, 102–4, 201–2, 208–9.

² Van Schaack's June 3 letter is in the Sedgwick Papers, MHi.

Theodore Sedgwick to Pamela Sedgwick

New York 14. June 1786.

Accept, best beloved of my heart,¹ my grateful acknowledgments for your kind favor of the 8th.

Never again, best of women, stile yourself "unworthy" for be assured that it is among the most distressing circumstances of my life, that I have with no more attention requited your goodness to me.

I have been very well since I left you, indeed I have been particularly attentive to my health, I eat in suppers, have disengaged myself from company whenever I could do it, have eat no suppers, have spent every evening at home excepting a few at the [...], thus you [see] I have become quite a regular man.

I am much distressed about poor little Henry, pray do not neglect to write me very particularly how he dos. Has he teeth? Let me know how he improves.

It gives me pleasure to hear that my business proceeds well. Tell Jo & Henry I thank them for their attention.

I live at No. 5 in Broad Way. Pray do not talk of the interruption of business or pleasure by your letters, miserable, indeed beyond description miserable should I be, was I seperated from intercourse with you, for you are constantly the object of the best wishes & tenderest affection of

Theodore Sedgwick

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

¹ Pamela Dwight Sedgwick (d. 1807) was Theodore's second wife. They had been married in 1774, three years after the death of his first wife, Elizabeth Mason Sedgwick, and at this time had five children, Eliza, Francis, Theodore Jr., Catherine, and Henry. Richard E. Welch, *Theodore Sedgwick, Federalist: A Political Portrait* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1965), pp. 11, 136–37, 249.

William Blount to Richard Caswell

Sir.

New York. June 15th 1786.

I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency herewith a Copy of the Memorial which Mr. John Adams delivered on the 8th December last to the Earl of Carmarthan and his Answer thereto of the 28th of February.¹

I am, Your Most Obedient Humble servant, Wm. Blount²

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

¹ See *JCC*, 31:781–84; *PCC*, item 84, 5:745–46, 6:151–54; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:542–43, 581–82. For the context in which these documents were created and transmitted to Congress, see David Ramsay to John Adams, May 14, note 1.

² The preceding day Blount had also sent the following brief letter to Caswell: "The Annexed is a Catalogue of Books this day delivered me by the secretary of Congress for the State of North Carolina all which I forward to Your Excellency by Captain Stephen Tinker to the Care of The Honble. John Hawkes Esquire Newbern." *Governors' Letter-books, Nc-Ar.* For this "Catalogue of Books" of laws from the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Virginia, see *N.C. State Records*, 18:651–52.

Blount apparently left Congress soon after writing these letters. He did not vote on June 21 or thereafter. *JCC*, 30:348, 353. He subsequently wrote to Governor Caswell from Piney Grove, N.C. on July 8 acknowledging his reelection to Congress for 1787 and announcing his intention "to perform a Tour of duty of eight Months in Congress the ensuing year provided I have assurance that my salary shall be regularly paid me in hard Mony at the place where Congress sits agreeable (I believe) to a resolution of the General Assembly passed in the Spring Session of 1784. If this cannot be done and Warrants sent me by the Bearer Reading Blount I shall endeavour to convert the paper into hard Cash at the least possible loss." *Governors' Papers, Nc-Ar.* Caswell responded immediately, admitting the extreme "impracticability" of effecting regular salary payments in hard money, but issuing instead "warrants to the amount of eight month's salary for the ensuing year." *N.C. State Records*, 18:678–79. Blount resumed his attendance in Congress on November 7, 1786. *JCC*, 30:249, 31:930.

On July 7 Blount also wrote to Col. Archibald Lytle offering to negotiate with the board of treasury, for a 5% commission, the three to six months pay promised to all army officers during the war but not yet paid to those of North Carolina and the rest of the southern line. *William Lytle Papers, Southern Historical Collection, NcU.*

Nathaniel Gorham to Caleb Davis

Dr. Sir

New York June 16 1786

You may perhaps recollect that neither you nor I were very fond of Massachusetts passing a Law for the regulation of Trade & for the excluding British Vessells¹—unless there was very good reason to suppose the other States especially those in the Neighbourhood would come into similar measures—but I think Massachusetts must now be convinced that there is not the least probability that any one State will joyn them in this measure—any further than to impower Congress to make the necessary regulations, and in the mean time they are very willing that Trade should continue on its present footing—which is very advantageous to this State in particular—there having been many Vessells from all the British Islands in the West Indies at this Port since I have been here. The demand for Lumber, pickeld fish, and indeed dryd fish whenever they could get it has consiquently been great. I am told Boards have generally been at 5 dollars at Boston while at this place they have been 8 and 9 dollars per thousand. Our Law can now have no other tendency than to injure ourselves for the British will never feel restrictions untill they become general. You are the best judge wither Mass. will not be in the right to repeal her Law—wither a repeal will not allso opperate toward restoring the Province of Main to good humour.

New York continue sellg. the Lands that Lay in the Country which Massachusetts claim. A large quantity was sold yesterday & more is selling at this moment. Some of that sold yesterday brought 12/ per Acre in final settelments.² I wish you to consider wither it would not be proper for our Government to impower & direct their Agents to make some publication to discourage those Sales in future. Perhaps it may not be improper to go as farr as to impower us to offer the same Lands for sale, as they may advertize in future for they mean to continue and they will very probably make use of our silence against us at the time of tryal.

New York have impowered their Agents to compromise this business.³ I was long ago of Opinion that if Massachusetts could get a handsome sum of money to quit claim their right it would be best to do it. The expence of bringing the Court together will be very great, and if Massa. recovers there will be great difficulties with those people who hold under N York, who perhaps to secure their property will adopt the example of Vermont. At any rate Massachusetts cannot exercise Jurisdiction over a people so remote. It is therefore so farr as relates to a compromise a business that requires the consideration of Government.

The business of Congress is excessively retarded by the delinquency of the States in their representation and what has heretofore been unusual this delinquency is principally with the Eastern States—NH., RI. & Cont. being unrepresented & have been so for some time past—RI ever since November last. The interest of the Union suffers extremly by this conduct—many important subjects now before Congress cannot be passed on for want of nine States.

There is no prospect of our Finances being in a better state for this year at least the Impost Law of N York is attended with so many just exceptions that it cannot be recd. by Congress, and a Comtt. have so reported.⁴ For it is so different from all the other State[s] that it would be manifestly unjust to them to accept it, and it is inconsistent with the conditions on which the other States give theirs—to recieve this.

The Assembly of N York do not meet untill next Winter so that no remedy can be had this year. Pensylvania have allso annexed a condition—which is that all the States shall give the supplementary funds before theirs operates . . . & no State except North Carolina has as yet gone thus farr.

I hope you will not think of paper money, but if you wait a very little while you will se the effects of it in those States where it is. It has lately fallen about 15 per Cent in Philadelphia, though the sum emitted by that State is no more than the quantity proposed by the small State of Rhode Island. The Currency of North Carolina is the same as N York:

but it requires 12/ of their paper to buy a dollar and it is not probable that it will long hold at so good a rate as that.

By what I have seen & heard I find the publications against the Lawyers have had considerable weight in Massachusetts, perhaps they have or may have influence in the choice of Delegates to Congress.⁵ But this I can say for the Gentm. my colleagues, that there are not three Men better acquainted with the affairs of Congress or held in higher estimation than Messrs. Sedgwick, King & Dane. They know not that I mention their names & least I should be thought to take a part what does not become in speaking their praise I conclude by assuring you that I am Your Huml Serv,

N Gorham

RC (MHi: Davis Papers).

¹ See Massachusetts Delegates to James Bowdoin, August 23, 1785, note 5; and Maryland Delegates to the Maryland Assembly (first letter), November 28, 1785, note 2.

² That is, in the final settlement certificates issued by the commissioners appointed to settle Continental accounts. See Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse*, pp. 184–87. For the Massachusetts delegates' concern over New York's sale of lands located within the area claimed by Massachusetts, see also Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry, April 18; and these *Letters*, 22:672–73.

³ See Massachusetts Delegates to James Bowdoin, May 19, note; and New York Agents to Robert Yates and John Lansing, September 22, note.

⁴ See *JCC*, 30:345n, 439–44; and Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry, May 6, note 2.

⁵ For the context of this flowering of anti-lawyer sentiment in Massachusetts, see Gerard W. Gawalt, *The Promise of Power: The Emergence of the Legal Profession in Massachusetts, 1760–1840* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), pp. 60–64. For other expressions of concern over this upsurge of sentiment, see also Theodorick Sedgwick to Pamela Sedgwick, June 24 and July 4, 1786.

James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

N. York June 16. 1786.

Since my last but little hath been done in Congress. We have had generally no more than 7 States present. The only time that 9 were their time was employ'd upon the subject of the Connecticut cession, which ultimately was accepted; whereby she cedes all the land lying westwd. of a line to be drawn westwd. of the Pena. line parellel with the same. Our State voted agnst it but were in sentiment for it. It is hop'd it will terminate the variance respecting the Wyomin settlement by enabling Connecticut to give the claimants other land in lieu & thereby establish the government of Pena. in the benefit of the decree of Trenton. Other reasons there are which apply to the geographic-position of the land & the influence that consideration may have on the councils of Connecticut. We voted agnst. it under the sentiment, upon wh. our State hath always acted of her right to the no[rth]west

line from the northern extremity of her charter limits—which we suppos'd shd. be regarded, even after the right w[as] given to the U.S., by the delegation.

What shall finally be done with {Spain}¹ respecting the {Mississippi} becomes an interesting question, and one pres[ed] on us for a decision. {Gardoqui} has been {long labouring it's occlusion with Jay.} For some time I have been perfectly satisfied {the latter required no arguments to bring him into the same sentiment; the proposition is that it be shut for thirty years, in consideration for which Spain will} admit us into {her ports}, upon a {footing with her own subjects, we reciprocating}. This you may recollect was rejected at Annapolis upon its own merits only.² It is however magnified here as a great advantage & equivalent to the consideration requir'd. {We are also threatened with the project of a treaty} between {Spain} (in case this fails) {and Britain}. Yet I cannot comprehend upon what principle it can take effect. {Jay} stated difficulties in the managment of this business {with the minister} & proposd, without bringing any of these circumstances to {view that a committee be appointed with power to controul} all circumstances respecting {the treaty} with a view of {evading his instructions} & {concluding the treaty} before they were known. But as they were known to some who had mark[ed] the progress of the business each proposition was discuss'd [on] its own particular merits in the first instance. A committee was appointed to report—{Jay} attended it. Of this {I} was a member. To us he cd. make no communication we did not already know—so that the plan fail'd in not carrying a committee in the first instance for the purpose. This was a fortnight past & as yet we have made no report.³ I have given circumstantially the state of this business [as] it has appear'd to me, not on evidence absolutely presum[ptiv]e only. I intended to have wrote you more fully but am [ju]st advis'd the packet will sail immediately.

With my sincerest wishes for yr. health & happiness I am dear Sir yr. friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

[P.S.] Pray apologize for me to Short. Tell him I will write a letter which shall have retrospect to what I shod. have sd. in this & shall also whatever shall intervene.

RC (DLC: Jefferson Papers).

¹ Words printed in braces in this text were written by Monroe in cipher.

² See *JCC*, 27:489–90, 529–30; and these *Letters*, 21:621n.3.

³ See Monroe to James Madison, May 31, note 2; and Charles Pinckney's Speech, August 10, note 2.

Gentlemen Office of Secretary of Congress, June 16th. 1786.

With great Respect, I am, Gentlemen, &c. &c., CT

¹ This copy reads: "A Motion of Mr King Seconded by Mr. Monroe, 'That the Commissioners authorised to treat with the Indians in the Northern and middle departments be directed immediately to report to Congress such information as they may be possessed of concerning the disposition and conduct of the Indians next adjacent to the settlement of Kentucke towards the Inhabitants thereof; also the conduct of the Inhabitants of the said district or settlement towards such Indians and particular[ly] those living on or near the Wabash River. That the said Commissioners be farther directed to accompany their report with such vouchers and documents as may be in their power.'"

The June 19 report of Richard Butler and Samuel Holden Parsons complying with this directive is in *JCC*, 30:349–51.

James Wilson to William Bingham

Dear Sir

New York 16th June 1786

It is absolutely necessary that I should in a few Days, be possessed of Money for purchasing public Securities in order to pay and obtain Patents for our Lands in this State.¹ By the Law lately passed, they will be forfeited, unless this be done. The Sum requisite for these Purposes and to be paid to the Surveyor General will be £420 New York Currency in Specie. Your Proportion of the Expenses, that have been and will be incurred will amount to a great Part of this Sum. You will not be surprised at this when I inform you that Col. Hooper has attended one hundred and eighty one Days on this Business, and that my attendance has not been for a much shorter Time. Particular Accounts of every Thing are making out, and will be laid before you on my Return. The foregoing Sum you will be good enough to send, by the next Post, in Notes or Bills that I can negotiate here. The public

Securities are rising daily: therefore, on this Account, not a Day should be lost. After all the Expence and Time and Pains and Trouble that have been bestowed on this object, it would be prejudicial as well as disgraceful to lose it now, when it may be secured, and the Transaction closed so soon and so easily. You will therefore comprehend the Reason of the Solitude, with which I write: For unless I am furnished with the Money, we shall still lose the Lands and what they have cost us.

So few States have been represented in Congress this Week that I have not brought forward the Business I mentioned to you. I am, with much Regard, dear Sir, Your very hble Ser., James Wilson

RC (NNPM: Signers of the Declaration Collection).

¹ For the land ventures of Bingham and Wilson, see these *Letters*, 20:282–84.

Nathaniel Gorham to James Bowdoin

Sir

New York June 17, 1786

By this post your Excellency will receive a joynt Letter from the Delegates¹ for the purpose of accompanying which I had procured a copy of the Taxes paid into the Continental Treasury from Nov. 1, 1784 to March 31, 1786.² But having forgot to sent it with the joynt Letter I now inclose it by which you will see Sir that many of the States are very deficient and that Massachusetts does not hold that rank in her payments which she formerly did. Unless the States make great exertion the very appearance of the federal Government must cease—the civil list being without their pay for almost two quarters. Exertion is the more necessary as the collection of the outstanding taxes is the only dependence for every purpose. New York having made their import [impost] Law upon such conditions as renders totally inadmissible consistent with justice to the other States and as they do not meet again until winter nothing further can be done in the import [impost] this year—it is, however, necessary that Massachusetts should determine wither they will grant the supplementary funds as Pensyla have made it a condition that their import shall not take place until all the States have granted those funds.

Yesterday & the day before N York sold a large quantity of Land at auction being part of that claimed by Massachusetts some of it brought 12 (shillings) / acre in final set[tle]m[en]ts. Your Excellency is the best judge wither our Government should not impower & direct their agents to make some advertisements to discourage those sales . . . & perhaps to offer for sale the very lands which N York may again bring to view for a market—for I am told they intend soon to sell more—it may also be well to consider wither our supposing those

sales to go on without objection may not be injurious to us at the time of tryal. I consider this as a private letter to you Sir, and remain with every sentiment esteem & regard, Your Excellency's most Humble Servant,

Nathaniel Gorham

Tr (From privately owned original, 1975).

¹ This letter, which is identified as one dated June 18 in the Massachusetts delegates' June 30 letter to Bowdoin, has not been found.

² The board of treasury normally reported this information quarterly, but no single document containing this information for the six quarters stated by Gorham has been found in the PCC. For the quarterly reports that do survive for this period, however, Nos. 1-7 (the data for April-June 1785 was submitted in two reports), see PCC, item 141, 1:229-30, 2:50-51, 63-65, 203-5, 237-39, 291-93, 399-403.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Gerry,

New York 17 June 1786

You have less leisure, or inclination, to write than I have—I hear from you very rarely. Something ought to be done by the legislature to counteract New York in their proceedings relative to the western Lands—our silence will be here after urged against us. Many hundred thousands of Acres have been sold at the coffee house in this City within three days past at public auction—the lands sell from 4/ to 12/ the Acre in final settlements¹—the sales are to be continued.

Adieu!

R King

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ See Nathaniel Gorham to Caleb Davis, June 16, note 2.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My dear Sir,

New York 18 June 1786

I intended by this post to have sent you a copy of the North Carolina law granting the supplementary Funds, but it is very voluminous, & the copy is not finished. I fear it will come too late, as I presume your Session will be a short one.

Connecticut & New Jersey have finished their Sessions without attending to the situation of the confederacy; the former took into consideration the Requisition of last year, and refused a compliance with it. The latter in their late Session did not even treat the subject with the attention it received in Connecticut.

You my dear friend, must know our Situation, as fully as I do, who am a daily witness of the humiliating condition of the Union—you

may depend on it, that the Treasury now is literally without a penny. By anticipations, and the collections from Virginia, Maryland & this state, the Board of Treasury have made provision for the Dutch interest, which fell due this month—but there is no prospect of their being able to provide for the payments which will be due in January. The posts on the Ohio are not well supplied with military Stores, the Secretary at War applied a few days since for *1000 Dollars* for the transportation of the necessary Amunition to these Posts. The Board of Treasury, urgent as the occasion of this application is allowed to be, explicitly declare their utter inability to make this pitiful Advance.¹

What are we to expect?

I wish I could see you for a few hours; It is impolitic to write any thing as information, which cannot be clearly proved—and yet you and I have been under the fullest Conviction of the views & intentions of men, concerning which such clear proof did not exist. Be assured that your apprehensions of a certain influence in this State are well founded—nay farther, the influence is not confined to this State. Those men who have hazarded every valuable consideration in the cause of their country, and those who are willing to pursue their example, are now held up to the people as their Enemies & not their friends. Every man who wishes to strengthen the federal Government, and confirm the Union, is represented as unfriendly to the liberties of the People.

These expressions of anxiety for the Liberties of the people, come not from those who have lent their aid in the days of Adversity, but from those artful & venal Miscreants, who withdrew themselves from their country's support, and existed her bitterest enemies. They now successfully gratify their hatred of our Independence, by scattering Jealousies among the People.

I am not vain enough to think my country has much interest *in my services*; but inconsiderable as they truly are, they have been considered as inconvenient to certain views. I have made it a certainty that a character in this City, which you & I never did, or shall confide in, has industriously communicated to a number of our Fellow Citizens, that I was in the *Interest of N York*, & opposed to Massachusetts, & that I intended to leave the latter & become an Inhabitant of the former. So far as the effect of this measure is personal, I ought not to be anxious—but concerning the Objects wished for I am, and must be, concerned.

The Election of Delegates will have taken place before this reaches you—it will therefore require no Apology.

Your's affectionately,

R King

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ For Secretary Henry Knox's June 15 letter to Congress explaining this crisis, and copies of his June 9 application to the board of treasury with the board's June 14 reply, see PCC, item 150, fols. 357–72; and JCC, 30:345n.

Rufus King to Daniel Kilham

Dear Kilham,

Newburyport¹ 18 June 1786

I was pleased with the instructions of Newburyport to their Representatives, but much more so when I found you was chairman of the committee which reported them for the towns adoption²—they have been reprinted in all the newspapers this way, and have received the approbation of liberal men.

I hear very rarely from any body in Newburyport, is it because there are few occurrences to communicate, or that I have no friend there who would take the Trouble to write them? I should be mortified if the latter is the Truth. You never have mentioned a word in any of your Letters concerning Doctor Swett,³ by the Gazette account of the Medical Society, I am satisfied in finding his name mentioned among the living. I earnestly wish he may long continue their friend & Physician. When you see him be good enough to tell him that there is in Congress from North Carolina a Doctor White who has frequently mentioned to me his acquaintance with Doct. Swett at Edingburgh.

White is a very clever fellow, and loves good Burgandy as well as his freind Swett.

I have nothing new to mention to you, except that it is an unpleasant thing to be the daily witness of the humiliating situation of the federal Government—without power, destitute of Revenue, pledged for engagements & without ability to execute them.

Adieu—

R King

RC (NNC: King Collection).

¹ Obviously a slip of the pen—King was in New York writing to Kilham in Newburyport, Mass.

² These instructions appeared in the June 15 issue of Eleazer Oswald's *New York Journal*.

³ That is, Dr. John Barnard Swett (1752–96), a native of Marblehead, who had received a medical education in Edinburgh, served as a surgeon to Continental troops in 1779, and settled in Newburyport in 1780. James Thacher, *American Medical Biography* . . . , 2 vols. (Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1828), 2:106–10.

Stephen Mix Mitchell to William Samuel Johnson

Dear Sir,

Wethersfield June 18th. 1786.¹

I recd. your's of the 13th Inst. and am sorry to find you did not come on to Hartford, altho the Assembly had retired. We all wish to see you. I think the people are more fond of you than ever, they had heard your performance at the opening of our western Business much celebrated before I arrived and seem'd to hold their Manhood cheap, that they were not present to hear it.

I am sorry to inform that the Govr. and all publick Men had retired some Days before I recd. your Letter; that I could expect no Assistance in forwarding Supplies to you. When they were together I was not unmindful of your Situation and made frequent mention of it to Govr. and Council, who all seem'd anxious on the Occasion, but took no Steps to relieve.

Yesterday I mounted my horse and rode to Hartford determin'd to squeeze some Money, out of somebody for you. I found nothing but Apathy in every one but our Freind Col. Wadsworth, who engaged to write you by to-morrow Stage and give you Authority to take Money of his, in the hands of Mr. Shaler or Mr. Watson Merch'ts in N^w York; but could not be prevail'd upon, to take the Credit of the State in pledge for the money, but would have you responsible personally.

I advise you to accept his offer, the Executive of the State will exert itself to answer all Demands on you for borrowed Money, provided tis not known that the Lender is a Subject of this State. Was there any Decision here, there would be no want of money for the Delegates. The Legislative well directs and the people pay, The blame is justly imputable some where else.

Was it possible that any thing could withdraw me from the Charms of domestic Fœlicity, it would be your letter, Which is very flattering to my Vanity and is the dictate of the extreeme of your politeness.

Mrs. Mitchell sais she ever beleivd. you to have, an enchanting and bewitching Tongue but never tho't you could make your Pen answer the same purposes, when distance unstrung the former.

You know there is no successful resistance can be made To a Woman we esteem and love, you must therefore dispense with my attendance during the Summer Season.

I have procured you forty pounds in small pay-Table Orders, which are enclosed, also a Rect. which the Com'tee. drew for you to subscribe and send to me, wherewith I am to take up mine lodg'd. with them. I pray you to direct the Com'tee of pay-Table either to charge the six pounds to you, which I deliver'd. you in the winter or to draw an Order and charge in your Acct. and deliver me. Tis necessary to be done, that I may close my Accts. with them. If you should want more of these Orders I can procure them for you, but tho't the £40 suffici't. Sum to make Tryal with.

I enclose a Copy of Col. Talcott's Rect. upon the Note, he sais he has an Acct. of all preceeding payments. You are sensible I am at a stand with the Note and will direct what I am to do with it.

An Act has pass'd. empowering you to make the Cession agreeable to the Resolve of 26th May, and I have applied for a Copy but could not as yet be furnished, will forward it, as no body will attend to it beside. Forgive me D'r. Sir the Inelegance of this Line, as tis wrote with a room full of Company, talking to and teasing me incessantly, and I

pray you soon to be at N^w York and to drag with you Mr. Sturgiss, and write frequently to your friend and humbl Sert.,

S. M. Mitchell

RC (CtHi: Johnson Papers).

¹ Although written while Mitchell was not attending Congress, this letter contains significant information on the difficulties experienced in keeping up a Connecticut representation. After being fairly regularly represented from December 1785 to May 26, 1786, Connecticut was unrepresented in Congress until July 12 when both William Samuel Johnson and Jonathan Sturges attended. See *JCC*, 30:396; and the Appendix of this volume.

Charles Pettit to John Nicholson

Sir,

New York 18th June 1786

If you have seen Col. Bayard since his Return to Philadelphia, he will probably have acknowledged the Receipt of your Favour of the 9th Instant directed to us jointly.

The Board of Treasury some Time ago reported it to Congress as expedient that the additional Commissioner be dismissed;¹ we have as yet kept the Business suspended conceiving that both Commrs. may be usefully employed, at least for some Time, and I conceive it to be an Object of importance to get the Accounts of our State with the Union as forward as possible;² especially as some of the States, instead of allowing us the Credit we deserve for being the foremost in our Payments on Money Requisitions, seem to cherish an Idea that we shall fall greatly in Arrear on the general Settlement of the Aggregate Account; and of the Account of specific supplies on Requisitions in the Year 1780. It is much my wish therefore to be prepared to meet them in a settlement of these Accounts. We have endeavoured also to get an Extension of the Time for the Commissioners to receive the Claims of Individuals. This has been heretofore refused on the separate Applications of New York & New-Jersey which were made during my absence.³ We have therefore got Virginia to join us the Motion for a general Extension of the Time, but cannot call it up for Decision while Congress is so weak in Number of States, especially as it is opposed by some States & the the Board of Treasury.

I presume you have by this got through the Bulk of Certificates offered on Loan. I should be glad to know the Amount you have received on Loan distinguishing the several Classes of Certificates you have received; as

Loan Office from 1 Septr. 77 to 1 Mar. 1778 Noml. Value

Other L. Office Certs. ——— specie Value

Army final Settlements & Commutation

Stelle & Story's Certs. &c.

Accuracy is not desired where it may require extra Trouble or Time—coming within a few Thousand Dollars in each will answer my present View.

When I was in Philada. I left with you an Acct. of the Pay then due to me in order to obtain a Warrant on the Treasury for Payment. The Treasurer had been so kind as to pay the greater part of the Sum on my Letter of Request; but, owing as he suggested, to the Negligence of some of my predecessors in procuring. . . .⁴ will settle in the Warrant I propose to obtain on my next Return to Philadelphia which I hope will be in two or three Weeks when I shall have 80 to 100 Days additional Pay due.

I am, with Esteem, Sir, Your most huml Servant, Cha. Pettit

RC (NjHi: Autographs—Alphabetical Series).

¹ Although this May 4 report has not survived, the board referred to it again in an August 9 letter explaining the steps they were taking to curtail expenses in the settlement of Pennsylvania's accounts, for which see PCC, item 140, fol. 249.

² A "State of the Accounts of Pennsylvania with the United States in the several Existing requisitions of Congress for Specie," dated May 31, 1786, and signed by Nicholson is in PCC, item 139, fols. 319–21.

³ See JCC, 30:96n, 109–10; and Livingston, *Papers* (Prince), 5:249n.2.

⁴ Manuscript damaged; approximately eight lines missing.

Richard Henry Lee to Nathaniel Gorham

Sir,

Chantilly in Virginia June 20. 1786

The enclosed papers that I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency for the consideration of Congress I have but now received altho they are dated in the last year.¹

I am perfectly satisfied that this demand of Mr. Schweighauser will be found, on due enquiry, to be right; and that this worthy Gentleman who has been long injuriously baffled of his honest demand plainly against the will of Congress, will now be fully paid by the effectual measures that Congress in their wisdom and justice shall direct. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect respect & esteem, Sir, your Excellencies most obedient and very humble servant,

Richard Henry Lee.

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78).

¹ According to Charles Thomson's despatch and committee books, Lee enclosed a letter of September 26, 1785, from the firm of Schweighauser and Dobrée reasserting a five-year-old claim for 40,245 livre for outfitting the Continental frigate *Alliance* under Capt. Pierre Landais. It was read July 13 and referred to the board of treasury which subsequently received other documents relating to the claim. The firm was attempting to settle the estate of the late John Daniel Schweighauser who had been appointed, with his son-in-law and partner Peter F. Dobrée, Continental commercial agent in Nantes in

1778. When the board of treasury reported on October 16, Congress adopted a resolution giving the minister at Paris, Thomas Jefferson, broad discretion in adjusting the account with Schweighauser's agents—a resolution that John Jay transmitted to Jefferson the following day. Despite his diligent efforts to unravel and to settle the claim over the next three years, it remained unpaid until the early 19th century. See *JCC*, 20:590, 21:899, 907, 30:400, 31:878–80; PCC, item 185, 3:169, item 190, fol. 109; these *Letters*, 9:62, 13:369, 14:558–59, 21:418; Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 2:265n.2; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 10:192, 221–22, 490n, 597, 11:29, 82, 134, 160, 601–2, 12:642–43, 13:361–62, 390, 517–18, 14:315–23, 15:53–54, 18:54–55.

Charles Thomson to Ebenezer Hazard

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, June 22. 1786

Your letter of the 19th has been laid before The United States in Congress assembled and in Answer thereto I have the honor to enclose a resolution, whereby you will be informed that Congress approve your conduct in directing the deputy postmasters, not to receive the paper Money of any state for the postage of Letters.¹

I have the honor to be, Sr, Your Most Obedt humble Servt,
CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "E Hazard, Post Master genl."

¹ Hazard's letter is in PCC, item 61, fols. 255–56. For the enclosed June 21 congressional resolve, see *JCC*, 30:346. For the difficulties Hazard and his deputies experienced in attempting to carry out this directive against accepting paper currency for postage, and Congress' reaffirmation of the policy September 20, see Thomson to Hazard, September 22.

James Manning to John Collins

Sir, New York 23d. of June 1786

Not long since I wrote you¹ & gave the Information which I thought it my duty to give, since which, for want of a sufficient number of States to transact any business of importance, little has been done; and for several Weeks past Congress have been, the greatest part of the time, under the necessity of adjourning from day to day, as they could not make a Congress; though business of the highest importance to the Union demands the decisions of Congress. Those States who keep up their Delegation are not a little displeased with the delinquent States; and it is the unanimous voice & opinion of those on the floor of Congress that a continuance of this Neglect, will ere long, be attended with the most serious, not to say the most fatal consequences. On this Head I am in full of, I think, well founded fears.

In obedience to the Orders of the General Assembly at their Session in February, I, on the 27th of April ult. embarked for New York, & immediately took my seat in Congress, in the full expectation that the State determined to support a Delegation. But I have not recd. a single Dollars to defray the great Expences attendant upon my present Situation. As I was not in Cash of my own, I could not discharge my Bills; & they consequently all remain unpaid, & that to my no small mortification; and this must remain to be the case till I experience the Assistance of the State. Add to this I am without a Colleague without whom the State cannot have a voice.

I now solicit explicit directions from the Legislature in reference to my future conduct. My present situation is peculiarly disagreeable, & I beg your Excellency, as early as possible in the Session to lay my request before the house, that I may have their Ultimatum, whether they mean to support a delegation or not, that I may conduct myself accordingly. But I must presume that that Honourable House will not recall me without furnishing me with *efficient* means to enable me to leave New York, in a way which may not wound my feelings, nor reflect dishonour on the State. Please, Sir, to communicate, on this subject without loss of time.

I have the Honour to be, Sir, Your Humble Servt,

J Manning

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

¹ See Manning to Collins, May 26.

William Hindman to Unknown

My dear sir

New-York June 24. 1786

Had You pursued my Advice to call at the Manor, You would have been made extremely happy in the Company of the Baron, who had got thus far on his Return to this Place. It is the highest Pleasure to be with him. He speaks in Raptures of his Lands & the adjacent Country,¹ & thinks his Mind will be sufficiently magnanimous to prevail with him further to reside upon it or in it's Vicinity, I sincerely wish that so good & so great a Man as He is, had it in his Power to pass the Residue of his Days where & in what Manner might be most pleasing to him, I shall for the present take my Leave of the Baron, who only wants to be known to be beloved: & give You some Account of our worthy Friend North,² He return'd here from Boston the 21st Instant in good Health and Spirits, & impatiently waits for Orders from the Secretary of War to depart for the West. The sad Want of Money will probably detain him a few Days. I have been a steady Friend to the

Players since You left Us, having been I think to every play, I am heartily tired of them.

Mr Morris had a great Benefit—Gentlewoman Storer played in Love in a Village for the Benefit of Mrs. Wolles to the entire Satisfaction & high approbation of the Audience, it was a full House.

Our lovely beloved Friend Miss Livingston³ has requested Me when I write to You, to present her most respectful Compliments, so that You see, You are kept in sweet Remembrance by those You esteem. I shall not tell you how high You rank in the Estimation of that accomplished Lady. Miss Wickham return'd the Day after You went away. She is somewhat better, tho' not fully reinstated in her Health. I told Her you impatiently panted for her Return, which she did not fully credit, I have visited Her thrice & have generally found Tipps with Her, what will be his Success I cannot conjecture. Our Friend Lee precisely the same Man, at Times rather depressed owing probably to his pecuniary Arrangements, he has commenced his Dinner Entertainments. I shall dine with him to Day with our Queen Street Friends & Colo. Lewis's Family. Houston return'd with his Lady from Elizabeth Town the 22d⁴—& sees Company to Day. He is in Ecstasy with Matrimony. I have given You Nonsense enough. Some of the Lands of the State sell very high & some it is said rather low. The Governor's House sold for 21,500£ purchased by Mr. White who married Miss Cortland.

Colo. Fish not got back. Mrs. Daubeney's is certain He will be with Me on Tuesday. She is the same chearful happy Woman, but very often lamenting your Absences & praying for your Return in which She is not alone. We count upon You on the 4th of July to assist in the Celebration of our Independance.

Genl. Schuyler is now here & I am not without some Thoughts of accompanying him to Albany. Least I should be tempted to run into another Sheet which I am resolved against, I shall conclude with my best Respects to Mr. Yates & Lady & Miss Yates & am yr affy.

Wm Hindman

RC (McHi: Fogg Collection).

¹ The state of New York had recently granted baron von Steuben 16,000 acres of unsettled land north of Utica near present-day Remsen, N.Y. *DAB*.

² Undoubtedly Maj. William North (1755–1836) of Massachusetts, formerly aide-de-camp to Steuben and inspector of the army, 1784–88. *DAB*.

³ That is, Catharine Livingston (1752–1849), the sister of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, who married the Rev. Freeborn Garretson in 1793. George Dangerfield, *Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York, 1746–1813* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1960), p. 44. See also Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry (2d letter), August 26.

⁴ That is, Georgia delegate William Houston who was absent from Congress June 8–26 and who married Mary Bayard, daughter of Nicholas Bayard III and Catherine Livingston Bayard of New York City. *JCC*, 30:324, 333, 336, 353–54, 368; and Edith D. Johnston, *The Houstons of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1950), p. 333.

Theodore Sedgwick to Pamela Sedgwick

My dearest Pamela.

New York 24. June 1786.

Your favor by your Mamma I received, she has been so obliging as to undertake to purchase the articles mentioned in your memorandum, so that I suppose you will receive them all by Mr. Brown's return. I have likewise desired her to purchase some little memorandum of my remembrance for our dear Fanny & Dory. Sweet little ones how much I wish to see them.

Mrs. Dwight informs me you have not yet weaned little Harry, I am sorry, because I do really beleive your continuing to nurse him may be detrimental to your health, an object to me of the highest importance. I was in hopes a certain reason why he was not earlier weaned ceased when I came from home.

Congress this day resolved itself into a committee of the whole house to take into consideration the state of the nation,¹ objects of more importance never came before an assembly. What will be the result god only knows, but unless the Government is reformed I am confident that what is commonly called accident will determine the state of our future existence.

I am sorry my dearest & best beloved, you do not write me more frequently, because I think it in your power & I am sure I am not mistaken in your goodness of disposition, nor in your affection to me when I say, that you must be ignorant of the happiness I should experience in your correspondence, or you would write. Tell me my love, your wishes, your hopes, your fears. Make me your confidant, be assured that I will be a faithful one. And pardon me, I pray you, when I say that an appearance of distrust or want of confidence in you is the cause of as great pain as my heart can know. You have always been the pride of my heart, & how my love dos that heart exult when it experiences a reciprocal inclination in yours.

There is a very general disposition to uneasiness on account of the profession of the law, in Massachusetts, and I am told T. G——d² now in Boston is become a vehement paragraph writer on that question. If so & my information is probably well founded I will abandon him without any further exertion to his fate. This ferment is not to me unaccountable, Massachusetts has lost every advantage, she as a State expected in consequence of independence. In addition to this she feels herself pressed with an almost intolerable burden of taxes. Under these circumstances how easily are her passions agitated even to a degree of frenzy? the people who are meerly an instrument in these cases are greatly to be pitied, while those who drive them into excess are the proper objects of gibbets, & racks.

Mrs. Dwight tells me that when she came from home Dewey and Williams were both absent from my Office, I wish you would be

pleased to tell Dewey or shew him this Paragraph that it is my peremptory direction that the Office shall in no instance be so neglected, & I should not be sorry that it should be further suggested to him that was I as regardless of his interest as he appears of mine his chance of being forwarded in the world would be less than it now is. I am the more surprised as [at] the Conduct of Mr. Dewey because I gave him before I came from home express directions on this subject. I hope however my resentment is without foundation & that Mrs. Dwight is mistaken. Pray dont forget the papers for which I wrote.

I am my dearest & ever your Affect. Theodore Sedgwick

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

¹ Sedgwick's statement is particularly intriguing inasmuch as there are no entries in Charles Thomson's journals of Congress for Friday June 23 or Saturday June 24, 1786. *JCC*, 30:353–54. On the other hand, Secretary Thomson's "committee book" indicates that Congress met in "Comee of the whole on the State of the Nation" on June 21, taking into consideration a June 19 letter from the postmaster general, Ebenezer Hazard "respect[ing] paper Money," on which Congress adopted a resolve the same day. *JCC*, 30:346; *PCC*, item 190, fol. 106. It is quite possible, of course, that deliberations on the state of the nation were resumed in committee of the whole on Saturday June 24, or that this letter is misdated, although its dateline is clear and unambiguous and Sedgwick was normally a careful penman.

² Apparently Thomas Gold, a lawyer of Pittsfield, Mass., and delegate to the Berkshire County convention called to propose amendments to the Massachusetts constitution. Joseph E. A. Smith, *The History of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, from the Year 1734 to the Year 1800* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1869), pp. 398–400, 437, 504.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, June 28th. 1786.

In consequence of sundry Memorials and Petitions from persons claiming Vessels in the Courts of Admiralty in some of the States, praying for hearings and rehearings before the Court of Admiralty,¹ the United States in Congress Assembled have been pleased to authorise and direct the Judges of the court of appeals to sustain Appeals and grant reh[ear]ings or New trials wherever justice and right may in their Op[ini]on require it, and have directed the Court to Assemble at the City of New York on the first Monday of November next for the dispatch of such business as may then and there be before them. I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency herewith enclosed a Copy of the Resolutions, and have to request the favor of your Excellency to cause them to be published for the information of the Citizens of your State who may be concerned.

With the greatest Respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient and Most humble Servant, Cha Thomson

¹ These "Memorials and Petitions," covering a period of approximately ten months, had been referred to a committee appointed June 30, 1785, whose report was submitted May 18 and taken up May 19, 1786. The committee's recommendations for reviving the court of appeals after a year's dormancy were adopted June 27. See *JCC*, 28:489, 30:291-92, 355-56; and the following entry.

Charles Thomson to
the Court of Appeals Judges

In my Letter of the 5th July last I informed you that the Committee to whom was referred the Letter of the 23d Decemr. 1784 from Messrs. Griffin and Lowell two of the Judges of the Court of appeal reported as their Opinion that the present Judges of the Court of appeals were Still in Commission and that it would be necessary that the Court of appeals should remain upon its establishment except with respect to the salaries of the Judges which should cease from a day to be fixed by Congress and that in lieu thereof they should be allowed a certain number of dollars per day "during the time they should attend the sitting of the Court and including the time necessarily employed in travelling to and from the Court," that Congress not coming to a determination at that time the report was recommitted and the Resolution of the first of July was passed of which I transmitted to you a Copy, whereby the salary of the Judges was stoped, their Commission still remaining in force.¹

I have now the honor to inform you that in consequence of sundry Memorials and petitions from persons claiming Vessels in the Courts of Admiralty in some of the States praying for hearings and rehearings before the Court of Appeals the United States in Congress Assembled have been pleased to pass the Resolutions herewith enclosed,² authorising and directing the Judges of the Court of Appeals to sustain appeals and grant rehearing or new trials wherever Justice & right may in their Opinion require it; establishing the allowance to be made to the Judges, and directing the Court to Assemble at the City of New York on the first Monday in November next.

It being given me in charge to take order for publishing these Resolutions for the information of all persons concerned, I have ordered Copies of them to be inserted in the Newspapers of this City with a request to the Printers of the Several States to republish them in their papers, but lest any of them should fail I have transmitted Copies to the supreme Executive of the several States and requested that they would be pleased to cause them to be published for the in-

formation of their respective Citizens. I shall esteem it as a favor if you will take such further Steps as you shall Judge necessary that all persons concerned may have due information.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, Your Most Obedient
& most humble Servant. CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "The Honorable Cyrus Griffin, G Read, John Lowell, Esqr., Judges of the Court of Appeals."

¹ See Thomson to the Court of Appeals Judges, July 5, 1785.

² See the preceding entry.

Charles Thomson to John Jay

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, June 29th. 1786.

I have the honor to inform you that Tuesday next being the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence there will be a public Levee at the house of his Excellency the President of Congress from the hours of twelve to two, to receive the Ordinary Congratulations.¹ You will be pleased to communicate this intelligence to the foreign Ministers & others in public characters from foreign courts within your department, & to such strangers of distinction as you may judge convenient & proper.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, Your Most Obedient
& Most humble Servt, Cha Thomson

RC (DNA: PCC, item 55).

¹ For the June 28 resolve directing Secretary Thomson to make this announcement public, see *JCC*, 30:368. Thomson's letterbook also indicates that similar letters were sent to the secretary at war (Henry Knox), the commissioners of the board of treasury (Arthur Lee, Walter Livingston, and Samuel Osgood), the commissioners for Indian affairs (Richard Butler and Samuel Holden Parsons), the postmaster general (Ebenezer Hazard), the governor of New York (George Clinton), the mayor of New York City (James Duane), the president of the New York Chamber of Commerce (John Broome), and the president of the Marine Society of New York (James Farquhar). PCC, item 18B, fols. 61-64.

Massachusetts Delegates to James Bowdoin

Sir, New York 30 June 1786.

We do ourselves the honor to inclose herewith to your Excellency a copy of a joint letter from the delegates of Massachusetts, and New York to Messrs. Ewing, and Rittenhouse,¹ in answer to one from those Gentlemen, and Mr. Hutchins, a copy of which we sent you accompanied by our letter of the 18th instant.² We have the honor to be, with

perfect esteem, Sir, your Excellency's most obedt. & most huml.
 Servt., Nathaniel Gorham Theodore Sedgwick
 Rufus King Nathran Dane

RC (TxU: Hanley Collection). Written by Sedgwick and signed by Dane, Gorham, King, and Sedgwick.

¹ Not found, but see Massachusetts and New York Delegates to Thomas Hutchins, et al., December 9, 1785.

² Not found.

Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin

Sir,

New York, 30th June, 1786.

It is with Regret we find occasion to mention that the discontents which arose between Congress and the Executive Council of Pennsylvania in the year 1783, are not wholly forgotten. An Application from Mr John Sullivan for pay and commutation as an officer of the Line or Quota of Troops of Pennsylvania, which has been pressed on the Commissioner of Army Accounts in an unusual Manner, has occasioned a Reference to Congress, and of course a revisal of some of the circumstances which accompanied those Discontents.¹ The matter we more particularly allude to, is a supposed Reluctance in the Executive of Pennsylvania to call to account & punish the persons concerned in the Mutiny of the Soldiers in 1783 which produced consequences not necessary to be now described. This Mr Sullivan and Mr Carbery were supposed to be promoters of the Mutiny, & to have fled the Country in consequence of it. In 1784 Mr Carbery returned to Maryland and was there arrested. Notice, it is said was given to the Council of Pennsylvania, where the offence was committed, and certain affidavits and other Documents tending to prove the guilt of Mr Sullivan and Mr Carbery were transmitted to Council & still remain in their custody; but that Mr Carberry was not demanded, nor any legal cognizance of the Affair taken on the Part of Pennsylvania. Some time in 1785, it is said, Mr Sullivan appeared and that he has since remained publicly and without disguise in Philadelphia, unquestioned by public authority touching the said offence.

We know of no late Act of Congress as a Body, except the Resolution approving the Conduct of the Commissioner in refusing the Demands of Mr Sullivan, on which to ground this communication; but in the course of the Investigation suggestions and Insinuations were used which indicated opinions and sentiments less honourable to the Executive Authority of Pennsylvania than we could perceive without Pain, tho' we were not sufficiently informed to oppose them with Success.

We are not apprized that Congress either desire or expect any Explanations on this Subject, nor would we be understood as desirous of reviving Discussions which have been heretofore permitted to subside; but we conceive it to be our Duty to advise your Excellency of the existence of some remains of those discontents which we had hoped would forever have remained in oblivion. Your Excellency and the Council will judge whether any and what use to make of the Information.

We do ourselves the Honour to inclose herewith a Copy of a List of Papers transmitted to Council by the Secretary of Congress in 1784,² which List was called for and read on the occasion we have alluded to; and a copy of the Resolution of Congress on the application of Mr Sullivan.³

We have the honor to be very respectfully, Your Excellency's most obedient, & most humble servants.

Cha. Pettit,

John Bayard.

MS not found; reprinted from *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:27–28.

¹ A June 26 letter from the commissioner of army accounts, John Pierce, enclosing 11 documents concerning the claim of Lt. John Sullivan for the arrears of his pay and commutation of half pay, had been read and debated in Congress June 27.

Lieutenant Sullivan, one of the leaders of the Pennsylvania mutiny of June 1783 who had escaped prosecution by fleeing the country, had returned to the United States in 1785. Apparently emboldened by the lenity of the treatment accorded the mutineers who had been seized in 1783 and the failure of authorities to prosecute Henry Carbery, a fellow conspirator who had also fled but returned in 1784, Sullivan had originally written Pierce October 7, 1785, for the settlement certificates that would have been due him had he remained an officer in good standing to the end of the war. And when Pierce, knowing the circumstances of the lieutenant's flight, refused to issue them, Sullivan petitioned Congress October 17.

The case had originally come before Congress in response to a query of October 26, 1785, from Pierce, which was referred to the secretary at war, who reported that as Sullivan had left the United States in 1783 "without special permission," it was up to Congress to decide "Whether the so withdrawing himself from the United States. . . is deemed a relinquishment of the emoluments." This, however, Congress had refused to decide. Although Secretary Henry Knox's December 9 report was read in Congress on December 27, no action had been taken on it. Sullivan accordingly attempted to revive his claim in May 1786, submitting letters and petitions to Congress dated May 12, 18, and June 12, and to Pierce dated May 26, June 6, and 19. See *JCC*, 29:904; and *PCC*, item 38, fols. 207–26, 237–78, item 78, 21:451–57.

Congress apparently still wished to avoid dealing with Sullivan's case. His May 18 petition was endorsed by Secretary Charles Thomson: "The reading of this interrupted & Stopped by Congress, May 24, 1786." But when Pierce again asked for instruction June 26, enclosing copies of his entire correspondence with Sullivan, Congress finally declared its approval of the commissioner's conduct "in refusing [Sullivan's] application"—"the said John Sullivan having withdrawn himself from the United States without leave obtained before the conclusion of the War." *JCC*, 30:307n, 355.

² For this enclosure, see these *Letters*, 21:628; and *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:28–29.

³ *JCC*, 30:355.

Charles Thomson to the Indian Affairs Commissioners

Gentlemen

[June 30th, 1786]¹

The above is a Copy of a Motion which is referred to you to take Order thereon²—The meaning of which reference is, as I desired on a former Occasion, that you comply with the intent of the Motion.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, &c. &c.,

CT.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "The Commissioners for Indian Affairs, Northern & middle Department."

¹ Date taken from the congressional resolve enclosed with this letter, for which see JCC, 30:382.

² This copy reads: "Motion, 'That the Commissioners for treating with the Indians in the Northern and middle Departments take Measures immediately for communicating to the several western Indian tribes with whom they have treated, that the Surveyors of the United States, are out on the business of Surveying the western Country, and that agreeably to the stipulations of those Tribes the Commissioners call on them, to meet and assist the said Surveyors in the execution of their business.'"

"Referred to the said Commissioners to take Order."

Nathaniel Ramsey to Otho Holland Williams

Dr Sir,¹

New-York 1st. July 1786

Your favor of the 20th of June has come safe to hand and it gives me pain to find that our land transaction should have caused any difficulty or uneasiness to you, and the more so as I view myself the person by whose advice you were engaged in that transaction. I am hurt at observing the emphatical manner in which you introduced the words "*favor of being admitted.*" Is it possible that you can suppose I either meant or wished to injure or deceive you, my engaging in the same enterprize must put that out of dispute. I most certainly then thought it a good speculation, and even now after so great a change of an inverse nature of lands and certificates I still think it no bad bargain, and I have no doubt that in a few years hence it will bring more than double the money. The situation of that land far more the [than] compensates for its poverty which can easily be removed by manure from the Town which will be an inexhaustable source. I find here that the poorest lands, if not beyond the distance of five or six miles from the City sell from twenty to thirty pounds per Acre, and nearly the same price prevails near Philadelphia.

I agree perfectly with you that the best method is that proposed by you of getting a title to the land and parceling of it out and had I in my possession the Certificates I would not hesitate to transmit them for

that purpose, the few I have remaining are lent out, I parted with £1,500 of them last winter & this Spring in improvements and providing for my fisheries, from which I expected to draw at Least £2,000, specie, and instead thereof I have £50 worth of fish in the whole. I think it but fair and right as matters have turned out that Captn. Cole and myself should be equally concerned with you in the land. Calling upon the Heirs or Executors of Mr. Russell would be attended with great difficulty and delay and would prevent a partition, I therefore think that altho his estate is liable to make good his contract, yet we had better not insist upon it. You may charge me with three times the sum lodged by Captn. Cole. I have considerable expectations that our final settlements will hereafter pay that debt, but that depends upon many contingencies and events.

I have at length taken my seat at the great council,² and am much distressed to find our affairs in such a situation as makes it more than probable that a very short period will bring about a National Bankruptcy and of course a dissolution of our confederated Union and what effects this may produce God only knows. Congress will be under the necessity in the course of a few months to plainly tell our foreign creditors that they cannot make them any payment, and that they have neither any money nor a power to command any. The foreign demands are now made rather in a threat[en]ing tone and it is to be feared they will take measures to pay themselves. I have rented that pleasant and elegant House known by the name of the White Conduit House on the North river together with the furniture, I have sent home for my servant and expect in a few days to be in a situation to be made happy by a visit from any of my friends, amongst home [whom] in a peculiar degree I place yourself and Mrs. Williams, I flatter myself you could spend a few weeks here with much satisfaction. Mrs. Ramsey has not yet come on from Philadelphia, I expect her here tomorrow or next day. I shall [be] much gratified by your weekly correspondence.

Your friend and Humble servt.,

Nat. Ramsey³

RC (MdHi: Williams Papers).

¹ Otho Holland Williams (1749–94) had been naval officer of the Baltimore district since January 1783. He had established himself as a merchant in Frederick, Md., as a young man before the revolution, and had had a distinguished military career during the war, rising eventually to the rank of brigadier general in 1782. Ramsey and Williams had seen considerable action together, with the 3d and 6th Maryland battalions, respectively, from December 1776 to the battle of Monmouth in June 1778. *DAB*.

² Ramsey first attend Congress June 26. *JCC*, 30:354.

³ Ramsey also wrote a brief letter to Williams on July 12 asking him to transmit a letter to Baltimore lawyer Zebulon Hollingsworth, who was representing William Washington in an unspecified matter. Williams Papers, MdHi.

² In the June 27 election of Massachusetts delegates for the ensuing congressional year, Nathaniel Gorham received 134 votes, Nathan Dane 80, Samuel Holten 79, and King 71. "Records of the Massachusetts Senate," p. 106, DLC(ESR).

Charles Pettit to James Wilson

Dear Sir:

New York 2nd July 1786

From the Expectation you gave of an early Return to this Place, I contemplate a speedy Visit to my Family, from which I have been so long absent that you will make me Allowances for some Degree of Impatience. Some little Arrangements will be requisite. You will therefore oblige me by a Line of Information, fixing the Day as you can of your arrival here, and the length of Time you will continue.¹

Since the ordering of two Companies to the Rapids of the Ohio, the Report on Governor Henry's Letter has been the principal Business of Congress for three or four Days. After Various Manouvres the whole Report was negatived by a large Majority as being more hostile than we conceived existing Circumstances would warrant. A soothing answer however is ordered to be given to the Gov. of Virginia, requesting him to hold the Militia of Kentucky in readiness to cooperate with the Troops to repel invasion if necessary.² The State of the Nation is yet as loose as ever. On Monday last the House went into a Commee of the Whole,³ but it can scarcely be said any Progress was made in the Business. We have now ten States, and if no other Order of the Day is pressed for, we may go into Commee again tomorrow.

I am Dr Sir, Your Most Obedt humble Servt, Chas Pettit

Tr (PSC: Konkle Collection). Copied by Burton A. Konkle from the original manuscript then in the possession of Stan V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

¹ After the death of his wife in April, Wilson returned to Congress briefly June 15–22, but never again attended. See Wilson to Rachel Wilson, March 23; and *JCC*, 30:340, 344–46, 348–49, 353–54.

² See Charles Thomson to Patrick Henry, July 3.

³ That is, the committee of the whole "on the state of public affairs," for which see *JCC*, 30:354; and Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell, August 16, note 5.

Henry Lee to George Washington

My dear Genl.

New York July 3d. 1786

I had the honor of your letter four days past,¹ and should have sooner replied but waited in the expectation of learning something about the package you enquire after. The letter from Sr. Arthur Young came in the packet, but was not accompanied by any thing else. The british Consul here tells me it is not customary to send packages of

any sort by the packets as they sail from Falmouth or Portsmouth 300 miles from London, but that they come in vessels directly from London. Perhaps the letter is only meant as a letter of advice & that its copy will arrive in Potomac with the books, tho it is strange how Mr Athaws could think of sending the letter via New York. Unaccountable as the procedure appears I hope no loss may accrue, as Mr. Youngs works are the most valuable production of the sort extant.² Solicitous to gather all useful knowledge respecting farms & farming I sought this author out, on my arrival here, I could only obtain his tour thro Ireland, which I take the liberty to transmit to you now by favor of Doctr. Griffith. Before my return it is very probable you may receive the whole of the authors work, and these two volumes³ will in the mean time afford you an opportu[nity] of putting into practice Mr. Youngs system of culture.

If you should be in want of a new set of china it is in my power to procure a very gentell set, table & tea. What renders this china doubly valuable & handsome is the order of the eagle engraved on it, in honor of the Cincinnati. It has upwards of 306 pieces, and is offered at the prime cost, 150 dollars.

Your reasoning on the navigation of the Mississippi is perfectly conformable to the prevalent doctrine on that subject in Congress. We are very solicitous to form a treaty with Spain for commercial purposes; indeed no nation in Europe can give us conditions so advantageous to our trade as that kingdom. The carrying business they are like ourselves in, & this common source of difficulty in adjusting commercial treatys between other nations does not apply to America & Spain. But my dear Gen. I do not think you go far enough. Rather than defer longer the benefits of a free liberal system of trade with Spain, why not agree to the occlusion of the Mississippi. This occlusion will not, cannot exist longer than the infancy of the western emigrants, therefore to those people what is now done, cannot be important; to the Atlantic states it is highly important, for we have no prospect of bringing to conclusion our negotiations with the Court of Madrid, but by yielding the navigation of the Mississippi. Their Minister here, is under positive instructions on that point, in all other arrangements the Spanish monarch will give to the states testimonys of his regard and friendship, & I verily beleive that if the above difficulty could be removed we should soon experience the advantages which would flow from a connexion with Spain. Mrs. Lee returns her Most respectful compliments to the Ladies of Mount Vernon and repeats thro me, an offer she before made of executing any commands which Mrs Washington may please to favor her with.

Henry Lee Junr

¹ For this letter of June 18, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 28:459–61.

³ Lee loaned Washington the two-volume Dublin edition of *A Tour in Ireland* (Dublin: G. Bonham, 1780). See also Lee to Washington, August 7, note 2.

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, July 3d. 1786.

I do myself the honor of transmitting to your Excellency herewith enclosed a Copy of the resolution for detaching the two Companies, and of that on which this Letter is grounded,² and am, With the greatest respect, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most humil servt,

Cha Thomson

¹ For Governor Henry's appeal for protection from Indian attack for Virginia settlers in the Kentucky district, see William Grayson to James Madison, May 28, note 7.

² For these resolutions of June 22 and 30, see *JCC*, 30:353, 381.

Charles Thomson to John Jay

Dear Sir

New York 3d July 1786

I am sorry the Act of the 27 Ult was not entered in your book previous to its appearance in the news papers.¹ It was owing to accident and not design and indeed ever since the passing that Act the Clerks in my Office have been so hurried and pressed with a variety of applications and business that I can easily account for the omission. I am sorry Mr Remsen has had occasion to remark that such omissions are not unfrequent, it being my standing Order to enter immediately in every book every thing which has the least reference to or which either directly or indirectly affects the business of the respective Office or board. However I dare hope that in future you will not have occasion to complain of the want of attention in this Office.

I am Dear Sir, With great respect & regard, Your Most Obedt & Most huml servt,
Cha Thomson

RC (DNA: PCC, item 55).

¹ For this "act" reviving the court of appeals, see Thomson to the States, June 28.

Jay's July 3 letter of complaint to Thomson reads: "Dr Sir, I found in the Newspapers of this Day an Act of Congress of 27th Ult. respecting the Court of Appeals. As this Act is interesting to Foreigners as well as to Citizens, and particularly to Mr. Van Berckel's Case of the Sloop Chester, I expected to find it among the Acts of Congress entered in the Book daily sent from this Office to receive such as may affect the Business of it. It was not however to be found in it, and Mr. Remsen tells me that though he has often desired your Clerks to be more particular and accurate, yet that such Omissions are not unfrequent. A gentle Hint from you will doubtless produce more Attention." PCC, item 80, 3:1.

Jay's informant, Henry Remsen, Jr., had been a clerk in Secretary Thomson's office prior to his appointment as an undersecretary in the office of foreign affairs in March 1784, for which see these *Letters*, 21:760.

Charles Thomson to John Thaxter

Dear Sir,

Office of Secretary of Congress, July 3d. 1786.

I have the pleasure of transmitting to you herewith enclosed an act of the United States in Congress Assembled ascertaining your Salary and directing the payment of the balance which may be due.¹ I wish the Treasury was in condition to make you immediate payment. However I hope the States will, by complying with the requisitions of Congress soon put it in such condition, and I can venture to assure you that you will find the Commissioners of that Board disposed to gratify your wishes as soon as it shall be in their power.

I am with much esteem &c.

C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For this June 30 "act" allowing Thaxter "three hundred pounds sterling annually, for the time he acted as private Secretary to Mr. John Adams, one of the Ministers plenipotentiary . . . in Europe," see *JCC*, 30:384.

William Samuel Johnson to Samuel William Johnson

My Dear Son.

New York July 4th. 1786.

I retire from the rejoicings of this great Day of American Independence, which is now celebrating here with much Pomp & splendour, to acquaint you that your last Letter went on by the Post to Stratford a few Days since, while I was on my Passage here by Water. I have the pleasure however to hear by persons who came in the Vessell that you was well, for which I bless God. I left yr. Mamma & all the Family at Stratford very well, as Mr. Verplank's is here. Yr. Sister is particularly hearty & well, yet we cannot avoid being a good deal anxious for her as her time approaches, tho' we have every reason to hope that under the protection of Providence she may do very well. Your Letter will I trust be return'd to me in a few Days, by which I hope to be confirm'd in the Intelligence of your Health, & to hear that the Books & other things I sent you some time ago, came safe to hand. By this Vessel, which I am told sails tomorrow Morning I send you a Chest of Books, agreeable to the inclosed List, & hope they will be useful to you. I believe I have before mention'd that if there are any particular ones that you wish for, upon your pointing them out I will send them to you, as soon as possible. Hindes Practice in Chancery¹ is the latest thing of the kind, & is very well esteem'd here, but I have not had time to examine it. We cannot find the Praxis Curia Admiraltatis.² Would not the British Statutes be of Use to you? If they will I can send you Ruff-heads Edit. of them.³ Would you have a Latin Edition of Grotius in addition to the old English one I have sent? There are two or three in the Library. I enclose you the Connecticut Confiscation Act, for Mrs. Browne,⁴ & hope she will find it not so bad as she apprehended. In this Vessel sails Duncan Stewart Esqr. before the late War Collector at New London, now appointed to that Office in Bermuda. I was very happy to see him here. He is a very worthy sensible Man, has been long my Friend, & I trust will be yours. I have recommended you to his attention, & doubt not he will render you any reasonable service in his power. He conducted with great good sense & Prudence at New London, in very difficult times, & from thence I infer that Bermuda will be very happy in him as an officer & a Gentleman. He tells me there is some probability that Bermuda will be made a Free Port, if so,

you may soon become a place of great resort, & of much consequence. I am very glad to hear from him that Govr. Brown is like to retain his Government which, we were told in the Papers here was to be given to Lord Dunmore. Mr. & Mrs. Verplank, & Majr. Alden join in tenderest Love to you with, yr. most affectionate Father & Friend,

Wm. Saml. Johnson

RC (CtHi: Johnson Papers).

¹ That is, Robert Hinde, *The Modern Practice of the High Court of Chancery* (London, 1785).

² Undoubtedly Francis Clerke, *Praxis Curiae Admiraltatis Angliæ* (London, 1679).

³ Owen Ruffhead, *A Complete Index to the Statutes at Large, from Magna Carta to the Tenth Year of George III Inclusive* (London, 1772).

⁴ For the case of Ruth Wanton Browne, wife of Bermuda governor William Browne, and daughter of former Rhode Island governor Joseph Wanton, see Johnson to his son, May 14, note 3.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

Dr. Gerry

4. July [17]86.

In consequence of an order of congress, instead of a public Dinner a public levee was held from 12 to 3 OClock at the House of the president, at which were present the members of Congress, Officers of the Great Departments, Foreign Ministers &c &c.¹ *The Cincinnati* are in the highest prosperity—they celebrate the Day with a Splendor exceeding any thing within the practice of Government²—of course draw the Huzzas and admiration of the Multitude. The Chapter of these Knights appointed a deputation of four members to present the anniversary congratulations to the president & members of Congress—they attended the Levee, and I was witness to the degradation of Government in seeing them recd. &c &c.³ Your's,

R King

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ See Charles Thomson to John Jay, June 29.

² In preparation for this display of ceremony, Maryland delegate Nathaniel Ramsey wrote the following brief note to former Connecticut brigadier general Samuel B. Webb.

"Colo. Ramsey presents his Compliments to General Webb and wishes to be informed whether the officers today will in general appear in their Uniform & with their side Arms. And, if so whether or no General Webb can with perfect conveniency accommodate Colo. Ramsey with a small Sword." Samuel B. Webb, *Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blachley Webb*, ed. Worthington C. Ford, 3 vols. (New York: Wickersham Press, 1893–94), 3:60.

³ The following account of the day's festivities appeared in the July 6 issue of Francis Childs' *New York Daily Advertiser*.

"The morning was ushered in by ringing of bells and a discharge of cannon. At twelve

o’Clock a grand procession of the City Watchmen, Marshalls of the City, Constables, Engineers of the several Companies of Firemen, Sheriff, Coroner and Sheriff’s Deputies, City Clerk and Chamberlain, Assistants, Aldermen, Mayor and Recorder, Officers of the Chancery, Supreme Exchequer and Admiralty Courts, Councillors and Attornies at Law, Secretary of the State, Treasurer, Attorney-General, Auditor and Collector, Judges of the Admiralty and Probate Courts, Judges of the Supreme Court, Chancellor, Governor and Lieutenant Governor, Clergy, Officers of the late Army, and Citizens—to the house of his Excellency the Governor—and from thence to the house of his Excellency the President of Congress, where the compliments of the day were first paid to his Excellency by the Governor, and afterwards by his Worship the Mayor, in behalf of the Citizens of New York.

“From whence they returned to Corre’s tavern, where a cold collation was provided by the Corporation. And the Day was closed by ringing of bells and firing of cannon.

“A large and respectable meeting of the CINCINNATI was held at Corre’s tavern, in commemoration of the Day.

“The Hon. the Baron de Steuben was elected President; Hon. Philip Schuyler Vice-President, Philip Van Cortlandt Treasurer, Richard Platt Vice Treasurer, Robert Pemberton Secretary.

“An Oration suitable to the occasion was delivered by Cols. Hamilton and Walker, in presence of a number of Ladies and Gentlemen. The Society then dined together, and the following toasts, under a discharge of thirteen cannon, were drank:

“1. The United States in Congress, 2. His Most Christian Majesty, 3. United Netherlands, 4. The friendly Powers in Europe, 5. Government and State of New-York, 6. Our Brethren in the United States and in France, 7. The Glorious and Immortal Memory of all who have fallen in the defence of the Liberties of America. 8. May the Power of Congress be adequate to preserve the General Union, 9. The 17th October, 1777, 10. The 19th October, 1781, 11. The fair Friends of the Cincinnati, 12. Geo. Washington—the President of the Society,* 13. THE DAY. *After this Toast, the following Song was sung.”

The five verses of this song (to be sung to the tune of “The Dusky Night”) followed.

Massachusetts Delegates to James Duane

Sir,

New York 4 July 1786.

We take the liberty to inform you that we have agreed that the Honorable William Hooper Esquire of North Carolina, shall be appointed as a judge to compleat a federal court, to decide on the interfering territorial claims of the States of N York, and Massachusetts; which information we request you to be so obliging as to communicate the other agents of N York.¹ We have the honor to be, with great regard, & esteem, Sir, your most obedt. Servts.

Nathaniel Gorham

Rufus King

Theodore Sedgwick

RC (NHi: Duane Papers). Written by Sedgwick and signed by Gorham, King, and Sedgwick.

¹ For the appointment of William Hooper to the court “on the interfering territorial claims” of Massachusetts and New York, see also Massachusetts Delegates to John Lowell, et al., July 17; and Theodore Sedgwick to James Duane, August 7.

Theodore Sedgwick to Pamela Sedgwick

My dearest Pamela,

New York 4. July 1786.

Your kind letter of the 24th ult. I recd. by Mr. Edwards. The several matters contained in your memorandum are forwarded by Brown excepting the cloak which will be sent by Mr. Edwards.

Jo was mistaken in supposing my orders to be that the hay should be put in the new barn, my intention was to put every thing in the old barn it would hold. I am informed by every body that he and Henry do very well, pray tell them that I say so.

Tell the Doctor & Harry that if they wish to correspond with me, I shall be happy in carrying on my part of it, but that I can't be convinced of this unless they first begin for I verily beleive they either have more leisure than I have. Our public affairs are in a situation as bad as almost the imagination can conceive. Yet I despair not, for even now a virtuous exertion, aided by the blessing of Heaven, would open our prospect to permanent happiness.

On Saturday night I had letters informing me that I was left out of the delegation of the next year. Whether because I am an old offending lawyer, or because, I had previously declared my intention not to serve, I am not informed. If the former, and I can get the information before the rising of the general court, I shall hold myself obliged in honor to resign,¹ at all events I beleive you may rely upon it that I shall leave this by the middle of August, & then return to the vale of private life for many years perhaps forever, when I do it I shall possess a consciousness, that in the variety of tumultuous scenes thro which I have passed, in no instance have I been induced to deviate from the strict line of my duty either thro motives of self interest or actuated by views of popularity, and I do think it can hardly be considered as arising from vanity when I declare, that I think the public owe me more for my exertions, than a ballance for the pageants confered on me. You know the pride of my heart, I hope it is not a dishonest pride, but such as it is it will always prevent on the one hand the meanness of sacraficing to popular vices or popular frensy, and on the other from the adulation of any man or body of men in power. I will be myself, and actuated I hope by purity of intention, having performed my duty, the event with humble resignation I will leave Where it ought to rest. May God almighty bless you & our sweet little ones prays your ever affect.

Theodore Sedgwick

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

¹ See Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry, July 2.

² See *ibid.*, note 1.

Charles Thomson to Gerardus Clarkson and John Wilcox

Gentlemen Office of Secretary of Congress, July 5. 1786

I have the pleasure of transmitting you an Act of the United States in Congress assembled relative to the settlement of the Account of B. Flower late Commissary general of military stores.¹ You will no doubt send on as speedily as possible all the vouchers & documents in your hands to enable the comptroller to settle his particular Account and make such report as will do justice to your ward & be agreeable to you.

I am with much respect, Gentlemen, Your obedt humble Servt,
Cha Thomson

RC (DNA: RG 93, no. 20,593).

¹ For the enclosed directive to Clarkson and Wilcox as executors of Benjamin Flower's estate, see *JCC*, 30:68n, 331–32, 385–87.

Virginia Delegates to Patrick Henry

Sir New York July 5. 1786.

We do ourselves the honor to transmit to your Excellency the proceedings & final decision of Congress upon the subject of your letter respecting the hostilities of the Indians upon the frontier inhabitants of our State.¹ We also transmit to you a copy of the report of the Indian Commissioners on the same subject,² which became necessary for the information of Congress, while the report was under consideration, and are with sentiments of the greatest respect & esteem, yr. Excellency's most obt. servants,

Willm. Grayson Ed. Carrington
Jas. Monroe Henry Lee Junr.

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Monroe and signed by Monroe, Carrington, Grayson, and Lee.

¹ For Governor Henry's letter of May 16 and Congress' "final decision" thereon, see Grayson to James Madison, May 28, note 7; and Charles Thomson to Henry, July 3.

² See *JCC*, 30:349–51.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My dear Sir New York 6 July 1786

The commercial treaty with Portugal was signed at London on the

25 of Apr.¹ Congress are not yet in possession of it, but probably will receive it by the first private american ship from England. You well know the regulation formed in Portugal in favor of the Millers of that Country, exertions were not wanting on the part of the american ministers to obtain a relaxation of this Regulation, and permission to import into that Kingdom the american Flour—but without any success. The Treaty will not therefore be so extensively beneficial as could have been wished, but such as it is I think will prove the most valuable Treaty congress have yet formed regulating commerce.

The letters from Mr. A. & Mr. J. of Apl. 23 are most explicit that nothing is to be expected from the disposition of the court of London²—the language *there* is, why should we form a commercial Treaty, when we at present, pocket all the advantages of the american Commerce without a Treaty?

Adieu yours sincerely & affectionately,

R King

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ For the negotiation of this treaty by John Adams and Thomas Jefferson with the Portuguese minister in London, Luis, chevalier de Pinto, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:406–33, esp. 410–11. The signing of the treaty was by Adams and Jefferson alone, for de Pinto had powers only to negotiate, not sign, a treaty with the United States. Despite Adams' and Jefferson's optimism, Portugal refused to ratify the document negotiated by de Pinto, the text of which has been printed and analyzed by Boyd. See also Jefferson's letter of May 5 to William Carmichael, *ibid.*, pp. 448–49.

News of this treaty was communicated to the states this day in the following letter from the secretary for foreign affairs, John Jay, along with documents pertaining to John Adams' negotiations concerning evacuation of frontier posts garrisoned by British troops, for which see David Ramsay to Adams, May 14, note 1.

"I have the Honor of transmitting to your Excellency for your Information, a Copy of a Letter from the Honble Mr. Adams dated 4th March last and of the Papers mentioned to have been enclosed with it.

"These Papers are under Consideration and will probably give occasion to such measures as the subject of them seems to dictate. In the mean time it would in my opinion not be expedient to let these Papers yet into the Public Prints.

"I have just received Intelligence that a Treaty between the United States and Portugal was on the Eve of being concluded; but that our negociations with the Barbary States have not a very promising appearance. It is much to be lamented that the continental Treasury is not in a State more adequate to our national Exigencies, and that Inattention to national Supplies will probably create and continue national Evils." PCC, item 120, 2:398–99.

² King is actually referring to two letters from Jefferson to John Jay of April 23 and a joint letter from Adams and Jefferson to Jay of April 25. *Ibid.*, pp. 402–7.

Charles Thomson to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir,

New York July 8. 1786

I have just received by the way of Baltimore your letter of the 22 April with the new invented lamp,¹ for which I return you my most

heartly thanks. I conclude you were disappointed in sending the one you mentioned in a former letter by col Senf, as he never called on me. The one you have now sent is an elegant piece of furniture, if it were not otherwise valuable on account of its usefulness. I am informed this kind of lamps is coming into use in Philadelphia and made there. I wish I could send you any thing from this country worth your acceptance. But arts here are yet in their infancy; and though Philadelphia begins to imitate yet has she not arrived to the perfection of inventing. I have heard much of those Mills near London, which are worked by steam, but cannot learn whether the steam is applied as an immediate agent for turning the wheels or raising water for that purpose. I am informed that there is a man in South-Carolina who has invented a machine to raise an immense quantity of water in a short space of time, by which it is said he can flood rice grounds, or draw off the water from drowned lands with great ease and little expence. I have not met with any person who could give me an Account of the principles on which it is constructed, how it is worked or what may be the probable expence. The inventor of the steam boat, which is to go against the stream has applied to several legislatures, which have passed laws giving him for a number of years the exclusive privilege of constructing those boats, but I have not heard that any are yet built and in use.

During the course of last week we have had here for several evenings a display of Northern lights. The wind had blown for some days from south west & the weather was warm & dry. As my house nearly fronts the S.S.W. & has a large opening back, I had a full & beautiful view of the lights from the windows of my back parlour, which is raised one story from the ground, the opposite houses only intercepting about four or five degrees from the horizon. As I viewed them on Friday evening the 30 June there appeared just over the tops of the houses a white luminous cloud extending in a horizontal position from NE to N.W. From this cloud, at different places darted up successive streams of light tapering to points, some of them to the height of 50 degrees. The stars were bright & the north pole clearly discernable among the streamers, so that by it I could judge of their height. Some times the white cloud appeared in places a little darkened before the stream ascended, in which cases I observed the ascending stream was tinged with red & continued to have a redish hue. Having a lofty steeple in view to guide my eye and direct my judgment I observed two or three of the streamers which rose in the North east & were of this hue, moving with a slow but regular progressive motion towards the North, still continuing perpendicular & very high. From one of them I thought I saw a flash of lightening; but not seeing it repeated I concluded I was mistaken. The light was so great as to cast a shadow from my body and from my hand against a wall. On the fol-

lowing evening viz. Saturday July 1 We had nearly the same appearance but not in so great a degree. These you will observe are only common phenomena, which philosophers have endeavoured to account for on various principles and about which I should not have troubled you but for a phenomenon which appeared on Saturday night. This was a luminous Belt, or stream of light forming a great and regular bow from east to west. At what time it made its first appearance or how it was first formed, whether instantaneously or by degrees, I cannot say as I did not see its first formation. My attention was called to it about half after 10 o clock. It was then quite compleat, and seemed to form an Arch passing through the zenith from horizon to horizon. As I viewed it to the west, it seemed to rise from behind the opposite houses like a stream of pale white light about a yard broad, spreading as it advanced to the zenith to two or three times that breadth. Viewed to the East, it had the same appearance down to the horizon where its breadth appeared the same as just over the tops of the houses to the west. I watched it for half an hour during which time it continued invariably the same. At length to the east I saw it drawing to a point at the horizon and gradually abating in light for four or five degrees upwards. After it seemed to have vanished to that height or rather more, it darted down at short intervals from the luminous part a pointed quivering stream. Soon after the light began to abate through the whole circle. I did not continue to watch it till it wholly disappeared as I was indisposed and afraid of catching cold; but I am told it lasted till about half past eleven. I have conversed with a person who saw it at a place about 30 miles north from this City. There it had the same appearance and seemed to pass through the zenith. I have written to Philadelphia to know whether it was seen there, but have not yet received an answer. The day following was very hot. Monday morning was overcast, but sultry. About 9 o clock the Sun broke out and it seemed as if we should have a very hot day; but about noon there arose a dark smoky vapour which covered the whole heavens, sometimes so thick as quite to hide the sun sometimes only obscuring it so as to make it appear like a great ball of fire or a dark red full moon. This smoky vapour last the whole day & in the evening there was a smell very much like that from burning green brush wood. Next day the Vapour continued but in a much less degree. Since that we have had two thunder gusts which have cleared the air and the northern lights have disappeared. I mention the circumstances before and after the phenomenon only to point out to you the state of the atmosphere.²

I have sometimes had it in contemplation to hazard some thoughts on the general Deluge & endeavour by an hypothesis somewhat different from any I have seen to prove not only the possibility but the probability, I had almost said the certainty of the waters covering the

whole Earth. But having lately had a cursory reading of an ingenious piece written on the subject by Mr Whitehurst, which I dare say you have seen, I should be glad first to know your Opinion of his hypothesis & reasoning. And while your thoughts are turned to the subject I wish you to consider what would be the probable effects of a sudden change of the position of the earth, say for instance by an alteration of the poles, an inclination of the axis 23 degrees, or a change in the Annual Orbit. I do not mean by this to divert your attention from political subjects in which I find you have been usefully employed. I have read with much pleasure the two papers containing observations on the transportation of flour, and on Contraband. I am glad they were written and delivered. For though at present the object is not obtained, yet I am confident if the proper moment is watched & improved, the arguments there stated will on some future Occasion have due weight & influence. Mrs. T. desires to be remembered to you & to your Daughter. I am with unfeigned affection & esteem, Dear Sir, Your obedient humble Servt
Cha Thomson

RC (DLC; Jefferson Papers).

¹ For this Jefferson letter, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:400–401.

² A similar account of the northern lights is found in the draft of a letter that Thomson wrote to David Rittenhouse on July 2, which is located in the Thomson Papers, DLC.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Gerry,

New York 9 July 1786

What effects will flow from the Grant of the supplementary Funds by Massachusetts at present is doubtful—indeed the value of the domestic Debt becomes more and more uncertain. The Advocates for a payment of this Debt upon what they call principles of Justice as applied to the purchasers or Speculators; are not confined to Massachusetts. The Officers of the late Army have most of them sold their Certificates; and are now clamorous against their Redemption except at a depreciated amount.¹

Mr. Osgood is decided in his Opinion, that the best mode of conducting this Business, will be an apportionment of the whole Domestic Debt upon the states or in other words for congress to make a requisition for the whole Principal of the Domestic Debt, & leave it to the states to arrange the payment with their own Citizens as they may please.

Adieu your's,

R King

[P.S.] I have enquired of Mr. Thomson if he could give any information relative to the failure of Letters &c—he says that a Letter from

him covering one to Mrs. Gerry from her Brother in the East Indies has miscarried. I cannot account for it unless the failure is in the Post Office—Seymour has always delivered the Letters from you, and I believe has been faithful—the Letters from Mr. Thompson I have always covered, and sent them safe to the P. Office. I shall mention the subject to the Post Master Genl.

RC (NHi: King Papers).

¹ For Massachusetts' response to the public debt crisis and the impact of the General Court's fiscal program on the public credit, see Richard Buel, "The Public Creditor interest in Massachusetts Politics, 1780–86," in Gross, *In Debt to Shays*, pp. 48–55.

Henry Lee to George Washington

My dear Genl.

New York 11th July 1786

Your friend and second, the patriot and noble Greene is no more—on the 19th June after 3 days fever he left this world.¹

Universal grief reigns here. How hard the fate of the U States, to loose such a son in the middle of life—irreparable loss. But he is gone, I am incapable to say more. May health attend you my dear General.

Yours Most Affy.,

H. Lee Junr

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ Nathanael Greene, former commander of the southern army, had died at age 43 in Savannah, Ga., where he was interred. *DAB*.

Charles Thomson to Patrick Henry

Sir,

Office of Secretary of Congress, July 11. 1786

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency herewith enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress assembled passed the 7th of the present month.¹ Although the inconveniences which would attend the laying out the western country into Governments of the extent mentioned in the resolution of the 10 Oct 1780 are apparent;² yet as this is one of the conditions contained in the Cession of Virginia, Congress are unwilling to deviate from that plan until the state shall revise their Act of cession conformably to the recommendation contained in the enclosed Act.³ I have therefore to request that your excellency will be pleased to lay the Act before your Legislature & communicate to me the result of their deliberation thereon.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most humble Servt,

Cha Thomson

¹ For this resolve requesting a revision of Virginia's act of cession to permit division of the Northwest territory into "not more than five nor less than three" states, see *JCC*, 30:390-94.

³ For the context of Congress' adoption of the enclosed resolve and the legislative history of the ordinance on western government which had become contingent on a revision of Virginia's original act of cession, see James Monroe to John Jay, April 20, 1786, note.

Charles Thomson to Henry Knox

I have the honor of transmitting to you herewith enclosed sundry letters which are referred to you to report. The Indian referred to is arrived & I believe it is the wish of Congress that they should put the US to as little expence as possible.¹

I am, Sir, Your obedt humble Servt,

Cha Thomson

¹ Thomson undoubtedly enclosed letters dated July 6 written to him and to John Jay by Pennsylvania president Benjamin Franklin recommending Scotosh, a "son of the half King of the Wyandots," with whom he had recently conferred in Philadelphia. Scotosh wished to visit France and was seeking congressional funds for his expenses. The matter was immediately referred to Knox, who reported the following day that the expense would be beyond the resources of Congress, however desirable the goal of gratifying the request to secure the attachment of the Wyandots and their allies to the United States. Knox's report was thereupon referred to a committee consisting of Rufus King, Henry Lee, and John Cleves Symmes, who met with Scotosh and his two companions and reported back to Congress the 18th. The trip to France was no longer an issue, as Scotosh was now "willing to return immediately to his own Country with a message from Congress to . . . his father," but the committee did recommend offering presents and defraying his expenses home. Congress endorsed the recommendation July 24, and simultaneously adopted a message of Symmes' composition for delivery by Scotosh "to the Wyandot, Delaware, Shawanese, and Huron Nations of Indians." See *JCC*, 30:398n, 401-2, 414-15, 128-29, 446n, 31:507; and PCC, item 30, fol. 385, item 69, 2:545-53, item 151, fols. 191, 211.

Charles Thomson to John Sparhawk

Your memorial of the 22d June with the papers enclosed was recd in due time and communicated to Congress. But the United States in Congress Assembled having in an Act passed the 3d June of 1784 declared,¹ "That according to the law and usages of Nations a State is not obliged to make compensation for damages done to its citizens by an enemy, or wantonly and unauthorised by its own troops, yet hu-

manity requires that some relief should be granted to persons who by such losses are reduced to Indigence and want; and as the circumstances of such sufferers are best known to the State to which they belong, it be referred to the several States *at their own expence*, to grant such relief to their citizens, who have been injured as aforesaid, as they may think requisite."

I have it in charge therefore to acquaint You that Congress have granted leave to withdraw your memorial, and further to inform You that Your application must be to the State of which You are a citizen, agreeably to the said Act of 3d June 1784.

I shall be ready to deliver your memorial and the papers enclosed to any person whom You shall order to call for them.²

I am, Sir, Your Obedt. humble servt,

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ See *JCC*, 27:543.

² For Thomson's report on Sparhawk's claim "for rent of a house occupied by continental soldiers and for damages done to the house by said soldiers," see *JCC*, 30:358-59, 398n.

The following endorsement bearing on the disposition of this case appears at the foot of this letter: "N.B.—paper delivered to Dr Jackson of Phila. Octr. 4th. 1786." David Jackson's receipt for these papers is in the PCC Miscellaneous Papers, M332, reel 9, fols. 183-84.

Edward Carrington to Timothy Pickering

Dr Sir,

New York July 14. 1786

I am to beg your pardon for having suffered your three last Letters to ly so long unanswered. This neglect has been owing to a severe Rheumatism which kept me for upwards of three months disabled to write without excessive pain—indeed that and the Ague have until within a very few days past nearly disqualified for business of any kind. The first of these Letters respects Colo Mentges' Forage Accts. The Prices of forage in South Carolina have in no year been so low as to reduce the allowance for deficiencies which accrued in that State, to less than 30/90ths of a dollar for a full Ration—nor have I allowed less—observing however that if Officers were on Command or Furlo in any other State, any part of the time, to allow for so much of the deficiencies as happened during such absence from the Army, only the prices applicable to where they really were. Upon these principles Colo. Mentges' acct. appears to be justly Stated in the debits. The statement of the Credits I suppose are also right upon the principles of allowing double of either Species of Forage when both are not to be got, and allowing that the Rice straw drawn with the grain supplies the Hay part of the Ration. As to these Accounts being paid out of the Funds appropriated to the debts of my department,¹ they were not taken into the Estimate, but still I believe, allowing that several of the

debts will from the remoteness or obscurity of the Creditor never be demanded, the funds might be Sufficient to embrace them provided the southern Bonds were fully collected, that however is far from the case and the paper money System nearly stops any further progress. Some money still remains in Mr. Webbs hands which I wish not to be disposed of untill I know what have become of several large debts which you will see on the list for Waggon & Teams purchased in 1782 payable by my special note personally binding in Jan. 1783. Upon the whole I suppose you may venture to adjust the Accounts and suspend payment until the collection in So. Carolina shall produce the money to discharge them. There is no purposes to which I would with more pleasure see the spare Money applied than those for deficiencies of forage to the Officers of the Army. As to Mrs. Carrol I positively deny that she ever gave me her certificate, and Whether the Commissioners would any of them take up the Certificates I cannot undertake to judge. As to the claim of David Atcheson He stands in the Ledger for 1781 Creditted for 29 27/90ths for services as a Teamster in 1780 on a Certificate of Robert Brit—it does not stand in the Pay Rolls but is a seperate entry in my Genl. Acct. I do not recollect the certificate you mention, or is any such credited in the Books—perhaps it is for the same & that a mistake has been made in the Sum—if you will enclose it to me I will see & send it back to you. Having now got tolerably well recovered I wish to go on with the settlement of my Accts. The Vouchers I lodged with you will be necessary—can you get some good friend who may be coming here & whose care can be confided in to bring them to me? I suppose it will be proper for you to keep the Accts. which we examined & I must have them recopied from the Books here. I am, Dr. Sir., with great regard, your Afft. ob svt,

Ed. Carrington

RC (MHi: Pickering Papers).

¹ Carrington had been deputy quartermaster general for the southern department during Pickering's tenure as quartermaster general of the Continental Army. See also Carrington to Pickering, October 8.

James Monroe to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir

New York July 14. 1786.

I shod. have answer'd your kind letter sooner but delay'd it untill I should hear from Mr. Marshall who acts for me in your affair with Randolph that I might advise you of the State of that business. By him I have been inform'd that he instituted a snit soon after I left the State agnst. him, but that by his death which has lately taken place it hath abated—that he hath in consequence thereof renew'd it agnst his Executors.¹ He fears sometime will elapse before it will be decided but

assures me of his utmost exertions to promote it. I shall particularly charge myself with it so soon as I arrive in the state which will be in the fall. A subject of some importance hath lately been submitted to congress upon the letter from Governor Henry of Virginia for Assistance agnst. the Indians. As the ultimate decision of Congress upon the propositions presented to them in a report founded on instructions to the delegation from the Executive hath been contrary to the sense of the State and may perhaps be the subject of investigation as to its propriety upon the principles of the federal compact, and policy, in the present State of the confederacy derang'd & out of order as it is, being rather of the irritating than conciliating spirit, I take the liberty to possess you with all the evidence upon which congress acted, except the letter to the delegation which I fear will not be copied in time; if however it is not I will forward it to you in my next.² I will also in my next enclose you a subsequent dispatch from the Executive on the same subject.³ It was with great reluctance that we brought forward these propositions & especially so after we found they wou. probably be negativ'd, that we were constrain'd to take a decision—but that it was our duty I am persuaded you will find by an examination of these papers. Believe me I have no secrets of a publick nature or which particularly respect myself that I will not with pleasure commit to you in confidence. The intimation which respected myself was from the gentleman now in the chair to a gentl. in presence with Colo. Grayson; by the latter it was handed to me. As I knew myself to be above the influence of such considerations I was hurt exceedingly that an apprehension of the kind cou. get admittance into the breast of anyone. I therefore immediately withdrew myself from a station wh. cou. possibly subject me eventually to such an imputation.⁴ I had absented myself the last year from Congress for the purpose of attending this court & in consequence incurr'd in some degree the displeasure of the State; certainly I subjected myself to the unfriendly imputations of some who did not wish me well. This circumstance perhaps hurt me as much as any other consideration. But upon more mature consideration I am inclin'd to believe circumstances which might be suspected to exist of personal interest in the lands, but which my last I inform'd you did not, wou. upon the common usage of the world justify such an apprehension; I am indeed therefore far from reprehending this gentl. upon this occasion. I have only mention'd it to yourself & some one or two friends here whom I cou. not avoid mentioning it to. Mrs. Monroe is well & promises to shew her friends she did not write but to some purpose. She joins me with the whole family in best wishes to yourself, Mrs. Gerry & Miss Thomson. I am dear Sir very sincerely your friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

RC (Elsie O. and Philip D. Sang, River Forest, Ill., 1981).

¹ Monroe was apparently referring to the estate of John Randolph whose death in England in 1784 left his son Edmund, Virginia's attorney general, to resolve numerous

suits brought by his father's creditors. See John J. Reardon, *Edmund Randolph: A Biography* (New York: Macmillan Pub. Co., 1974), pp. 74–75.

² See William Grayson to James Madison, May 28, note 7; and Charles Thomson to Patrick Henry, July 3. In his May 16 letter requesting federal troops to attack hostile Indian tribes in Kentucky in retaliation for depredations committed against Virginia settlers, Gov. Patrick Henry had clearly recognized the limitations imposed by the 6th article of Confederation on the use of state militia for this purpose, except in extreme emergencies, without congressional sanction. Henry was also reluctant to engage state militia since Congress had hitherto failed to reimburse Virginia for expenses incurred by George Rogers Clark in his campaign against the Indians during the war. Monroe clearly felt that Congress' June 30 resolution requesting that Henry order Virginia militia to combine with federal troops under Col. Josiah Harmar in military operations "for the protection of the frontier" violated Henry's instructions. See *JCC*, 19:216, 30:381; and *PCC*, item 71, 2:427–34.

³ Gov. Henry's letter of July 5 enclosing extracts of letters from Col. Arthur Campbell and Col. Joseph Martin had been read this day in Congress. See *PCC*, item 71, 2:441–56, item 185, 3:169; and Henry, *Patrick Henry*, 3:362–68.

⁴ It is not known what specific "imputation" Nathaniel Gorham may have made concerning Monroe's appointment as one of the judges to settle the Massachusetts-New York boundary that would have caused Monroe to resign that position on May 15, but Monroe had been speculating with James Madison in New York lands and Gorham apparently implied a conflict of interest. See these *Letters*, 22:92–93, 280; Monroe to Madison, February 9, 1786, note 5; and Monroe to Gorham, May 15, 1786.

Charles Thomson to Richard Butler and Samuel Holden Parsons

Gentlemen Office of Secretary of Congress, July 14th. 1786.

I have the honor of transmitting to You herewith enclosed a resolution of Congress passed the 12th.¹

And am with much respect, Gentlemen, Your Most Obedient & Most humble Servt.

LB (DNA: *PCC*, item 18B). Addressed: "Generals R. Butler, S. H. Parsons, late Commrs for treating with the Indians."

¹ For the enclosed resolution revoking "the Commissions. . . granted for the purpose of treating with the Indians," see *JCC*, 30:396–97.

This economy measure was fueled by the improvement in Indian relations that followed the negotiation of the four major treaties with the Indians that were published in April, and by the pending reorganization of the Indian departments that had been recommended June 28 and was adopted August 7, for which see *JCC*, 30:185–95, 368–72, 31:490–93, 960–61. See also Thomson to Benjamin Hawkins, April 18, note 3.

James Manning to Nicholas Brown

Sir. New York 15th. July [17]86

Yours of July 4th came to hand yesterday. I have not Leisure to pay much Attention to Mr Bowlers Publication at present.¹ I put one of his

pieces into the hands of the President, to whom it was directed, but have not heard his opinion on the subject. I shall mention it to Gentleman of my Acquaintance, but fear his prospects of Sales here are not flattering.

Two days ago Genl Miller arrived² with the Allowance made me by the State, which will not amount to much, as those Indents sell from Virginia to this place at 6/ per Pound & under—And for less still southard of that. I doubt my being able to get more than 5/6 in Cash for them here. They were, Col Lee informs me 15/ per £, in Virginia till the floods of them from the Northward lowered their price to 6/. Informing you what States have passed the Requisition, will not give you any rule by which you can know where to send your Indents; for South Carolina is allowed to pay hers by the Large Advances she made towards the close of the War: so that, I am told they will not fetch more than 2/6 per Pound there. In short I cannot find that you will find any Market for them in this quarter, except New York, Pennsylvania & Virginia, & then at the Prices I have mentioned. Connecticut, New Jersey, Delawar, Maryland, &c not having passed the Requisition is doubtless the cause of this low price.

I agree with you that the delay of the Requisitions is an unfortunate circumstance, but if the States will not keep up their Delegation, these delays will be unavoidable; & as a Rhode Island Delegate must I not shut my mouth? A requisition for this Year is reported by the Treasury board, has been committed & the Committee are now sitting to form a Report thereon to Congress, what will be the fate of this time must determine, but I fear it will be too long delayed;³ & when sent forward I fear the neglect of the delinquent States, in not passing the Act, will retard its movement through the Legislatures. In short there is such an amazing inattention in many of the States to the great Interests of the Confederacy, & their respective Duties, that I fear; I greatly fear that nothing but great public Calamities will sufficient[ly] awaken them.

As to Mr Chinn he told me that the State had not got their Accts ready for Adjustment,⁴ or rather that they would not bring them forward, lest they shoud not be allowed, intimating they were such that they were conscious ought not to be allowed, & therefore did not bring them forward. I could not deny this but told him it was quite different from what I had understood to have been the case. General Miller tells me that he intirely misrepresents the facts. These Commissioners are amenable to the board of Treasury. I moved in Congress that an Enquiry should be made into their conduct in this Business, & was told that it belonged to that board to call them to account. I have proposed to Gl. Miller to wait on the board soon on that subject, but unless we are urged forward or at least supported by complaints from the State, our Application must be quite lame. Mr Dane & myself have proposed soon to bring forward a motion in Congress that their Com-

missions should all terminate next December; & that after that all the States should compleat their Settlement with the board of Treasury by an Agent or Agts. from the States. This I conceive will be in favour of our State as the Commissr. appears so untoward. I spoke with him myself upon my arrival here on the Subject of the College, but he told me that his Appointmt. would admit of no claims to be brought in now; so that our only prospect is to obtain a Grant from Congress, & they are so crouded with important Business at present that I fear I shall be able to do little on the subject, tho I mean to make the Experiment, when I have so paved the way by an Acquaintance with the Members that I may hope to succeed. I am Sensible that the Procrastination of the Settlement of the public Accts. is a radical Evil in this Confederacy. How to cure it is a question of no small magnitude. A reduction of the Salarys may have its influence. General Miller has given me a full account of the Politics of Rhode Island, which to use a Parliamentary Phrase, are *damned* by all I hear speak of them. The Ship of the State in my opinion is caught by a violent tempest but I recollect that you have got an old experienced *Sea Captain* at Helm.⁵ You I conclude construe the late prop to the Law, as extending to all members of the State whether in or out of its Jurisdiction, & of course I must not speak, not to say think against it. Till lately, I had conceived that money included in the Idea of it some thing desireable, & of course the Possession of it was esteemed a great good; & that when any thing ceased to be viewed in that Light it, with Propriety, could no longer be called money. If this way of thinking was founded, perhaps the late paper Emission ought not to be called money now. I most sensibly feel the embarrassments of my friends, but the extreme rigour of the Law, will, I think, defeat itself, & probably the Legislature, at their late Session could not have more effectually subserved your wishes than by the severity of that Act.

I am glad Delegates are chosen to meet those of other States respecting the Regulations of Commerce.⁶ But find several of the States have made no Appointments, & Maryland for one. Connecticut is also in that number.

The Alarms of an Indian War are growing more & more serious; & it appears from recent, & authentic Accounts from the western frontiers that they must be sacrificed, or we must immediately raise a considerable Armament to repel, if not extirpate some of those Savage tribes. Great Numbers have already suffered by their barbarous hands. With an exhausted Treasury this is a calamitous event, but possibly this may awaken the lethargic States.

I hope you will be able to settle matters agreeably in College. Am sorry Mr Fobes's Health will not permit him to attend constantly.⁷ Accept my hearty thanks for your communications & continue them when anything worthy of Notice occurs. Present my best Respects to

your worthy Lady & the rest of the family, & believe me to be, With
the highest Sentiments of Esteem, Sir, Your Humble Servt,

J. Manning

RC (RPJCB: Brown Papers).

¹ That is, Metcalf Bowler, *A Treatise on Agriculture and Practical Husbandry* (Providence: Printed by Bennett Wheeler for the Author, 1786), Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 19,522.

² Nathan Miller took his seat in Congress July 14. *JCC*, 30:407.

³ For the adoption of the 1786 requisition August 2 and its transmission to the states, see Charles Thomson to the States, August 12, note 1.

⁴ That is, Edward Chinn, commissioner for adjusting the Continental accounts of Rhode Island. See *JCC*, 28:447.

⁵ That is, John Collins, "a minor merchant and sea captain" of Newport, who had been elected governor of Rhode Island in May. Polishook, *Rhode Island and the Union*, pp. 124–26.

⁶ Rhode Island had elected Jabez Bowen and Samuel Ward, Jr., delegates to the Annapolis Convention scheduled to convene in August, although they failed to attend, learning en route that the convention had already adjourned. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁷ That is, the Rev. Perez Fobes, who had been appointed vice president of Rhode Island College to preside over the institution during Manning's absence. Guild, *Early History of Brown University*, p. 426.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York, July 15, 1786.

I had the pleasure to receive yours from Phila. yesterday¹ but so late that I could not answer it sooner. I hope you have before this recover'd from yr. fatigue, indeed I advise your prosecution of yr. journey here as soon as possible as the preferable place for that purpose. I should be happy you could give us as much of yr. time as possible here for reasons more self-interested—of these we shall confer when we meet. I beg of you to make the payment for my advances to Taylor entirely convenient to yourself. I shall and believe with tolerable convenience wait the time you mention—indeed it will produce no inconvenience. The amt. of land purchas'd of Taylor was 900 acres at 1 & 1/2 dolrs pr. acre—for half of this I have already paid & have his rect. being for 675 dolrs.—1/2 of this you owe me.² The balance is to be paid to Taylor sometime in next May. I have no doubt of the preference in favor of lands on the Mohawk to those of the same price at present, in any part of the confederacy—as being equally fertile and more secure in all the other circumstances which can appreciate the value of land—but upon this we will also confer when we meet.³ We have 12 States on the floor & yet do little or nothing. I postpone however troubling you with any thing of a publick nature at present as you have not perhaps yr. cypher with you & I expect so shortly to see you. I doubt whether it

will be possible for me to accompany you in the trip up the river. Grayson is ill of the gout—Carrington much indispos'd & the most important business still undecided on or otherwise dispos'd. of. Believe me yr. affecte friend & servant.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Monroe's hand, though not signed.

¹ See Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:87.

² For Monroe's and Madison's speculation in Kentucky lands, see *ibid.*, and 89n.1.

³ For their speculation in New York lands, see Monroe to Madison, February 9, note 5.

Charles Thomson to James McHenry

Dear Sir

New York July 15. 1786

I have the pleasure of forwarding to you herewith enclosed a certificate of your being elected a Member of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. It was sent to me by Mr Vaughan from an Opinion that you were still attending Congress. I embrace the present Occasion to request you would inform me Whether you had any uncommon appearances in the heavens on Friday & Saturday the 30 June & 1 July & par[ticularly] Whether a remarkable bow which was visible here between 10 & 12 Oclock on Saturday & which extended from east to west, passing through the Zenith was seen by any in your neighbourhood.

With much respect, I am, Sr, Your Obedient humble Servt,
Cha Thomson

RC (PPAmP: American Philosophical Society Archives).

Pierse Long to John Sullivan

Sir,

New York July 16t. 1786

In conformity to the Vote of the Honble Legislature, which your Excellency enclosed in a letter to the president of Congress,¹ The Check books, or a register of the final Settlements issued by the Paymaster were sent Via Rhode Island to Nathl Appleton Esqr Boston, to be forwarded by him to Mr. Gilman, they went from here the 12th instant and hope they will be at the Office in a few days. I have the Honr to be, Your Excellsy. Most Obedt. Servant,

Pierse Long

RC (Nh-Ar: Executive Records).

¹ This June 30 letter concerning counterfeit settlement certificates in circulation in New Hampshire is in Sullivan, *Letters* (Hammond), 3:462.

James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York July 16th. 1786

I have not heard from you for several months past, the last being dated sometime previous to your removal to London.¹ Not knowing you wou^d. have staid so long I have wrote you by every packet to France. We have now present 12 States & hope this will be the case for some time. Soon after my arrival here in the winter I suggested to you my apprehensions that the condition of the act of cession from Virga. which respected the extent of the States to be erected over the ceded territory was an impolittick one & that it might be proper to recommend it to the State to alter it.² A proposition of this effect was submitted to Congress which ultimately pass'd advising that it be vested in Congress to divide the sd. territory into not less than 3 nor more than 5 States.³ But the investigation of this subject has open'd the eyes of a part of the union so as to enable them to view the subject in a different light from what they have heretofore done. They have therefore manifested a desire to rescind every thing they have heretofore done in it, particularly to increase the number of Inhabitants which shou^d. intitle such States to admission into [the] confederacy, & to make it depend on their having on[e] 13th part of the free inhabitants of the U.S.⁴ This wit[h] some other restrictions they wish to impose on them evinces plainly the policy of these men to be to keep the[m] out of the confederacy altogether. I consider this as a dangerous & very mischievous kind of {policy}⁵ & {calculated to throw them into the hands of Britain}. I know not with certainty whether they will be able to carry this point but if it is press'd & a probability of being carried we shall object to the power of the U.[S]. to determine the numbers without the consent of the State. It having been left open in the act, does by no means put it in the power of the U.S. to make such restrictions on this head as to defeat the condition altogether. If they do not therefore agree with the delegation to leave it upon the ground of April 23d, 1784, we shall propose a subsequent convention between the parties as to that point—& deny the right of the U.S. to act otherwise in it. In my last I advis'd you of an {intrigue} on foot under the {management of Jay to occlude the Missisipi supported by the delegation} of {Massachusetts}.⁶ Since my last no further measures have been openly taken in the business, yet it is not relinquish'd. As yet there hath not been a fair tryal of the sense of Congress on the subject. I have a conviction in my own mind that {Jay} has manag'd {this negotiation dishonestly}. On the other hand I am persuaded that {the minister here} has no {power} on the subject—yet I am firmly persuaded that he has conducted himself in such manner in this business as to give him & {his court hopes} which {the sense} of {Congress} nor {his instructions authorise}. Having been on all foreign business laterly, indeed since you left us, I have had an opportunity of knowing {him} well, & this communication is founded in circumstances this opportunity hath

given me. The {Massachusetts delegates} except {the president}⁷ whose talents & merits have been greatly overated (tho preferable greatly in the latter instance to his brethern) are without exception {the most illiberal} I have ever seen from {that state}. Two of these {men} whose names are {Dane⁸ and King} are elected for the next year which is my motive for making known to you this circumstance. It may possibly be of some service to you, as I shall leave Congress, to possess information, of this kind. The former is I believe {honest} but {the principles} of the latter I doubt. It has been propos'd and supported by our State to have a Colonial govt. establish'd over the western districts & to cease at the time they shall be admitted into the confederacy; we are fully persuaded it will be beneficial to the settlers & to the U.S. & especially those to whose frontiers such establishment form'd an immediate barrier. This hath not been decided on—& hath only been postpon'd in consequence of the inordinate schemes of some men above alluded to as the whole policy of the affrs. of that country. I am not aware of any thing else that I can give you new. In October I shall leave this for Virga. & shall settle in Fredericksburg for the purpose of commencing the practice of the law. I hope by this you have reachd Paris agn. & at home—that you have been well pleas'd with your trip. Mr. Madison writes me today [he] is at Phila. & intends in a few days a visit here. I am, Dear Sir, yr. affectionate friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC; Jefferson Papers).

¹ Apparently Jefferson's letter of January 27, although he had written briefly to Monroe on March 2 before leaving for London the second week in March. See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:236–37, 312.

² See Monroe to Jefferson, January 19.

³ See *JCC*, 30:390–94.

⁴ *JCC*, 30:402–6.

⁵ Words printed in braces in this text were written by Monroe in cipher.

⁶ See Monroe to Jefferson, June 16.

⁷ That is, Nathan Dane, Rufus King, and Theodore Sedgwick, and excepting Pres. Nathaniel Gorham.

⁸ Jefferson mistakenly deciphered this name as “Dana,” obviously thinking of Francis Dana who attended Congress in 1777–78 and 1784.

Massachusetts Delegates to John Lowell, Theophilus Parsons, and James Sullivan

Gentlemen,

New York 17 July 1786

No answer is yet received from Mr. Johnson of Maryland to the joint letter of the Agents of Massachusetts & New York of last year.¹ A few weeks since Mr. Monroe resigned his appointment as one of the commissioners, and about the same Time we received a letter from Mr. Fleming dated in May, informing that he had then just received our

letters written in June 1785. Mr. Fleming supposes that in consequence of the delay, his place has been supplied, but in the event of his being still in the appointment, & the controversy undecided, the letter does not amount to a refusal of the appointment. We have agreed again to write a joint letter with the Agents of N York to Mr. Fleming, & Mr. Johnson, soliciting their acceptance.² The only vacancy, if they accept, will be that occasioned by Mr. Monroe's resignation. By the agreement we must appoint Mr. Beattie, Mr. Vandyke, Mr. Nash, Mr. Hooper, Mr. A. Middleton, Mr. Gibbons or Mr. Houstoun—the Agents of New York call on us to elect; we have not yet done it, and could wish for your Advice; if we do elect, without your Advice, we shall agree in Mr. Hooper.³

With esteem & Respect we have the honor to be Gentlemen your
obt. & vry hble servts.,

Nath Gorham

Rufus King

[P.S.] It is impossible with certainty of success to fix the Time for the assembling of the Court before we know whether the Judges will accept.

RC (MH-H: bMS Am 1582). Written by King and signed by King and Gorham.

¹ See these *Letters*, 22:92-93.

² King seems to be confused about the status of the persons solicited for appointment as judges to determine the territorial dispute between Massachusetts and New York. It was Samuel Johnston of North Carolina who had been solicited with William Fleming and John Sitgreaves in June 1785, not Thomas Johnson of Maryland, who had been asked December 28, 1784. Furthermore, both Johnson and Johnston had already written to the secretary of Congress to signify their acceptance of the appointment. See *ibid.*, note 3, and 447n3.

³ Cf. Massachusetts Delegates to James Duane, July 4; and Theodore Sedgwick to Duane, August 7, 1786.

Charles Thomson to John Sullivan

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, July 17, 1786

I have just received the letter your excellency did me the honor to write on the 7 of this month together with the Act of the legislature providing for Officers, soldiers & seamen disabled in the service of the United States.¹

The return of the persons disabled and enrolled in the list of Invalids in New-hampshire which your Excellency proposed to forward has by some means been omitted as I did not find it enclosed.²

I embrace the present opportunity of congratulating you on your advancement to the high trust & Office of President, and have the honor to be, with the highest Esteem and respect, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most humble Servt,

Cha Thomson

RC (Nh-Ar: Executive Records).

¹ Sullivan's letter is in PCC, item 64, fols. 276-79; and Sullivan, *Letters* (Hammond), 3:463. The enclosed New Hampshire act is in PCC, item 74, fols. 33-40.

² For this return, which was sent under separate cover and which Thomson acknowledged subsequently, see Thomson to Sullivan, July 26, note 1.

Virginia Delegates to Patrick Henry

Sir:

New York, July 17. 1786.

We had the honor to receive your favor of the 5th, on the 15th inst.¹ We immediately communicated its contents to Congress but were at a loss how to act under it, as we had already received and transmitted to your Excellency the decision of Congress upon the report which had been founded on your previous letter,² and which we are under the necessity of considering as the answer you now require.³ We are the more confirmed in this opinion from our having stated to Congress, after the letter was read, that we had already transmitted the decision above alluded to, and submitted to them whether the late one contained sufficient matter to induce a reconsideration of the subject with different views from those which had influenced them on the former occasion, without their taking any measures in consequence thereof. We thought proper to require of the secretary at war information, what measures he had taken to carry into effect the ultimate resolves of congress on the subject, for the purpose of knowing in what light he held that resolution, and what the powers given by it to the commanding officer, and received in answer the enclosure which we have the honor to transmit you.⁴ We have to request of your Excellency to make known to us such measures as with a knowledge of these circumstances you shall think proper to advise, and to be assured that we shall embrace every measure in our power to carry them into effect.

We have the honor to be with highest respect, Yr Excys most obedt servts,⁵

Wm Grayson. Ed. Carrington.

Jas. Monroe. Henry Lee, Junr.

MS not found; reprinted from Henry, *Patrick Henry*, 3:371.

¹ According to Charles Thomson's endorsement and dispatch book, Gov. Henry's letter was received and read in Congress on July 14. Congress did not meet on the 15th. See *JCC*, 30:409; and James Monroe to Elbridge Gerry, July 14, note 3.

² See Virginia Delegates to Henry, July 5. When Henry received Charles Thomson's letter of July 3 and the delegates' letter of July 5 informing him of the dispatch of federal troops to the Kentucky frontier, he wrote immediately to Col. Josiah Harmar assuring him of the cooperation of the Virginia militia in that district. Henry, *Patrick Henry*, 3:368.

³ Henry had proposed that Congress establish a system of federal Indian agents to reside among the various tribes to provide state governors with early warnings of intended hostilities against settlers and to take advantage of tribal jealousies by fomenting inter-

tribal warfare. Congress took no action on this proposal, however, since it had under consideration an ordinance for the organization of an Indian department, for which see Monroe to John Jay, April 20, note.

⁴ Henry Knox's reply to the delegates has not been found.

⁵ The Virginia delegation was soon joined by Williamsburg lawyer St. George Tucker who arrived in New York on business July 19 and who kept a diary of his five-week visit to the city. Henry Lee "very politely traversed half the town to aid me in search of a good house," related Tucker. "Met with Col. Carrington—he looks wretchedly—also with Cols. Grayson and Monroe, the latter much improved by matrimony." Within a week Tucker and his wife accepted an invitation to live with Carrington and Grayson. "They occupy a large house about an hundred yards out of the city, most delightfully situated, commanding a fine view of the north river with a number of beautiful Country seats near it." Tucker's diary contains descriptions of New York social life, his travels through the surrounding countryside, and occasional character sketches of persons such as the Spanish minister, Don Diego de Gardoqui, and his secretary, Francisco Rendon. Tucker left the city in late August to attend the Annapolis Convention. See "A Virginian in New York: the Diary of St. George Tucker, July-August, 1786," edited by Bettina Manzo, *New York History*, 67 (April 1986): 177-97.

Theodore Sedgwick to Pamela Sedgwick

New York 18. July 1786.

Thank you my dearest Pamela for your obliging & affete. letter by J. Edwards. I had just sent you a letter by Eglerton, accompanied with your cloak and a small Bundle of I dont know what to Miss Pyncheon. I mention this now because I have not to my recollection given you as I ought this information before.

Return if you please my compts. to Miss P. tell her she has my thanks for her attention to the instruction of my children. So far as mental information extends, I always supposed her an excellent instructress. But her Ideas of polite behavior or mine are extreemly absurd. All formality, and attentive precisions of behavior, as it implicates pain, is to me disagreeable, but ease, and unconstraint as it excites an idea of satisfaction causes an agreeable sensation. Hence the great difference between the well bred and polite, and those who discover a painful oppression from the presence of the company.

While I am speaking of the business of schooling permit me to request you to speak to the doctor respecting the erection of a school house. To me it is an object of importance.

So far is your being pleased at my being left out of the election for the next year, from requiring any apology that I sincerely thank you for it. I have long since been convinced that public life is not a source of happiness, but the reverse. Vulgar applause was never to me a cause of exultation, and I think that I am not degraded in the opinion of the respectable, & virtuous. A consciousness of rectitude and no inconsiderable share in the esteem of good men will not admit a regret that fools, & knaves are gratified at my expence. I can, and I hope

without regret descend, (if indeed it is descending) to private life. I can attend more than of late I have been able to the instruction of my children. I can enjoy more of the company and conversation of my dearest & best beloved. I can make a better provision for my family, and enjoy more of that ease which a long course of unremitted labor has rendered eligible, if not necessary. Indeed I am now precisely in that situation which previous deliberation had made the object of my choice. But compulsion and not choice is the cause of my being placed in these circumstances, and you know Shakespear makes Falstaff say, That, *he would not give reasons on compulsion though they were as plenty as Blackberries*.¹

I am sorry one of Miss Betsy's volumes is lost, with great attention I put them in one bundle, Bacon told me he would take particular care of them, and if I am not mistaken he informed me he has put them together with the tea, and I think some thing also into P. Dewey's chest. Perhaps an immediate enquiry may restore it.

I am sorry for poor Williams, he is the child of misfortune. I hope however he will soon recover.

I wish my dearest love you could spend not only an *evening*, but a *night* at my hotel. O my dearest had I your company, I should enjoy life with much greater satisfaction, than at present falls to my share. Make my Compts. to all my freinds, particularly Mr. Edwards. Tell Harry I say he is a very lazy fellow, or before this he would certainly have wrote me. Give my love to the Doctor, & remember me kindly to all the members of my family. Farewell! & be assured I pray you of my unaltered, & unalterable affection, Theodore Sedgwick

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

¹ Cf. *Henry the Fourth*, part 1, act 2, sc. 4, lines 242–44. "If reasons were as plentiful as blackberries, I would give no man a reason upon compulsion."

Nathaniel Gorham to John Adams

Sir

New York July 20h. 1786

This will be delivered you by Mr. James Maury a Gentm. of reputation & credit in Virginia.¹ I beg leave to introduce him to your acquaintance and from the character I have heard of him I make no doubt you will be able through him to derive great information of the state of affairs in this Country. I remain with great respect, Sir your Most Humble Servant, Nath Gorham

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

¹ James Maury (1746–1840), a Fredericksburg, Va., merchant, was seeking a consular appointment in England and was about to embark for Liverpool. He later served as United States consul at Liverpool, 1790–1830. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 8:262n.2, 9:86.

Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

July 21st. [1786]

Transmitted to the Office for foreign Affairs.

Letters—Dumas. April 27th. 1781

Sept. 28th, 18th, 30, 1783. translation.

May 14, June 26, Oct. 7, 1785.

Novr. 15th, 1785.¹ translation.

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, June 10–15, 1786.

¹ None of these letters from Charles W. F. Dumas, Congress' agent at The Hague, is in the PCC. However, Dumas' draft of three of them, those dated September 28, 1783, June 26 and November 15, 1785, are in the Dumas Collection, Inventaire II, fols. 587, 724, 766–67, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, DLC microfilm.

John Cleves Symmes to Joseph Ward

My very dear sir,¹

New York the 24th of July 1786.

Your kind letter of the tenth instant like a precious cordial was very pleasant to me, I received it with great satisfaction, and it adds not a little to the portion of happiness I have yet remaining, to learn that my friend is basking in the full beamings of connubial bliss. I too have had my sun shine of prosperity since our last interview at Morris Town, but those days of felicity were transient, they are gone, and the stage of life seems at present to be hung round with gloomy scenes. I beg sir that you will present my sincere respects to Mrs. Ward and observe to her that tho' I have not the honor of an immediate acquaintance, yet I find myself much interested in her happiness since it is inseparably connected with yours.

Sir the political part of your letter contains sentiments in perfect unison with my own on the state of our nation. I know very well that our enervated situation will afford cause of triumph and songs of joy to our enemies, and the consideration thereof mortifies me most sensibly, but until the several states awake from those baneful slumbers of insensibility, and shake off those groundless jealousies which forbid their vesting in Congress, powers, adequate to the governing of a nation whose interests are so complicate[d], and in many respects so local, I do not see but that our political ship must inevitably be wrecked: and I much doubt whether we shall be able to rouse them until some fatal catastrophe involve us on[c]e more in blood & war.

These are distressing reflections indeed, and I am ready to cry out Oh! such an event must not, shall not take place; but my dear sir let me ask you what rational grounds there are to induce any other opinion: there is not a state in the Union which may not be charged with great delinquency, many with inveterate obstinacy, some indeed with avowed hostility to Congressional measures. And what are we better than other nations of whom history abounds with example, who having had pleasing prospects dawning upon them, by some inconsiderate act, some fatal dissension, or unaccountable omission have precipitately fallen from the most envied station to become a bye-word and reproach. Perhaps you may wish to know what we are doing in Congress? why sir to tell you the truth, in my opinion we do not even do those things for which we have sufficient powers: very little indeed is in our power to do, but this we might do, we might take effectual measures for selling the federal lands, last year was spent by vainly attempting to carry into execution a plan for laying the whole country into townships of six miles square, previous to the sale of any part. This season the same scheme is again put into operation, but I fear that like the former attempt it will prove fruitless as the Indians are still hostile. Thus year after year is wasted away, the public debt enhanced by the interest arising thereon; to say nothing of the great expence attending such a train of surveyors, when by opening a land-office in some proper place for the purpose of selling the land and granting warrants of survey, the public would be put to no expence, and millions of dollars in certificates would be immediately paid into the land office by men who would not be baffled in their views of taking up the land, by a few hostile Indians, as the public surveyors are from year to year,² and which cannot well be prevented.

When we shall effect a sale and settlement of that most delightful region is altogether uncertain, but my attention at present seems wholly engrossed by the object; I purpose to make a journey into the western country in October next with a view of feasting my curiosity in that fertile soil and unparallel'd country;³ I expect to spend a year on the tour, if I live to return I will do myself the honor to give you a brief relation of its true character. I make no doubt but in a few years there will spring up in that western hemisphere many Towns and even cities of the first distinction, the Country is finely interspersed with navigable Lakes and rivers well adapted for commerce, and the soil by all accounts will prove the Egypt of America. Our posterity may flourish there in some after age in a manner of which their progenitors have at present few or no Ideas.

But in the mean time my friend we have to struggle through a group of surrounding difficulties, God grant us success. And be assured sir that however gloomy my future prospects may be, it shall al-

ways brighten my days to hear of your happiness and that of your family, which I beg you will often communicate to, dear sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

John C. Symmes

RC (ICHi: Ward Papers).

¹ Recipient conjectured from the letter's location in the Ward Papers. Joseph Ward (1737-1812) has been identified in these *Letters*, 2:345n.

² For Symmes' interest in this subject, and his chairmanship of a committee recently appointed to meet with a representative of the Wyandot tribe to promote good relations with "the Wyandot, Delaware, Shawanese, and Huron Nations of Indians," see *JCC*, 30:382, 401-2, 414-15, 428-29; and Charles Thomson to Henry Knox, July 12, note.

³ Symmes last attended Congress on October 26 (*JCC*, 31:911, 916), embarking soon thereafter on a new career of western colonization that took him to the Ohio country in the spring of 1787. Subsequently Congress authorized a contract with Symmes for the sale of two million acres in the Miami River Valley, and in October 1788 the Miami Purchase of one million acres was formally entered into by Symmes and his associates. See *DAB*; *JCC*, 34:181-82, 565-66; and John Cleves Symmes, *The Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes, Founder of the Miami Purchase*, ed. Beverley W. Bond (New York: Macmillan Company, 1926).

James Manning to Solomon Drowne

Sir,¹

New York 26th. of July [17]86

Yours inclosing a Letter to Mr Otto came to hand, and I handed it to him soon after. You probably have seen the Gentleman himself before this, as he is on a Tour to the Eastward, & meant to visit you before his return. I find him an agreeable enlightened man.

The Business of Congress engrosses all my attention. We are now on the N York Act respecting the grant of 5 per Ct. at the Instance of Congress. We find this an embarrassing business, and indeed I doubt much its ever being granted in such a Manner that Congress can take it up & carry it into effect. The peculiarly embarrassed Situation of the Finances of the federal Government, augurs ill, in my opinion, to its long Existence under its present form; more especially unless the States are more attentive to their several duties to the confederacy. What alterations dire necessity may produce in their line of conduct, it is not for me to say; but the weight of that necessity, will I imagine soon be upon us. Yet "Nil desperandum" I wish to make my motto in a matter so interesting as the preservation of the federal Government of these States.

Your friends here are generally well. There is no news here of consequence, which is public. I mean to set off for Providence about three weeks hence, & I fear I cannot do it sooner.

Please to make my best respects to Mrs. Drown and family & all friends who may enquire after, Sir, Your Humble Servt,

J Manning

RC (RPB; Drowne Collection). Addressed: "Dr Solomon Drown."

¹ Dr. Drowne has been identified in these *Letters*, 19:269.

James Manning to Levi Wheaton

Dear Sir,¹

New York 26th. July [17]86

Yours of the 28th Ult did not come to my hands till it was too late to enjoy the Happiness of an Interview with Mrs. Wheaton as she was gone forward. Whether I shall be able to do anything for the College by my seat in Congress, is yet doubtful. I mean, however, to make the Experiment. Mrs. Manning is not with me, & an Absence of 3 or 4 Months, I assure you appears long. I left home the 28th of April, & expect to return about the 20th of next Month to attend the Commencement, &c. Whether I shall return is doubtful, tho I expect it, till Novr. Your letter mentioned never reached me. The great Business of the Nation now on the Tapis in Congress demands my constant Attention. I hope most of it may be dispatched before I leave this for Providence.

Please to make my best respects to friends with you at Hudson, & believe me to be with Sentiments of Esteem, Sir, Your Humble Servt,
James Manning

RC (RPB; Wheaton Manuscripts). Addressed: "Doctr. Levi Wheaton, Hudson."

¹ Levi Wheaton (1761-1852) was a physician in Hudson, New York. He had entered the College of Rhode Island in 1774, but the war interrupted his education and he was not awarded a degree until 1782. In the interval he studied medicine with Dr. William Bowen of Providence and acquired medical experience in the military. He was later appointed professor of medicine when his alma mater, renamed Brown University, created a medical school. Joseph M. Toner, "American Medical Biography," vol. 128, Toner Collection, DLC.

Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin

Sir,

New York July 26th. 1786.

Some weeks ago the Board of Treasury thought proper to direct the Continental Loan Officer in Pennsylvania to suspend the Payment of Interest on Public Securities to Citizens of the State on a Supposition that the Legislative Act of March last did not amount to a full Compliance with the Requisition of September 1785, though the same Board had before admitted it to be such Compliance, and had directed the Loan Officer to proceed accordingly. When the Board communicated their suspending Order to Congress, it was referred back to them for Report. We took Occasion to confer with them on the Subject, endeavouring to convince them of the Impropriety of the Order, and of the Mischievous Consequences that would probably ensue if it should

he persisted in. The[y] appeared to wish the Order had not been made, but having officially communicated it to Congress they did not think themselves at Liberty to revoke it without a Special Order for the Purpose, and promised to make as favourable a Report as they could to induce Congress to give such Order. On Thursday last their Report was presented, a Copy of which will be inclosed herewith.¹ The next day, which was as early as forms would admit, we moved for a decision upon it; but, several Gentlemen demanding time to prepare for the Question by an Investigation of the Facts it was postponed. Yesterday it was taken up on our Motion to have it referred to the Board to take Order when, to our great Surprise, it met with a vigorous Opposition. After a debate of some hours, the Motion was negatived by ten States out of the twelve present.² The Report, however, is not dismissed by this decision but remains still open to another Motion, tho' We do not think it proper at present to agitate any farther Question upon it.³

Time will not permit us at present to state the heads of the Arguments used on the Occasion. But as it may be useful to the State that they should be known, we may think it our duty to trouble your Excellency with a farther Communication for this Purpose at another Time.⁴

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, Your Excellency's Most obedient and most humble Servants,

Charles Pettit,

John Bayard.

Tr (PHarH: RG 27).

¹ Because of the Continental government's inability to service the interest due on loan office certificates, the states had been allowed to pay the interest due on certificates issued in their own state and to credit such sums to their Continental quotas. Such allowances ("Indents of Interest" or "facilities") were limited to a fraction (1/4 in 1784, 2/3 in 1785) of a state's quota, however, and were to be allowed only to states that were otherwise in compliance with the requisitions. In reporting on "the Requisition of the present Year," the board of treasury had declared June 22 that as Pennsylvania had over-credited itself (by \$86,657) for "Discounts in Interest," it was short in its specie payments by the equivalent "Overplus in Indents." And it elaborated this finding in reports of June 29 and July 19 explaining the controversy that had developed with Pennsylvania's comptroller general, John Nicholson, over the state's "account of facilities" and the board's disallowance of further credits for "indents." See JCC, 30:359-66 (esp. 360), 385-86, 420n, 430-32.

² See JCC, 30:430-32.

³ For the referral on August 14 of this report to a committee consisting of Lambert Cadwalader, John Henry, and Rufus King, and the committee's August 16 recommendation in favor of Pennsylvania "relative to the issue of Indents," which was adopted August 23, see JCC, 31:518n, 524, 554. See also Charles Thomson to Franklin, August 25.

⁴ See the enclosure at Pettit's letter to Franklin of August 4.

² In his letter to Delaware president Nicholas Van Dyke, Thomson concluded: "and just beg leave to observe that your State still continues unrepresented." PCC, item 18B, fol. 77.

That most of the States have complied with the recommendations *sub modo*, or under restrictions & limitations, which grants much less than is asked, will appear if we consider, what is included in the powers to levy—and compare the powers granted by the laws therewith.

The *power to levy*, includes in the opinion of the Committee,

that of forming the necessary regulations or revenue Laws with suitable penalties

of declaring the money in which the duties shall be received

of establishing the number of revenue Officers, & ascertaining their duties—& may I add

of instituting courts for the trial of Offences &c.

In short, as the *power to levy* is a general power for the purpose of collecting the revenue, it must, accordg. to the reasoning of the Comm. include in it all power Legislative, judicial & executive, so far as the exercise of these powers are necessary to the purpose of collect[ing] the Revenue. Let us now enquire how far the States have granted these.

1. Legislative—New Hampshire grants this, under a variety of provoes.

Mass., Virginia, S. Carolina—the same.

N. Carolina.

All of them provide that persons Offending shall not be deprived of a trial accordg. to the Laws & Cons[titution].

Connect. provides the Ordinances shall not be incons[is]t[ent] with the cons[titution] & internal police of the State.

Delaware that they be not repugnant to the Laws & constn.

N. & S. Carolina & Georgia provide no duties shall be laid on Negroes.

2. Judicial. The following States expressly reserve this power to be exercised by their own courts.

New Hampshire to the court of common pleas with an appeal to the superior court whose determ. shall be final.

Virginia, Mass., R. Is., & S. Carolina the same.

N. Carolina before some Court of record without an appeal.

How far the Officers of Congress can execute the pen[altie]s after trial & convict[ion] I will not determine.

But it appears clearly that Congress cannot under most of the Laws exercise, appoint or controul any judicial power at all. The Courts of the diff. States are only competent, and not accountable or contronlable by the U.S. The Legislative power is extremely limited & confnd.

Connecticut & Delaware in particul. by the reserve they make limit it, the one by the court & internal police, & the other by the constitut. & Laws, & the others limit the mode of trial to be according to the Laws & cons[titutions]. These are so general as to afford occasions for continual disputes, & for a state to defeat the operation whenever they please.

From these observations it appears that the States generally have not given the powers asked, yet Cong. have determined these Laws are a compliance—a strict compliance they cannot be—it must be meant then that they are a substantial compliance—and so a sub. comp. is suffi[cient]. The quest. then is, Is the Law of N.Y. a substantial compl.

That is a subst. compl. which will effect the end congress have in view. The end was to raise money.

The Law of N.Y. makes effectual provision for this.

But it is objected

1. That several of the States have inserted in their Acts express conditions, that the other States give a power to levy.

To that I answer, that though this is made a condition of several of the Acts, yet I apprehend this cannot be meant to be construed strictly—for if so, then the acts of the other States cannot operate, for it has been shewn that very few of them give the *power to levy*, in its full latitude. It seems evidently to have been the design of the States, to authorize Cong. to put it in operation when[ever] the other States passed effect. Laws, to collect the impost for the benefit of the union—hence some express the condition one way, some another. The design was that as the monies arising from the impost was for the benefit of all—all should grant it, and provide effectually for its collect.

2d. The State of N.Y. reserves the power to levy. This is a material depart. from the plan &c.

If we recur to the reason of this condition it will appear that it was to prevent a fluctuating system in the States, and to destroy equality of the Tax &c. These objections do not lie against the Act of N.Y.

The reason why Cong. shd. make the [?] are, that 13 dif. Legislatures would introduce different Laws, ordain various penalties for the same offence, destroy the equality of the Tax, & in great measure defeat the revenue.

Suppose the laws are different—& the penalties various—is it of any consequence—may they not yet be effectual? Laws may be different & yet effectual to attain their end—penalties may be various, and yet sufficient sanctions to Laws. Laws in different countries are diff. on the same subject, and yet answer the purposes for which they are made. The same offence has in different place different penalties, & yet are effectual. This is the case in the different states. Stealing in this State is punished with death—in some others it is not capital—but in both the Laws are in great measure sufficient to deter from the crime.

The rev. Laws in the several States are diff. and the penalties various but yet effectual.

But it will destroy the equality of the Tax. If the respective States reserved the right to alter the revenue Laws at pleasure, this obj. would be valid—but in the case before us the impost is granted to be col-

lected in a certain mode, which mode cannot be changed, for 25 Years, without a recall of the grant—witht. a breach of faith. The other States may as well repeal their Laws or N.Y. alter hers—if this Law then is effectual the equity. of the tax cannot be destroyed or the revenue defeated by it.

3. A further objection is that the Law does not make the Collectors of the duties amenable to & remov[able] by Congress.

The Act does make the Officers *amenable* to Cong.—for it is expressly made the Duty of the Collectors, to render a just and true account thereof from time to time to Congress when thereunto required—they shall from time to time pay the Money to the U.S. or Order—and the Atty of Congress are authorized to prosecute them in a summary way by information, either in the supreme Court or Court of exchequer. The Officer, it is true is not remo[vabl]e by Congress, but only upon convict[i]on. But still the Law is effectual, to induce a faithful execution of his duty. If he neglects to prosecute, he is to be accountable to be sued by the Treasurer, to acco[un]t every three Months.

N.H. whenever Cong. shall notify that all the States have passed Acts granting like duties to be appropriated in like manner.

Mass. the same.

R. Island, whenever the other States in the union shall agree to the impost to the acceptation of Congress.

Connect.

N.J. No Condition.

Delaw. Until Laws be passed by all the other States granting the same duties—& establishing funds for pay[ing] their quotas of 1.1000.

Maryland when Congress shall pass such Laws as Congress shall accept as a substantial Compliance.

S. Carol. To take effect as soon as the U S shall notify to the gen. Assembly or to the gov. in their recess that all the States have passed Acts vesting the US in Cong. with power to levy in the respective States like duties.

Georgia. The same.

MS (N: Melancton Smith Papers). In the hand of Melancton Smith.

¹ Smith apparently prepared these notes for use in this day's debate on the committee report on New York's May 4, 1786, impost act, which according to some delegates failed to comply with Congress' April 18, 1783, appeal for authority to levy a Continental impost. The committee appointed May 12 to consider New York's impost act—Rufus King, William Samuel Johnson, John Laurance, James Monroe, and Charles Pettit—reported June 13 but their report was not debated in Congress until July 27. See *JCC*, 30:263n, 345n, 439–41; Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry, May 6, note 2; and Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell, July 28, note 1.

Smith believed that New York was being unfairly singled out for special criticism. He argued that the impost laws of many other states only partially complied with the congressional recommendation, that Congress' April 1783 act was only "recommendatory," that the states had a right to adopt conditions, and that New York's law had made "effectual provision" for the end designed—"to raise money." Urging its acceptance to re-

lieve the "miserable" state of Continental finances, Smith reviewed the compliances of the various states and found little to distinguish New York's act from that of several of her sister states. See also James Monroe to George Clinton, August 16.

Charles Thomson to the Chevalier de Mauduit Du Plessis

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, July 27. 1786.

Your letter of the 23 has been duly received and communicated to the United States in Congress assembled and I have it in charge to acquaint you,¹ that Congress receive with pleasure the information given them of your intention of becoming a citizen of the United States: but as the power of admitting individuals of *other* countries to the rights of citizenship in *this* appertains to the particular state in which they mean to dwell & establish themselves, it will be necessary for you to apply, for that purpose, to the State of Georgia, within which the Estate you have purchased & are about to occupy, appears to be situated.

With the warmest wishes for the happy accomplishment of your views and success in your Undertaking, I have the honor to be, With great respect, Sir, Your Most obedient and Most humble Servt.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ By virtue of having recently purchased an estate in Georgia, Du Plessis assumed that he had become "a citizen of North America," and had written to Congress to render his "faith & homage." His letter had been referred to the secretary for foreign affairs, John Jay, whose report was adopted this day by Congress and "Referred to the Secretary of Congress to take Order." See PCC, item 81, 2:127-32; and JCC, 30:445. For Du Plessis' commission as lieutenant colonel in the Continental Army and service in America 1778-81, see these *Letters*, 8:385n.3, 9:511, 640, 11:174.

Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell

Dear Sir New York July 28th 1786

I have waited with impatience for a proper subject of Information to give official Intelligence, & am reduced to the necessity of pleading an apology for intruding on Your patience with Frien[d]ly correspondence, Congress having com to no Decision on any interesting subjects. We have now twelve states on the floor. Delaware Yet remains unrepresented, the Impost of New York has employ'd our Deliberation for som time without full Determination. In this Act the proceeds of the five per cent is given but not the Power to levy, nor the removal of the officer at the will of Congress without regular proceeding by way

of complaint. This measure has occasioned endles Debates, many Gentlemen are for rejecting the Grant, whilst others viewing the critical situation of national Credit are inclin'd to accept. My opinion accords with the Latter, being fully persuaded it is not a period that will admit of punctilioes. Yesterday after various Debates a Committee of five was appointed to Draw up an ordinance to carry the Impost into execution, & report what Acts required amendment.¹ The organization of the Indian Department will com under consideration this Day, being pospon'd until the Impost was Decided. The Delegates from Georgia, & North Carolina, have join'd in opposing the unfederal measures attempted in this ordinance. I have Ventured to assert in the face of Congress, that they have, by their Commissioners, Trampled on the Constitutional & legislative rights of the State of North Carolina. This observation remains unanswered. No Gentleman appears wiling to meet the argument in Point, but give indirect answers by observing that if the States deny the Power to Congress, they must expect to Defend themselves against the Depradations of the Indians. To which I reply'd, that the Federal Union made no such Distinction, but demanded the United force in this case, as wel as against foreign Powers. The Indian Department is Divided into three parts, Northern, Middle, & Southern, we shall endeavour to prevent the appointment of a Superintendant for the Southern Department at present. Congress have under consideration the recommending to the states, the granting more efficient powers for Federal purposes. This subject is under Commitment.² The subject of Treatyes is also under consideration. The particulars I am not at liberty to mention, which I sincerely regrett, as I wish Your sentiments on the subject. Should any thing occur to You in the line of my Duty, a free & unreserved communication will be receiv'd with gratefull acknowledgment, & esteem'd a mark of Freindship. It will not be in my power to continue here through the winter, should Your Excellency grant the permission, unles Coll. Blount would return in time for me to go home, & bring Mrs Bloodworth, without whome I don't intend to serve another Tower [Tour].³ My naval stores is Yet on board & have lost considerably by leakage, what the[y] will sel for is Yet unknown. Trade is very Dul, & money scarce. The paper currency is expected out in a few Days. The State of Rhod Island is in convulsions on the account of their paper Money. The Merchants have shut up their stores notwithstanding the severe penalties of the Law. How the matter will terminate remains uncertain, som are apprehensive of a desolusion of Government in that State. Hope Your Excellency will pardon this tedious scribbling on subjects of such triffling importance. My respectfull compliments wait on Mrs Caswell. I Remain, Dear Sir, With sentiments of real Esteem & sincear regard, Your Excellencies Most Obedient & Very Humble Servt.,

Timothy Bloodworth

RC (PH: Dreer Members of Congress Collection).

¹ See *JCC*, 30:443–44. For this committee's recommendations, see Rufus King's Memorandum, September 13, note 2.

² See James Monroe to John Jay, April 20, note.

³ For the problem of North Carolina delegate attendance in 1786, see Bloodworth to Caswell, May 3, note 1. William Blount had returned to North Carolina in June and William Cumming, Charles Johnson, and John Sitgreaves either declined to attend or resigned their seats. See *N.C. State Records*, 17:544, 18:707, 773–75.

William Samuel Johnson to Richard Jackson

Dr. Sr.,

NYork 30th. July 1786¹

I some time ago receiv'd two Letters from you one recomeng Mr. Ansty² to my Attention, the other relating to yr. own & my affairs for both which I return you thanks. Mr. A. is a very worthy & agreeable young Gentleman, & I am happy in the honour of his Acquainte. He is now assiduously engaged in the Objects of his Mission, & I doubt not will do everything that depends on him to accomplish them in the most satisfactory & effectual Manner, but I confess it appears to me to be an Herculanian Labour in which he is engaged & equally difficult & dubious in its Execution. I sho'd have acknowldgd. the favr. of those Letters before this had I not expected every day for six weeks or two Months past to have been able to communicate to you the result of the enquiries I had proposed to have made respecting your Farm & the dispute between Messrs. Eliot & Reade. The Gentn. were appointed to this Enquiry six Months ago & were to have enter'd upon it as soon as the snow was off the ground & the spring open'd so that they could view the Farm properly. At farthest I expected it would have been accomplish'd in the Month of May, but about that time I find one of the Gentn. was unexpectedly but unavoidably call'd away & oblig'd to give all his Attention to other affairs which very nearly concern'd him while my necessary Attendance in Congress at the same time confin'd me here, & prevented my pursuing it in the manner I wish'd & sho'd otherwise have done. I have however frequently written to them upon the subject & finally rec'd for answer that after several disappointments they were to enter upon the business about four Weeks ago since which I have continually expected the result but have not yet rec'd it. As soon as it comes to hand you shall be inform'd of it, & In the mean time I presume that Reade is doing as well as anybody else that we could procure.

As to public affairs we have little worthy yr. Notice. We are negotiating affairs with the Indians to preserve peace on our Borders—making Purchass's of them—Surveying our Western Territories & preparing to sell the vacant lands there in satisfaction of our Domestick Debt; which we hope to sink chiefly if not entirely in that way. Our foreign Debt is attended with more difficulty. The States exhausted by the ex-

pences of the War & their Trade being in an Embarrassed State are neither so able & not so well disposed as we could wish to make the necessary exertions to supply Congs. with the means of discharging it & satisfying the Interest in the mean time. These Difficulties nevertheless we hope to surmount, & by Degrees to place our affairs upon an agreeable footing. Some Bickerings have arisen with respect to our Eastn. Boundry. at St. Croix, & we have some dispute with Spain relative to the Navign. of the Missassipi & our Southn. Limitts, but we have no doubt those matters may be settled amicably as a small extent of Country either way is of very little Conseqe to us who perhaps have too much already & We have no object but to Cultivate Peace with all Mankind & Our situation with respect to our Northn. Posts you are well acquainted with. While writing I have the Honr. of yr. favour of the 29th of April acquaintg me with yr. having reciev'd £165 of the assignees of Robinson & Trotten for my Dividend of their papers. I can at present only repeat my sincere thanks for yr. Attention to this business to which I have no doubt alone I am indebted for recoverg their Money. I will very soon draw upon you for that sum & in the mean time have the Honor to be with the most perfect esteem & respect, Dr. Sr., Yr. most oblig'd & most obedt. humble Servant.

FC (CtHi: Johnson Papers). In the hand of William Samuel Johnson.

¹ Johnson also wrote a brief letter on July 28 to his son Robert Charles Johnson, chiding him for failing to send information on the voyage of his "Mamma," whose arrival in New York Johnson was anxiously awaiting. Johnson Papers, CtHi.

² That is, John Anstey, who was in the employ of the British royal commissioners investigating the claims of American loyalists, for whom see Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry, April 19, note 1.

Rufus King to James Monroe

Dr. Sir

Sunday 30 July 1786

I called at your house last evening to mention that in a conversation with Mr. Pettit on the Subject, on which we met Mr. Jay some weeks since at Mr. Alsop's, we coincided in Opinion that the committee could do nothing preferable to reporting that they be discharged, the business referred to a committee of the Whole house, and that Mr Jay be directed to attend.¹

I wish your Opinion of the propriety of such a Report, and am, Affectionately, Your friend,

R. King

RC (DLC: Monroe Papers).

¹ King, Monroe, and Charles Pettit had been appointed on May 31 a committee to take into consideration John Jay's May 29 request for a committee "to instruct and direct me on every point and subject relative to the proposed treaty with Spain," in order better to maintain the secrecy of his negotiations with Diego de Cardoqui, for which see Monroe to James Madison, May 31, note 2.

Monroe apparently agreed with King's appraisal and suggestion, and on August 1 Congress adopted an order requiring the "Secretary for foreign Affairs to attend Congress on thursday next." See *JCC*, 30:323, 31:457; and Charles Thomson to Jay, August 1.

Charles Thomson to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir,

New York July 30. 1786.

I have received your letter of the 10 of May and am happy in the opportunity of being serviceable to you or any of your friends.¹ I shall with pleasure honor the draughts of Mr Watson or Mr Eveleigh and take care of and forward the seeds and plants as you desire. While on this subject I shall beg leave to mention a circumstance I have heard touching the introducing the native plants of one country into another. The late Duke of Argyle being fond of gardening and desirous of having some of the indigenous plants of America engaged a captain of a vessel on whom he had conferred some favours, to go, on his arrival in America, into the woods and after raking off the leaves to scrape or pare off about a quarter of an inch deep of the Surface of the earth, put it into hogsheads and bring it to him. When it arrived he had a bed prepared in his garden and spread the American earth over it to the same depth it was pared off from the native soil. The consequence was, as I have been informed, that there came up next year a number of plants, many of which were quite new in that country, & undescribed by any botannical writer.

On the 8th of this Month I acknowledged the receipt of your favour of the 22d of April and troubled you with an account of a singular phenomenon that appeared in our sky on the night of the 1st at the same time with a Northern light. I wrote also to you on the 6th of April & acknowledged the receipt of yours of the 8 Oct. I hope my letters have got safe to hand. With the greatest esteem & affection I am,
Dr. Sir, your sincere Friend & Servt.,
Cha. Thomson

RC (DLC: Jefferson Papers).

¹ Jefferson's letter is in Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:505-6.

Charles Thomson to John Jay

Sir

Office of Secretary of Congress, August 1. 1786

I have the honor to inform you that the United States in Congress assembled require your attendance in Congress on Thursday next at 12 oClock on the subject of your letter of the 29th of May.¹

With great Respect, I am, Sir, Your obedt humble Servt,
Cha Thomson

RC (DNA: PCC, item 55).

¹ For the congressional order requiring Jay's attendance, see Rufus King to James Monroe, July 30.

Charles Pettit to Charles Biddle

Dear Sir,¹

New York, 2d August, 1786.

The requisition for the year 1786, has this day been passed in Congress, so nearly in the form & on the principles contained in the printed copy of the Draught I sent you some time since,² that I shall not now trouble you with the mention of the little alterations that have been made, especially as we are yet sitting & in debate of other matters.

I will, however, mention some attempts we made (tho' unsuccessfully & with very little support from any other State) to obtain some essential alterations in the Estimate, and of course in the sum to be required. For this purpose I send you another copy as the shortest mode of explaining what I mean.³ The Requisition is for money for the service of the year 1786, we therefore moved to strike out the article marked A,⁴ as relating to a future year, as providing for a second years Int. on the foreign Debt, when but one years Int. is provided for on the Domestic Debt, tho' the latter was before, one years Provisions behind the former; and because it was beginning a Provision for the Payment of the Principal of the Foreign Debt, even before it becomes due, without holding out any intention of a Provision for any part of the Domestic Debt, which has been long due; and that this (unnecessary at present,) attempt to anticipate payments, which we have heretofore rested on the Revenue System, recommended by the Act of April, 1783, would be considered as contemplating the relinquishment of that system on the Establishment, which we suppose the public credit so much depends, & that this Idea would have a great tendency to defeat the Establishment of that system now so nearly matured.

This being denied, we moved to double the article marked B, in order to make a Provision for the Domestic Debt, proportioned to that made for the Foreign; this was also denied.⁵ We therefore thought it our duty to oppose the general question on the Requisition as it stands; but is [it] was carried by 9 or 10 States.

I am streightened for time & can say no more at the present moment. This may serve as information to Council, though it does not go in official form.

I am Dear Sir, your most obedient servant, Chas. Pettit.

MS not found; reprinted from *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:37.

¹ Charles Biddle was vice president of the Pennsylvania Council. *Pa. Council Minutes*, 14:553.

² See *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:22–25; and *JCC*, 31:964 (item 540).

³ See *JCC*, 31:461–65; and *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:38–41.

⁴ This article is not identified in the *Pa. Archives* text, but for the clause Pettit moved to strike out during debate on the requisition this day, concerning “payment of principal and interest, due (on foreign debt) in the year 1787,” see *JCC*, 31:461.

⁵ Pettit is undoubtedly referring to the motion he made during the debate of August 1, which is recorded at *JCC*, 31:455.

James Manning to Samuel Jones

Dear Sir¹

New York 3d. of August 1786

Yours of the 29th ult came this day to hand. Am happy that your Journey was so prosperous; and that the School is erected with such flattering Prospects, as well in reference to the Superintendent of the School, as to the promoting education amongst our people there. I am glad you are so highly pleased with the Country as to become a Proprietor; and also that you met with such Attention from the people & compensation for your services. I presume you mean Dr. Stephen Gano.² He was ordained yesterday, and is to move next week to Hudson, the new City up this river. I also greatly rejoice at the flourishing state of religion there. I cannot resolve the important question, “Will you or will you not go there.” Nothing can be more ardently wished for, by more than an Interview with you. I had appointed Mr Wilson to be here by the 17th of this Instant, as I meant that day to sail to Providence, & he means to accompany me; and, previously to the reception of your Letter I had made an Appointment, on Business of Consequence, to be at Tappan the Friday before the 2d Lords day in this month (which I cannot recal) though I wish I could. If Business of the highest Consequence were not now pending before Congress; Business too, that relates immediately to that good land from which you recently came; & Business which I am not at liberty to communicate, and business which I am bound to attend, I say if these were not facts I should with Pleasure wait on you at Pennepack. But situated as I am, I heartily wish to see you at New York on Wednesday next [if] possible. The reason why I wish this is the important business which I referred to, comes on the next day, on Thirsday; and from what I can conjecture, I expect Rhode Island will probably have a casting voice on that subject. As you are interested in Kentucky, I wish much to see you before that question is decided. Should it not be in your power to arrive here by Wednesday afternoon, In the right of the State, I can have it postponed one day. When you consider my calls from the East-

ward; my duty to the federal Government, together with my other attentions here, you will not think me ungenerous in this Proposal. Were I at my own disposal, I declare that I neither should regard Money, time nor fatigue to meet Mr Jones in Pennsylvania, on this subject; & when my friend recollects that I last October went from Providence to Philadelphia for the sole purpose of promoting this Object, I presume he will not impeach me of coolness in this business. Should your visit to New York, at the time proposed, be impracticable, I would wish to meet you at Mr Van Horns at the Plains, the Thirsday Evening following the time you mentioned, being the 17th Inst; and if I hear nothing from you before I will meet you there; though, should you come to the Plains at the time appointed, I think you might, the Monday following, come over to New York. This I shou'd greatly prefer; & if you cannot visit York on Next Wednesday, Try to come the Monday following. At any rate I must see you if Providence spares my life, before I return. I expect to return to Congress after Comencemt. & Association unless arrangements [...] unforeseen at Pro[vidence . . .]

With Sentime[nts. . .] I am [...] Sir [...] Your [. . .]

RC (RPB: Henderson Manuscripts).

¹ The Rev. Dr. Samuel Jones (1735–1814) was minister of the Baptist Church of Pennepek (afterwards Lower Dublin), Pa., and proprietor of Jones's Academy in Philadelphia, which was devoted to the preparation of youths for the ministry. Guild, *Early History of Brown University*, pp. 320–21.

² For the career of Manning's nephew Stephen Gano, and his abandonment of medicine for the Baptist ministry, see *ibid.*, pp. 413–14.

Charles Pettit to Benjamin Franklin

Sir

New York 4th. August 1786

In a joint Letter which Col. Bayard & myself did ourselves the Honour to address to Your Excellency the 26th of last Month,¹ we proposed at a future Time to state to Your Excellency the Heads of the Arguments used in the Debate on the Report of the Board of Treasury recommending a Continuation of the Issuing of Indents of Interest in Pennsylvania. That Statement I have the Honour to transmit herewith.²

Yesterday a Requisition on the States for Supplies for the Year 1786 was agreed to in Congress; it is now in the Press & will be officially transmitted to the States by the Secretary.³

I have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect, Your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant, Cha. Pettit

E N C L O S U R E

The Report of the Board of Treasury tendering a Resolve that they "be authorized and directed to give Orders for the Continuation of the Issue of Indents of Interest in the State of Pennsylvania agreeably to the Requisition of the 27th of September last" &c., being read, it was moved that the same be referred to the Board to take order.

This was thought to be the best mode of disposing of the Business, as it would restore the matter to the original footing on which it stood on the first act of the Board acknowledging the compliance of the State with the Requisition and directing the Payment of Interest accordingly, without placing on the Journals any Record of the versatile Conduct which had taken Place. And as the Proviso in the proposed Resolution left the Claim of the State, as to the 86,658 Dollars, undecided upon, and it was thence supposed that little or no opposition would be made to the motion, it was thought best not to invite it by stating arguments in favour of the motion unless they should be rendered necessary in answer to objections.

The motion was objected to as unreasonable, unjust and impolitic.

Unreasonable, 1st, Because from the words of the Requisition of the 27 & 28th of April, 1784, it was plain that the one fourth to be discounted in Certificates of Interest related only to one fourth of the *Balance* then remaining unpaid of the four millions, whereas the Discount demanded by the State was one fourth of their whole Quota of the four Millions. 2dly, Because no other State had made a like Demand. 3dly, Because the present debilitated State of the Finances would not admit of such a Deduction from the Specie Claims of the United States.

Unjust, 1st, Because it was well known that the Sums which had been paid by the several States on account of the eight million Requisition previous to the Statement accompanying the Requisition of 1784, had been consumed in the Service of former years, and that three fourths of the Balance remaining of the moiety of the eight millions, had been relied upon in Specie, by the assent & approbation of all the States, Pennsylvania included. 2dly, That opening the Loan office in Pennsylvania would let loose a Flood of Facilities to inundate the other States, whereby the Citizens of Pennsylvania would derive a Benefit to which they were not intitled till they should have fully complied with the Requisition.

Impolitic—1st, Because if this Discount were allowed to Pennsylvania, it must of course be allowed to other States in the same Proportion, which would occasion a Deduction of between three & four hundred thousand dollars from the Sum in Specie paid into or demandable by the federal Treasury on that Requisition.

2dly, That the meaning of Congress as to this Point, in the Act of April 1784, being plain, and not objected to at any Time since, but by

Pennsylvania, it became Congress to persist in the Measure if it were only to avoid the Charge of versatility; but when it was considered that the yielding of this Point to Pennsylvania necessarily involved the admission of the like claim from other States, the Circumstances of the Treasury forbid any Relaxation.

3dly, If the State should now gain her Point in getting her Payments acknowledged and entered in the way she was aiming at, it would not be in the Power of Congress hereafter to control the adjustment of the Payments under the Requisition of 1784 as they ought to be adjusted—That the payment in Facilities was a desirable object to the State, and if Congress were firm on this Occasion, the State would comply with the Specie Payment in order to avail herself of the Payments in Facilities.

It was answered on the part of Pennsylvania.

That the claim of the State to have the 86,658 Dols. placed to the account of Facilities, was certainly reasonable, because it was founded in the highest Equity, & therefore it would be good Policy to admit it. That to reject it would in fact be an act of ill policy as well as Injustice: it would be punishing the most forward State in the Union in her Payments, merely for her forwardness, and rewarding the more backward States for their Delinquency.

But that as the Decision of this Point was expressly waved by the proposed Resolution, it was not necessary now to go into the Argument upon it; but to consider the Purport and Effect of the Resolution in other Respects, leaving this Point to be discussed hereafter—and if this resolution should be agreed to, the Discussion might probably be made with good Temper and an accommodating Disposition; but if otherwise, Disgust and Sourness might take place which might be highly injurious to public measures. That Pennsylvania had hitherto been among the foremost of the States in acceding to and promoting federal Measures, and had decidedly led the way in Contributions of Money: it was the wish of her Citizens that she should continue to do so:—but they had some knowledge of their Rights, and were not insensible to Indignities. They felt the late order for suspending the operations in the Loan Office as indelicate as well as unjust. Even admitting that the act of March last *might* be so construed as to fall short of a full compliance with the Requisition of September 1785, yet (as was now admitted by the Board of Treasury themselves) it *might* be so construed as to make a full Provision for that Requisition; and having been at first so construed and acted upon, the mode taken to bring the State into a Compliance which they deemed unjust, savoured too much of Indelicacy & Disrespect to have a conciliatory Effect, but might and probably would irritate & offend if not corrected as early as possible.

That it was evident from every circumstance that the Legislature intended, by their Act of March last, a full compliance with the Requisition of Sept'r 1785, whatever might be their view as to former Requisitions. It was also clearly evident that the Deficiency charged on the State related entirely to a former Requisition, and ought not to be considered as at all affecting the latter; it was therefore by a disingenuous & illiberal Construction of the Act of Assembly, that it was declared to be an insufficient compliance with the Requisition which was its immediate object; and the insisting on that Construction betrayed a Disposition towards the State which her comparative merit as a member of the Union was far from deserving. That the Resolution under Consideration would leave the Dispute concerning the 86,658 Dollars on fair and Proper Ground for future Discussion without injury to either side of the Question. If therefore the Proposition should be rejected, on what motive could it be accounted for that would not savour more of that narrow vindictive Spirit which too often attends the Bickerings of Individuals, than of that liberality and candour which should always mark the Conduct of States.

That the Board of Treasury had, by their Report, manifested a Desire to correct the Error they had committed; but having officially communicated the obnoxious measure to Congress, they considered an Order of the House necessary to enable them to proceed in it. The matter therefore now rested with Congress, and how far it would be proper to turn into Coolness and Disgust the federal ardor of a State which had been, and might be continued to be, a liberally yielding Source of Supplies, and that too on a mere punctilio which had been abandoned by the Board who brought it into View, must be submitted to their wisdom & Prudence.

Note.—These arguments were not delivered in the order in which they are here arranged, but were brought forth in a course of Answers, Replies, Rejoinders, &c., and are now stated from memory in such order as to convey the Intention, of the Speakers with tolerable Precision.

By Mr. Smith's Return there appears to be, of the 4/10ths of the new Emissions, at the Disposal of the United States, vizt,

At Liberty by the Rect of old Emissions from the State of Pennsylvania, to the	of Augt 1786	}	57,607 49
Will be at Liberty when the States shall have paid in the Balance of old Emissions		}	<u>28,839 51</u>
			86,447

Of which there remains due to the State on acct of the 309,000 Dollars exchanged for the State Emissions } 78,642
 *Balance remaining at the Disposal of the U.S. 7,805

It is proposed that this 7,805 Dollars shall be immediately at the Disposal of the United States, on Condition that they neither claim nor issue any part of the above mentioned 78,642 Dollars.

And as the said sum of 78,642 Dollars has been paid over to the State in Bills of the State of 1781—that the said Bills of 1781 be repaid to the U. States, or debited to the State of Pennsa in the general account at the +option of the U. States, they paying to the State of Pennsa the like Sum of 78,642 Dollars in the new Emission money of 1780.

Notes added since.

*Note.—This Balance is supposed to arise from some of the warrants not being fully paid which were estimated in the 208,000 Dollars supposed to be appropriated before the negotiation of the 390,000 Dols.

+This option was proposed in order to soften Feelings, and was so understood at the Time—But it was nevertheless expected, and so understood also, that the option would be decided according to the Desire of the State.

RC (ICHi: Gunther Collection). Enclosure (*Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:42–45).

¹ See Pennsylvania Delegates to Franklin, July 26.

² See enclosure.

³ For the transmittal of this requisition, adopted August 2 not “Yesterday,” see Charles Thomson to the States, August 12, note 1.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir Circular, Secretary of Congress, August 4. 1786

Pursuant to Order I have the honor of transmitting to your Exy herewith enclosed a state of the representation in Congress for the Month of July to be communicated to the legislature.¹

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Yr Exys M. Ob & m. h S, CT.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For this enclosure and the 11 other monthly attendance lists sent to the states during the Congress of 1785–86, see Appendix.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My Dear friend,

New York 5. August 1786

Congress on Wednesday passed a requisition for supplies—I inclose

a copy;¹ it is indeed but a copy of the Requisition of the last year. How far the states can or will comply with this requisition God only knows.

Worcester, Middlesex, & Bristol, the News papers inform us have been in county convention for the redress of Grievances—the three Counties in Main it is said are to meet in September. What does all this mean?² Are our country men incapable of a free Government—or does all originate from the Defect of the federal Constitution.

If any person goes to the Maryland convention from our state, I hope you will attend.

Farewel, Yours with affection,

Rufus King

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ See *JCC*, 31:461–65.

² For discussion of the meaning of this “convention” activity, see William Pencak, “The Response to Shays’s Rebellion Reconsidered,” in Gross, *In Debt to Shays*, pp. 125–27.

James Manning to Nicholas Brown

Sir,

New York. 5th of August 1786

Inclosed I here send you the requisition, which is now through Congress, & will be immediately sent forward to the Executives of the several States.¹ I sent you a copy of this before, that you might there see the compliance, or not, of the several States, with the last requisition. Of course nothing will be sent forward, of the present Copy, preceding “*In Congress Aug. 2. 1786*”. Great opposition to this Requisition were made to it, in its several stages through the House. Every ordinance which passes Congress requires length of time, & great discussion; &, I think, much more than is necessary, in many cases.

Business very interesting to this Union will detain me here much longer than I expected; & it will be with the utmost difficulty that I can get home to attend the Commencemt. but I mean to leave this by the 20th of this Month for Providence.

As to News I have nothing to communicate, except that the Treaty with the Algerines has totally failed,² I wish it may not prove highly disgraceful, as well as injurious to the commerce of the United States, apart from the large sums squandered in doing nothing.

Mr Samuel Jones has returned well from Kentucky, I had a Letter from him since his return, & hope to see him in this City before I return.³

Please to make my Compliments to Mrs Brown & Family.

With Sentiments of Esteem, I have the Honour to be, Sir, Your
Humble Servt.,

James Manning

RC (RPJCB: Brown Papers).

¹ See Charles Thomson to the States, August 12, note 1.

² See the following entry.

³ See Manning to Jones, August 3 and 23.

Pierse Long to John Langdon

Dr. Sir

New York August 6th. 1786

I do myself the honr. to enclose you a news paper, for your perusal, which contains the price current of Merchandize in this City.¹

I have always flatter'd myself that we should before this have been at peace with the Barbary powers—but to my sorrow I am disappointed. Congress have received letters from Mr Randal, assistant to Mr Lamb, giving an acct. of their return to Spain from Algiers—without effecting the purpose of their Mission.² The Truth is their demands are so extravagant—and the finances of the United States are so deranged that it cannot be obtained in their present condition. I am not certain that Spain has concluded a peace with them as yet and have my doubts whether they will or not. The truce ceased in the spring—and we have news paper accts. of depredations being committed on their Trade since that Time. We have undoubted advice from England, that the people of that country, are in general very unfavourably disposed towards us, and the language wch. prevails there, is that we have no right to neither will they consent to form any commercial system with us, and boast that they will be our carriers, and enjoy all the advantages which would (was a commercial treaty concluded on) result to us.

A treaty of commerce between the United States & Portugal, I hope will soon arive to be ratified as it was finished on our part in the month of April.³ The trade to that country has been favorable to us in former times. I hope it will again revive, & that some of our citizens may derive such advantage thereby—as will in some measure compensate for former losses—(I had forgot the Algerines are yet in the way, I should be content if no earthly power can remove them, that they might be removed from the earth, by the powers above).

I have said we have as yet had no official account of a peace being concluded between Spain and Algeirs—but if it is, in all probability Portugal and the other nations at war with them, will endeavour to conclude one also—in which case the United States will be their single object—if so what is to hinder their destroying our trade, in the proper season, even on our own coast. Is their no way that can be found out, to begin a navy. However I have got hold of a subject, that requires in the execution theirolf a great deal of what we have none of, Vizt *Cash*—therefore conclude, D Sir, with very great Regard & Esteem, Your most Obedt. Huml. Servant,

Pierse Long

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ Undoubtedly the August 3 issue of Eleazer Oswald's *New-York Journal*, which printed an item listing the prices current of 30 articles of merchandise.

² A 31-page narrative by Paul R. Randall of his experiences with John Lamb in Algiers, which he sent to Thomas Jefferson May 14, was one of several documents on the subject of negotiations with the Barbary States that had been submitted to Congress by John Jay on August 1. Jay's enclosures consisted of letters from Thomas Jefferson of May 12, 23, 27, 27, and 31, and from John Adams of June 6, 1786. According to various endorsements by Charles Thomson, these letters were read and considered by Congress August 2, 3, and 4, and on the latter day the "injunction of Secresy" was removed from Jefferson's and Randall's letters "so far as relates to the Algerines." See PCC, item 80, 3:45, item 84, 6:211-13, item 87, 1:255-498; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:514-16, 525-36, 567-69, 582-90, 600.

³ See Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry, July 6, note 1.

Pierse Long to John Sullivan

Sir,

New York August 6th. 1786

In conformity to your Excellys. desire I have collected the best information in my power on the subject of paper money which is as follows.¹

Rhode Island has emitted £100,000 to be issued on landed Security, in double the amount of the sum borrowed, to run seven years at 4 Per Cent intrest, then the intrest to cease, and one seventh part of the principle to be called in yearly, until the whole is in. The money is printed & deliverd to, & signed by five men, who are called a grand committee. Their is another man who keeps said committees office, receives the money when compleat, and delivers the same to two men in each Town, who are appointed by the Legislature as trustees, their business is to lend the money taking the security aforesaid. A separte bond is taken by the trustees, for each years intrest—payable to the keeper of the grand committees office—whether this money is depreciated or not, I cannot learn. If news paper accts. are true, the State is in great convulsions, on Acct. this money it is a Tender in all cases.

New York has emitted Two hundred thousand pounds. One hundred and fifty is placed on loan, upon landed Security of double its value—fifty thousand pounds is appropriated to discharge part of the intrest of the State debt, about £4000 only is yet in circulation, & has hitherto passed equal to specie, its no Tender Except in cases of suit.

New Jersey in 1784 emitted about Thirty one thousand pounds, called revenue money, for paying to her citizens the annuel intrest of their public securities which sum is called into the Treasury by taxes yearly and again reissued for said intrest to continue for 25 years, at the expiration thereof, to be stoped in the Treasury and cancelled. Its not depreciated in that State, but is in Philadelphia & here from Six to 15 Per Cent—its a Tender in all cases.

Pennsylvania has emitted One hundred & fifty Thousand pounds. This was put into the Treasury as money, to be issued in common with any other money in such payments as the state has occasion to make—but the principal object was the payment of the intrest of their public debts. The revenues of State in current taxes, duties, fees &c amount to near £200,000 per annum, besides which, there were upwards of £300,000 in arrearages of specie taxes due at the time of passing the act, all of which is receiveable in this money, or coin, at the option of the payer. More money than the amount of the paper must necessarily come into the treasury in the course of every year. Out of the taxes of the year 1786 £20,000 of these bills of Credit are to be cancell'd and burned, and the like sum in each succeeding year, till the whole shall be absorbed. This money is not made a Tender in any case whatever except that the State is obliged to receive it on equality with coin in all payments of taxes, imposts and other debts and duties due to the state.

In North Carolina the officers of the late army applied to the Assembly of that State requesting they would make paper money and they would take a part of their pay in the same. In consequence thereof the Assembly passed an Act to emit £100,000 reserving the confiscated property for its redemption of which sum they payed one fourth of the ball[ance] due to the officers & Soldiers of that State—and the residue of said sum was exhausted in the payment of the Civil list. This money is not on intrest, is no tender but at the Treasury for State duties and Taxes. They have lately emitted and put in circulation £100,000 more, which has caused the whole to depreciate near 30 Per Cent.

South Carolina has emitted One hundred thousand pounds Sterling on loan for five years. It carries an intrest of Seven Per Cent and issues on landed Security of three times its amount. No person can borrow more than £250 nor less than £50. Its no tender except in duties and taxes to the State—and as yet, has not depreciated. These are all the States that have made paper money.

Mr. Lamb and Mr. Randall are returned from Algiers to Spain. Congress have letters from the latter—as also from their Ministers in Europe by which I am sorry to say, that at present their is no prospect of a peace being brought about between the United States and those barbarians. Mr. Barclay was at Morocco when these despatches left Europe, but whether he will be succesfull is very uncertain. I have no doubt but a General peace might be effected with all those powers were our finances not so deranged as they are. At this time have nothing further to add, only that I am with Sentiments of Respect & Esteem, Your Excellencys Most Obedient & Humil Servant,

Pierce Long

RC (Nh-Ar: Executive Records).

¹ For President Sullivan's interest in paper money, see also James White to Sullivan, August 11; and James Monroe to Sullivan, August 16.

Theodore Sedgwick to Caleb Strong

My dear Sir,¹

New York 6. August, 1786.

By the last post I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 28th ult. The contents convey evidence of such a disposition in my countrymen as must give pain to every well disposed mind.

The affairs of the continent are in such circumstances as afford no balance to the disorders of the particular states. Should Massachusetts fall into anarchy the great prop of the union would be prostrate. For altho the public conduct of Massachusetts when viewed by itself would not strongly inspire veneration, yet when compared with any other State in the union, the comparison will irresistably compel conviction that her councils produce measures more the result of wisdom and integrity than any other.

Our commissioners are returned from the *mediterranean* without effecting anything, no reasonable hope of any other event could have been formed. The interest of every commercial and maritime power in europe opposes ours as related to this object, and Great Britain, which is in strict friendship with the pirates would go great lengths in gratifying her malice and jealousy to defeat our purpose. Congress have not yet come to any ultimate decision on this subject. I have formed my opinion as to policy in the object to be persued, but this must not at present be put on paper.

No reasonable expectations of advantage can be formed from the commercial convention.² The first proposers designed none. The measure was originally brought forward with an intention of defeating the enlargement of the powers of Congress. Of this I have the most decisive evidence. It well becomes the eastern and middle States, who are in interest one, seriously to consider what advantages result to them from their connection with the Southern States. They can give us nothing, as an equivalent for the protection which they derive from us but a participation in their commerce. This they deny to us. Should their conduct continue the same, and I think there is not any prospect of an alteration, an attempt to perpetuate our connection with them, which at last too will be found ineffectual, will sacrifice everything to a meer chimera. Even the appearance of a union cannot in the way we now are long be preserved. It becomes us seriously to contemplate a substitute; for if we do not controul events we shall be miserably controuled by them. No other substitute can be devised than that of contracting the limits of the confederacy to such as are natural and rea-

sonable, and within those limits instead of a nominal to institute a real, and an efficient government.

This language will appear to you I am affraid as evidence of puslanimity, but I do not think that in politics I am timid.

We have made another requisition which includes such part of the principal of the foreign debt as will become payable next year. To this measure I gave my assent not from any apprehension that it would produce any considerable effect, but because I wish congress may do her duty. Several of the States have never passed any acts in persuance of the requisition of 84, not half on that of last year and still less is to be expected from the present.

It will be unnecessary to inform you that this letter is wrote with great haste and in that confidence of your friendship which I have long flattered myself I was so happy as to possess. Some matters of very great importance but with regard to which secrecy at present is enjoined will detain me here a little longer. As soon as these are completed which I hope will be the case in 8 or 10 days I shall again return to the vale of private life. There confiding in the wisdom of Doctor Holten that all things will be happily adjusted I will seek contentment. Compts. I pray you to Mrs. S.

I am my dear Sir, Your sincerely affecte,

Theodore Sedgwick

MS not found; reprinted from *AHR*, 4 (1899): 328–30.

¹ Caleb Strong (1745–1819), who had been elected a delegate to Congress in 1780 but declined the appointment, was Northampton County Attorney, 1776–1800, and represented Northampton in the Massachusetts Senate, 1780–89. He was elected a delegate to the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention in 1787 (but left early and did not sign the document), to the United States Senate, 1789–96, and to the governorship of Massachusetts ten times, 1800–1806, 1812–15. *DAB*.

² That is, the Annapolis Convention, for which see Rufus King to Jonathan Jackson, June 11, note 1, and to James Bowdoin, September 17, note 2.

Henry Lee to George Washington

My dear Gent.

New York 7h. August [17]86

I had the pleasure of hearing from you last week, and have complied with your wishes respecting the china.¹ No conveyance at present offers for Alexandria, but every day presents one to Norfolk, from which place the correspondence up your river is frequent. I intend unless I should meet with a vessel for potomac, to send the box to Col. Parker naval officer at Norfolk, and ask his special attention to forwarding it to Alexandria or Momit Vernon. At the same time I will send a small box put into my care for you by Mr. Gardoqui—I have had it some time and waited to know your intention to the

china, that the same conveyance might take both. If you have an opportunity to convey my Young,² (as the books are useless to you) to Mr. R. H. Lee you will oblige me by doing it.

The Mississippi business is very important and full of difficulty.³ In the debilitated condition of the federal government, it is unwise to risk the offence of any part of the empire, unless to attain great good. My mind has no doubt of the extensive good consequences that would result to the Union from a commercial connexion with Spain, & I am also clear, that in agreeing to the occlusion of the navigation of the Mississippi, we give in fact nothing, for the moment our western country become populous & capable, they will seize by force what may have be[en] yielded by treaty. Till that period, the river cannot be used but by permission of Spain, whose exclusive system of policy, never will grant such permission. Then to be sure, we only give, what we cannot use. But the source of all the evils which press those states is the inefficiency of the federal government. This cannot be altered & remedied but by consent of the states.

Already in every state the amplification of the powers of the Union have too many enemys. Should therefore a treaty take place between Congress & Spain occluding for a term the navigation of the Mississippi, in return for advantages very great, but not so great to the whole as to a part, I apprehend it would give such a tent for popular declaimers, that the great object viz bracing the federal government may be thwarted, and thus in pursuing a lesser, we loose a greater good.

I forwarded by the last post for public information some intelligence lately received from Mr. Jefferson & I have also sent an extract of a letter from Mr. Randall from Algiers.⁴ These two papers comprehend all the news here. I transmit the Gazette of the day. Bills on tender at 60 days sight fluctuate in their value from six to seven per cent præmium. The cost [of] the china is 150 dollars besides the incidental charge of freight to Norfolk, which cannot be much. My best wishes for the health & happiness of Mount Vernon, in which Mrs. Lee unites.

Most respectfully yours,

H. Lee Junr.⁵

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ For Washington's letter of July 26, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 28:483–85. Lee enclosed with this letter a receipt from the New York firm of Constable, Rucker & Co. for £60 paid by Lee this day for a 302-piece china service. Washington Papers, DLC.

² Lee is referring to the copies of Arthur Young's *A Tour in Ireland* he had loaned to Washington, for which see Lee to Washington, July 3, note 3.

³ The questions of a Spanish commercial treaty and the navigation of the Mississippi River had been brought before Congress on August 3 by secretary for foreign affairs John Jay, for which see *JCC*, 31:467–84; James Monroe to James Madison, May 31, note 2; Rufus King to Monroe, July 30; and Charles Thomson to Jay, August 1.

⁴ For this "intelligence," see Pierse Long to John Langdon, August 6, note 2.



Henry Lee

⁵ Lee also wrote the following brief letter to Washington on August 12: "Since writing my last I have an opportunity of sending the small box given to me by Mr. Gardoqui for you under care of Mr. Wilson of Petersburg by the stage, to be delivered to Mr. C Lee. I prefer this conveyance to the one intended, & now enclose the letter which accompanied the box. It is probable that the China will leave New York for Norfolk next week." Washington Papers, D.C.

Maryland Delegates to William Smallwood

Sir

New-York Augt. 7th. 1786

We herewith transmit You an Account of the Algerine naval Force as received by Congress,¹ & are sorry to inform You that the Attempts of Congress to negotiate a Peace with the Algerines have proved unsuccessful.

The Tobacco Contract with Mr. Morris & the Papers relative thereto were sent You by Colo. Harrison on Friday last.²

We are very respectfully, Yr. very humble Servts.

J. Henry

Will. Harrison

Wm. Hindman

Nat. Ramsey

RC (MdAA: Executive Papers). Written by Hindman and signed by Hindman, Harrison, Henry, and Ramsey.

¹ The delegates enclosed a two-page extract under the heading "Detail of the Marine force of Algiers" taken from Paul R. Randall's April 2 narrative of his Algerian mission (PCC, item 87, 1:389–420) which he had sent to John Adams and Thomas Jefferson in mid-May. The extract is in the Executive Papers, MdAA. See also Pierse Long to John Langdon, August 6, note 2.

² Harrison's letter of August 4 has not been found, but the enclosed "Papers" concerning the tobacco contract between the Farmers General and Robert Morris had been transmitted by Thomas Jefferson in his letters of May 27 and 31 which were read in Congress August 2. See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:582–90, 600.

Nathaniel Ramsey to Otho Holland Williams

Dr. Sir,

New York 7th. Augt. [1786]

Yours of 31st of July has come safe to hand and I am commanded by Mrs. Ramsey to Join her in my hearty congratulations on the birth of the little Boy, she says "She'll be bound the General is very proud of having *got* a son." The recovery of Mrs. Williams we hope is now confirmed.

That your situation should be the object of envy to many little minds is by no means strange, and that you may feel their shafts is not improbable, but you must feel happy that it must be in an indi-

rect way. I fear there is a scene of distress and confusion, if not Anarchy not far distant from the State of Maryland. Who are talked of for Electors?, and who for Senators? what are the present politics of Baltimore?

The only news we have here is the intire failure of our attempts to buy a peace with the Barbary pirate, Their demands are beyond our ability to pay. It is supposed They count much on our trade. They demand 1,200 dollars for each private captive, and in proportion for the Officers. The american slaves (for so they term their prisoners) are employed in building places of security for their Gun boats. I will endeavor to inclose you a list and description of the naval force of the Algerines as transmitted to Congress.¹

The money put into my hands for Captain Cole was conditionally to be laid out for Certificates, provided I should discover a great probability of their being received in payment for the land. They [The] money I never actually laid out, as I had certificates by me. When I received the money certificates could have been purchased at 3 for 1 excluding interest but before the question of their receipt was determined by the consolodating bill they had rose to 2 for 1. I therefore think Captn. Cole has ample Justice done him when I am charged at 3 for 1 including Interest to the passage of the aforesaid law.

Finals here, having no interest drawn, sell from 7 to 6 for 1 where Interest has been drawn from 9 to 8—facilities from 4 to 3, I fear I shall be obliged to sell mine.

I write while sitting in Congress and of course very desultory and incorrect—but I write to a freind. Mr. Joy of this place, Husband to the late Mrs. Jelp, begs that I would intercede with you to render any *convenient* advice or assistance, to a young man he has sent down to Baltimore to transact some business provided he should call upon you.

Pray write often to your frend and Humble Servt.,

Nat. Ramsey

RC (MdHi: Williams Papers).

¹ See the preceding entry, note 1.

Theodore Sedgwick to James Duane

Sir,

New York 7 August 1786

I have to request that you will be so obliging as to communicate to the Delegates, representing the State of N. York in congress, the information necessary to enable that body to confirm the appointment of the Honorable William Hooper Esquire, as one of the judges of the federal court to determine the controversy between that State and Massachusetts.¹

With great esteem, and regard, I am Sir, your most obedt. Servt.,
Theodore Sedgwick

RC (NH: Duane Papers).

¹ See Massachusetts Delegates to Duane, July 4, and to John Lowell et al., July 17.

James Manning to Nicholas Brown

Sir,

New York August 7th [*i.e.* 8th] 1786¹

On board the Packet, Capt Warner, are two boxes of Books directed to me, the Donation of the Education Society of Bristol through the hands of Revd. Caleb Evans, the Principal of that Seminary. These are the Books we have been expecting. I have recd. no Letter respecting them, by the Ship that brought them, though I think it probable there may be Letters to me with the Invoices, which I suppose are included in the Boxes. Should you find any upon opening the Boxes, I will thank you to put them into Mrs. Manning's hands, that she may send them forward to me, should they contain Intelligence which I ought to know, before my return. Of this she will judge upon opening them. This Morning as I came to Congress, was the first Advice I recd. of this Business, & the Expence of Storage would have been incurred, had I not ordered them immediately to be sent on board the Packet; of course, I have not opened the Books, nor shall I have opportunity to do it.

I have urged, as much as possible, an immediate Attention to the Settlement of the Accounts of the Marine Department. We are now going to the Treasury board to urge them to appoint Mr Manly to collect all the Papers of that Department to the Eastward, that they may be ready to be brought here & adjusted as soon as may be. We have since the above called there & the board informs us that they have ordered the papers & books to be sent for; & We have applied to the Commissioner to appoint Mr Manly as his Clerk in this Business, which he encouraged us to expect he wd. do.² Yesterday we passed an Ordinance for the departmt. of Indian Affairs.³ To day we have passed a Resolve to establish a Coinage for the United States, and have ordered the Treasury board to draw up an Ordinance to carry it into effect.⁴ A Dollar is made, by this resolve, the Money Unit of the United States. I have inclosed you the Report of the Treasury board, which was adopted, together with the reasonings on this subject.

With Sentiments of Esteem, I have the Honour to be, Sir, Your
Humble Servt,

J. Manning

RC (RPJCB: Brown Papers).

¹ As Manning writes below of congressional measures passed "Yesterday" and "Today" which were adopted on August 7 and 8 respectively (see notes 3 and 4), it seems clear that he misdated this letter. There is nothing in its physical appearance to suggest that it was written at more than one sitting.

² John Manley, son of Capt. John Manley (1734–93), was appointed clerk to Benjamin Walker, commissioner for settling the accounts of the clothing, hospital, and marine departments, on August 22. See PCC, item 141, 1:121.

³ See *JCC*, 31:490–93.

⁴ See *JCC*, 31:503–4.

James Manning to Nicholas Brown

Sir,

New York 8th. August 1786

Inclosed are the Papers of the day—You will see that permission is obtained in France for the sale of 12, or 15 Thousand Hogs-Heads of Tobacco at the same Price Mr Robt. Morris supplies the farmers General of France.¹ It is a fact which we have just recd. the Knowledge of from Govr Jefferson, our Minister in France.² Genl Miller has engaged to transmit, & I believe has done it, a copy of Morris's Agreemt. &c,³ to Mr John Brown: & I wish you to have as early knowledge of this Subject as any person, that you may avail yourself of the Information.

I have to request you to procure a Certificate at the Custom House, that the Books are landed & entered at Providence, that it may be sent back to cancel the Bonds in the Custom House here.

Yours &c,

James Manning⁴

RC (RPJCB: Brown Papers).

¹ An item containing this information, taken from a letter written by Lafayette to a merchant in L'Orient May 31, was printed in the August 7 issue of Francis Childs' *New York Daily Advertiser*.

² Jefferson's May 27 letter to John Jay containing this information, from which "The injunction of Secresy [was] taken off" August 3, is in Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:582–90.

³ For this agreement, which Jefferson enclosed to Jay, see *ibid.*, pp. 586–88.

⁴ Manning also wrote the following letter on August 15 to William Holroyd, a Providence merchant, apparently regarding the expenses of poor students at Rhode Island College, whose support was the concern of a standing committee of which Manning's brother-in-law the Rev. John Gano was a member. See Guild, *Early History of Brown University*, pp. 36–40, 366.

"Yours of the 5th Inst. came to hand, and I handed it to Mr Gano, after reading it, he replied that it was hard for Mr Holroyd to loose the money, but that he himself was £20 out of Pocket in advancing for those Boys. I requested him to write you a Line on this subject.

"I am unfortunate enough to be upwards of Thirty dollars out of Pocket, in supplying those Boys; an Account of this I sent forward to their Parents at the close of the war, & requested Payment. My answer was that they had paid what was due, through the Hands

of Mr Gano; and they should not pay anything further. So the Money I advanced them must be lost out of my Pocket, for my Attentions and care of them. This conduct, on their part, is far from being generous, but I fear I must set down by the loss." Manning Collection, RPB.

Charles Pettit to James Hutchinson

Dear Sir

New York 9th. August 1786

I flatter myself that I am so near the Pleasure of seeing you in Philadelphia, that I shall defer for the present the Answer I shd. have given to your Question "What is it that Pennsa. has done" &c. You have gratified me much by the Information contained in your Favour of the 6th on various Subjects—it is not only pleasing but useful. It brings one unpleasant Reflection, however, to my mind, viz. The Loss I have sustained by the Suspension of our Correspondence for some Months. What Excuses you find to quiet your Conscience on the Occasion, I leave to yourself. I shall be the more [ready] to suppose them valid without too nice a Scrutiny, because I feel the want of a generous Allowance on that Score myself. Warm Weather increases my Disposition to Indolence. Many little Circumstances have contributed to the Indulgence of it—even the Situation of my Room exposed to the Afternoon Sun (the Time I should have otherwise have employed in friendly Correspondences) has been a considerable Bar to Industry, and writing by Candlelight in the Summer, I consider like Working on the Sabbath—to be done only on Occasions of Necessity. Calculation, Study & other preparation for the Business I have in charge have had their Demands upon me, & tho' I have spent very little Time in Amusements, I have constantly found myself rather Behind hand in the Business I wished to perform. On the whole I believe Indolence has been much the cause of it. To relieve myself from this Malady I have lately got a Shower Bath & have taken some Bark, by which I find myself somewhat enlivened, & save an hour or two before Breakfast, which otherwise would be droned away in Sleeping, or a slumbering kind of wakefulness little above torpidity. I am now writing before Breakfast, and you will excuse it if you find me a little flat.

I am sorry that Council have ordered any publication on the Differences that have lately happened.¹ Controversial publications of this kind are generally attended with more Evil than Good. They are apt to turn into fixed & lasting Prejudices, those temporary Opinions founded in misconceptions, or fed by a temporary irritation of the Passions, which might otherwise be corrected by Explanations, & effaced from the Memory. I shall be the more concerned on this Occasion to see a publication of anything irritating, because I think I discern a Hope of getting Congress to reconsider their late Vote on the

Report of the Board of Treasury, which such Publication may prevent. The Accounts between the State & the Union, may however be published for the Information of the State & of the other States, yea of the World.² They will shew that at least one State in the Union is desirous of doing its Duty by enabling the United States to do Justice to their Creditors & support the federal Government. It may also shew to the Citizens of the State the good Effect of their Exertions, and the faithful Application of the Monies which have been extracted from them, and thereby encourage them to persist in the noble System they have established. Even our Enemies abroad begin to compliment our Measures or rather the Effects of them, and Men of Knowledge uncontaminated with Prejudice concerning them in various parts of the Continent, speak of them with high Approbation. To keep our own Citizens in good humour with themselves is of no small Importance. There is a kind of generous Pride in Men, call it Ambition or what you please, by which they are led to virtuous Actions. Let them perceive that their Efforts have the Effect they intended, and let them perceive that the World observe it, and they feel themselves pleasingly rewarded for their Labours. This in a free Government, like ours, is the strongest Ligament in the Band of Society, and the principal Means of combining their Efforts & giving them an uniform Direction to the proper Objects. But I must cease the pursuit of this Idea which has taken me by Surprise.

I suggested to Mr. Nicholson that I thought our best mode of helping ourselves to Justice, under present Circumstances, would be to pay up the remaining 63,000 Dollars demanded by the Treasury, to square the Specie Requisitions, & then draw all the Facilities we can, which may be four or 500,000 Dollars—out of which to pay the Balance of the Facility Account, & then we stand fair to pay in Facilities half of the whole Amount of the present year's Requisition. when, in my Apprehension, the other half may be divided into Specie & Facilities in the Proportions demanded. This however will demand an Act of Assembly; and my Opinion would be to pass such Act in this Session, & leave the Requisition of 1786 to the next Sitting, or at least till the other Operation is performed. This appears to me worthy of Attention, & I think the Proviso in the last Years Requisition warrants it. It was my View at the Time, & was so understood in Congress by those who understood it at all; without this we should be without Credit, other than in the Genl. Acct. for the Amount of one Years Intt. on our Quota of the Domestic Debt.

At this Period my Watch reminded me that the Hour was at Hand when I ought to be at the City Hall (we meet now at 10) & I had yet to shave & Dress for the Purpose. On reading what I have written I find it strongly marked with my dulness of conceptions on wanting my mornings Dram of Coffee.

Genl. St Clair has assured me of his arrival here in the Course of this Week.³ In the next I shall hope to embrace my Family. I have for some Time been impatient on this Score, & have felt myself rather injuriously treated by some Circumstances which have either occasioned or attended my Detention. Mortifications of this kind, however, not unfrequently happen to those who enter zealously into the public Service. It has often been my Fate to bear an undue proportion of the Burthen when I have been associated with others in Public Employments; sometimes perhaps owing to my own forwardness. But I have supposed it a Duty to execute faithfully a public Trust when once accepted.

I am, with great Esteem, Dr Sir, Your most obedt Servt.,

Cha Pettit

RC (PPAmP: Hutchinson Papers).

¹ For the "Differences" Pettit is referring to between Pennsylvania comptroller general John Nicholson and the Continental board of treasury over the board's suspension of "the Issue of Indents" to Pennsylvania, see Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin, July 26, and Pettit to Franklin, August 4, enclosure. Congress had not yet officially endorsed the board's ruling, and Pettit, hoping that a compromise might be reached, was disappointed to learn that the Pennsylvania Council had ordered the publication of Nicholson's report on the dispute. *Pa. Council Minutes*, 15:60. The report appeared in the August 11 issue of John Dunlap's and David C. Claypoole's *Pennsylvania Packet*.

² These accounts were published in the August 9 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet*.

³ Arthur St. Clair's congressional attendance for August is difficult to verify. He later submitted an account "for 60 days Service in Congress from Augt. 9th to October 8th. 1786" (Lloyd W. Smith Collection, NjMoHP), but his name does not appear in the lists of roll call votes taken August 11, 14, and 15 (*JCC*, 31:511–16, 519–20). He is known to have participated in the debates on the Mississippi question August 16.

Charles Pinckney's Speech

[August 10, 1786]¹

The Secretary for foreign Affairs has reported that in consequence of the commission and instructions he had received from Congress for the purpose of negotiating with Mr Gardoqui he has had several Conferences with him upon this subject—That he had recd. an offer from Mr G[ardoqui] to enter into a commercial treaty upon certain principles but that he insisted as a part of the treaty that Spain & the US. should fix the boundaries of their respective territories & that the latter should relinquish all claim to the right of navigating the river Mississippi.²

The Secy adds as his Opinion that a treaty may be formed with S[pain] upon principles which he then stated, upon the US forbearing to assert their right to navigate the river for 25 or 30 years & used

some arguments to prove the policy of our acceding to this arrangement with her.

In investigating this subject it is proper to follow the Secy & examine

1. The reasons he has stated & which ought in his Opinion to induce us at this time to wish the formation of a commercial treaty with S.

2ly. The offers which S. has made & the terms upon which a treaty may be concluded with her; the benefits to be derived from it; & the manner in which they will operate upon the different parts of the Union.

3dly. The price that is to be paid for the treaty & the consequences that will probably attend the US stipulating to suspend the assertion of the right for a given term &

4thly. The policy of Congress concluding a treaty at all at this time.

I will agree that an equal commercial treaty would be of more advantage with S. than with any other in Europe except Portugal, but I am not convinced that the relative situation of S & the U.S. is such as ought to render us at this time particularly anxious to conclude a treaty upon the principles proposed.

It is thought if a difference should exist between us, that France will probably will be the friend of S. as her close connexion by Compact & the benefits she derives from her Alliance with S. are greater than any she can expect from America. If I understand the politics of F, or if we are to depend upon our communications from thence, we are to suppose that her present system is a system of perfect peace. She is labouring to repair the expences of the late war, to arrange her finances & by every possible exertion to augment her Marine. She is generally esteemed what politicians stile the "Ruling power" at present in Europe and it is more to her interest & more gratifying to her Ambition to maintain this situation than by improperly interfering in Matters comparatively unimportant to risque a premature contest with the rival power. I call that a rival power, which not being equal to her upon the whole still comes nearer this equality than any other; & this is England. F. may mediate but as we are to presume she will always be governed by her interest she will never risque a contest if she can avoid it, that must involve her with Great Britain & this Country merely to support Sp. in the impolitic demand of shutting the Mississippi.

Though the animosities of GB are still warm, yet there is sufficient wisdom in her councils to make them yield to her interest. Though she loves us not, she hates F & S and would avail herself of any opportunity even upon less than equal terms to strike a blow. With them she never can be in any other than a rival situation. With us, when the present differences shall have terminated, it will ever be her interest to be closely connected. Our language, governments, religion & policy point to this as an alliance that will here after be formed as most likely to be permanent & productive of good consequences. In a war with F & S

the contiguity of the US. & the convenience of their ports & supplies would render the aid of this country peculiarly important in any enterprize against their islands. We also know if any respect is to be paid to the intelligence & communications of Mr Adams your Minister at the Court of London that the Cabinet of GB are at this time turning a serious eye to South America. The divesting he says, S. of that country & opening to it a free trade is considered by them as of the first importance & if any event should take place, in which even a distant hope of accomplishing this object should offer, there can be no doubt of her availing herself of it. So far therefore from fearing the additional weight of G.B. we are to presume if she suffers her interest and her wishes to prevail, that she will importantly interfere in our favour.

The Connections of S. & her influence in Portugal even if they could ever be of much service, which is very doubtful, can be of no consequence at present, as our latest advices from thence warrant a belief that a treaty between Portugal & the US has long since been concluded.³

It does not appear that any beneficial effects are to be expected from her influence in our favour with the states of Barbary. There is but one mode of obtaining a pacification with them. The price of peace must be paid. You are informed by Mr Jefferson that in a late conversation he had with the count de Vergennes upon the subject of a treaty with the Porte & the aid of his influence to procure a peace with them, the count informed him, that even in that case & notwithstanding they owe the Porte a distant tribute, his interference would not procure you a peace a moment sooner, nor a shilling cheaper:⁴ In short that a pacification would be as difficult and their terms as extravagant as at present. If therefore the influence of Constantinople would be unsuccessful, how is it to be expected that the friendship of Spain would be useful?

Of no more weight is another opinion which supposes the influence of S. will promote our interest with the Italian States. True it is that the king of Naples is the son of the king of Spain, but until a peace is made with the States of Barbary, the friendship of the king of Spain will be but of little protection to your Commerce in the Mediterranean. Effect this and the Italian states will all be ready to receive you upon the same liberal terms without treaty which one has already offered.

Upon investigating the situation of Spain it will be found she has strong reason to be particularly anxious to treat with you at this time. Independant of the knowledge she must have of the intentions of GB, she views with a jealous eye the emancipation of these states & dreads their neighbourhood to her rich and extensive tho' feeble colonies of South America. She is desirous to prevent an intimacy between them, well knowing the danger of such an intercourse. Hence we find she holds the desarts of Florida as a barrier & wishes to deprive our citi-

zens of the use of the Mississippi hoping by these means to postpone an event which she dreads & fears is at no considerable distance. Being acquainted with your situation, the deranged state of your finances & the inefficacy of your government she thinks that this is the time to push her demands & supposes your distress will force you into a compliance. But I still trust our inconveniences when compared to hers are but temporary. A little firmness & perseverance on the part of Congress & of recollection on the part of the states may yet subdue all our difficulties. Whereas the Spanish Monarchy carries in its bosom the seeds of its dissolution. Our Situation though unpleasant is not yet sufficiently desperate to force us into measures derogatory to our national honor. Spain has more to risque & more to dread from a rupture than we can fear, and though it is undoubtedly her interest to treat at present, it can only be ours on very advantageous terms.

As to the 2d point, Spain consents to treat with us upon what she terms principles of perfect reciprocity. Importation to be freely made in each others vessels. The duties to be paid by each in the ports of the other the same as those paid by the natives: Masts & spars to be purchased of the U.S. for the use of the navy of Spain & paid for in specie, provided they are as good & as cheap as those procured from the Baltic. Permission to go to the Canaries & M Gardoqui has no personal objection that we should have liberty to go to the Philippines, his instructions however do not reach this. Her ports in the West Indies & in South America to be shut & the article of tobacco to be prohibited in her European ports.

In return we are to admit her subjects freely into all the ports we have without any exception of articles upon the footing of Natives & to stipulate the forbearance of our right to navigate the Mississippi for a given time.

In examining this point it must be observed that though the treaty proposes a perfect reciprocity, this reciprocity will be the more or less advantageous as the commerce of the respective powers is the more or less free in their own ports. The U.S are a free & S. is an absolute government. It is the policy of the former to promote & encourage their Commerce, hence their duties are but trifling & easily paid. The impositions & fetters of the latter have almost ruined it; And though our merchants are to be on the footing of natives yet it is beyond a doubt they will pay four & in some instances six times as much as their merchants will in our ports. So that the reciprocity here mentioned does not or cannot exist. The Spanish productions will in most instances be imported here at 2 & if the impost should operate at 5 per cent.⁵ The American into their ports in the one case at four times & in the other at double this sum.

At present American produce is generally sold in the Spanish ports on board the vessel. The purchaser pays the customs & duties making the necessary deductions, so that though they are large & reduce the

value of the commodity they never appear on the account of Sales rendered by the consignee. The duty on eatables by which I suppose is meant all kind of provision of grain or otherwise is called Million & calculated generally at ten per Ct. at Cadiz but differs Materially in the several towns & provinces. The duty on merchandize imported may be generally estimated at 25 per ct. *Ricard*, in his *traité du Commerce*,⁶ takes notice of an extra duty paid on exportation in foreign bottoms from Cadiz of 150 reals vellon per pipe on wine, equal to 34/. But the merchants there in making out their invoices charge the wine & brandy *on board* at certain prices including all duties & charges which leaves us unacquainted with the exact sum. The duties on vessels going to South America are extremely high, not less than 25 p ct. ever & in many cases much higher. The Articles with which Spain is now supplied from this country she receives upon terms equally beneficial with those proposed by the treaty & so advantageous is this trade to her that there cannot be the most distant danger of her ever shutting her ports against us. She does not produce them & they are necessary & essential to her. It is therefore her policy to open her posts to all that do. This creates a competition and she is always sure of being well & cheaply supplied. The object of the treaty is therefore unimportant, because it is only to secure that partial intercourse with Spain which now exists & which it will always be her interest to promote.

The project goes farther & proposes to purchase your Masts & Spars provided they are as good & as cheap as she can procure them from the Baltic. This is a stipulation of no consequence. If you have masts & spars of equal size & fitness with those imported from the Baltic, you will always find purchasers. Spain is a maritime power. She has no territories producing timber of this kind. But masts and spars are & must be always wanted for her navy. Will it not therefore be her interest to encourage as many to bring them to her ports as she can? Most clearly it will.

I am told by merchants of repute & connected in the Spanish trade that the common timber of this country cannot but rarely if ever be exported as good & as cheap as that from the Baltic. In proof of this they have appealed to all the shipments that have been made since the War, scarcely one of which has done more than pay the mere freight sinking the original cost of the timber.

Spain generally produces as much wheat as her inhabitants consume, except in those years when their crops are lost by drough[t], which is once in three or four years. The wheat to supply this and their islands & American colonies they generally procure from Sicilly & Poland & purchase the American wheat when it is as good & as cheap; but they by no means depend upon it. Their european Markets however are always open to it & to every other kind of provision, nor while they consult their interest will they prohibit it. So that it appears

as far as your articles are useful & necessary and it is their interest, so far will they open their ports to you, but in the lucrative and truly important trade of their islands & other dominions or wherever they are afraid of a rivalship, there you are to be prevented.

It is said however that Mr Gardoqui is not personally averse to our going to the Philippines & that from thence in all probability some kind of intercourse will be established with Acapulca. If we are to believe Mr Gardoqui, when he says it is an invariable maxim of Spanish politics to exclude all Mankind from trading with their colonies and islands it appears to me that we are rather to consider this as a ministerial finesse, than amounting to any thing like a certainty that permission will be obtained. But suppose it is. One rich ship sails every year from Acapulca to one of the Philippine islands and returns laden with the commodities of the East Indies. It is not to be supposed it will be very easy to elude the Spaniards whose duty it will be to prevent your interfering with the south American trade. But grant for a moment that they connive at it. What great advantages are to be expected from your citizens in this remote and expensive voyage being suffered to participate in the cargo of a single ship? An individual or two may make their fortunes, but surely no solid advantages are to be derived to the Union from this distant & precarious commerce. In short, Sir, as I have observed this appears to me no more than a ministerial finesse to which his instructions do not nor ever will reach.

But in order to bring the objects of the proposed treaty more clearly before the view of the house, permit me to examine them as they may affect the different states in their Operation.

The New England states (in which can scarcely be included Newhampshire & Connecticut, their european commerce being inconsiderable & Rhode island not extensive) enjoy at present a beneficial trade with Spain in the export of their fish, lumber and other articles, for which they receive valuable returns. Their peltry trade is of no consequence, nor except in the articles mentioned have they any considerable export, that will suit the Spanish European Markets. The Spanish have no fisheries of their own. They consume a great quantity of fish and are always in want of timber. They will therefore find it their policy to keep their ports open to all the nations that will bring them. Spain does not offer to give us exclusive privileges or preferences, but leaves herself at liberty to form treaties with whom she pleases. The French in virtue of the fauilly compact are entitled to the privileges of the most favoured nation; and if we examine the treaties of commerce that have formerly existed between G Britain and Spain particularly that of 1667 which is the ground work of all their future treaties and those of 1713 & 1715 we shall find these nations have been in the habits of a commercial intercourse for a great number years. The policy of Europe at present seems to be peace and com-

merce. The English & French are pushing their fisheries with astonishing exertions & endeavouring to depress ours. While therefore Spain in her treaty proposes no advantages that we do not now enjoy & which it can never be her interest to curtail, and while she leaves herself open to trade with other nations who may attempt to rival them, I cannot see any particular benefits that will result even to the New England states under the present project.

Newyork & Pennsylvania have the power of exporting wheat and staves & some other articles. Their wheat is valuable in proportion to the scarcity and failure of crops & depends upon the contingencies I have already stated. Under the treaty nothing more is proposed to them. New Jersey not being an importing state cannot be materially interested. Maryland & Virginia may export as they do at present some wheat and lumber. Their great staple Tobacco is expressly prohibited and to remain under its present regulations. So that while the latter must be more injured than any state in the Union by the cession, she will be the least benefited under the treaty. The tobacco of N Carolina, S Carolina & Georgia is in the same situation, nor will the sale of their other productions be promoted. Indigo one of their staple commodities is the product of the spanish American islands & colonies in much greater quantities than they can consume & of a superior quality to that made in the southern states, so that there does not remain a probability of this ever becoming an article of commerce. Rice is always in such demand in Europe that it wants not the aid of a treaty, nor if it did would those states which produce it wish an advantage at the expence of the rights and possessions of any part of the confederacy.

I trust that upon a candid & disinterested view of the proposed arrangement, the partial not to say ungenerous manner in which it is offered & the few advantages to be derived from its operation which we do not at present enjoy, that Congress will be induced to suppose it is not an offer of that liberal and extensive kind, which promises a lasting or mutually beneficial intercourse nor does it hold out such privileges as we might have expected from a power who wishes to tempt us to even the temporary surrender of an important national right. In my judgment she proposes nothing more than she will always be willing to grant you without a treaty and nothing which can be termed an equivalent for the forbearance she demands.

The true mode to determine this is to examine the nature and consequences of the demand she makes, on our compliance with which alone a treaty may be formed with her. It is to forbear the assertion of the right of the U.S. to navigate the river Mississippi for the term of 25 or 30 years. It is said the treaty will not be concluded without this stipulation—that the Navigation is unimportant and that a forbearance will be no sacrifice as Spain excludes us by force & will

continue to do so—that it would be disgraceful to continue the claim without asserting it—that war is inexpedient and that the best way would be to enter into a treaty with them & consent to suspend the claim for a certain time.

The right of the U.S. to navigate the Mississippi has been so often asserted & so fully stated by Congress, that it is unnecessary to say anything upon this subject, particularly as the Secretary in his report appears to be in sentiment with Congress. But if the treaty proposed was of the most advantageous nature in other respects, while it insisted upon the forbearance, I should think the impolicy of consenting to it must be obvious for the following reasons. Because the sale and disposal of the lands ceded in the western territory has ever been considered by Congress as a sufficient fund under proper management for the discharge of the domestic debt: large sums of efficient money have already been expended in quieting the Indians, purchasing their rights of soil and in sending out persons to survey it. The offers which are to be made the purchasers and already established by your resolutions are the protection and support of the Union—the establishment of republican governments and the equal enjoyment of all the privileges of citizens of the U.S. To those in the least acquainted with that country it is known that the value of their lands must altogether depend upon the right to navigate the Mississippi. This is the great outlet with which & with the rivers running into it nature washes their shores—points to them the mode of exporting their productions & of establishing a commercial intercourse with the rest of the world. Inform them you have consented to relinquish it even for a time, you check, perhaps destroy the spirit of emigration & prevent the accomplishment of the object proposed by the sale. But it is said the Spaniards already oppose us in the navigation and that this will as effectually prevent emigration as our consenting to suspend it. To this it may be shortly replied that while the purchasers know that the US claim & insist upon the right and are negotiating for it—that if the Spaniards refuse to admit us to a participation, the occlusion will be founded in injury, must be supported by force and will be resisted whenever circumstances shall authorise a reliance on the support and protection of their parent state, it will operate as a spur to emigration.⁷

To me it appears most extraordinary, that a doctrine should be attempted to prove, that because we have not at present a government sufficiently energetic to assert a national right, it would be most honorable to relinquish it.

The British government in violation of the late treaty hold by force & garrisoned posts within the territory of the U.S. These posts give them the entire [command] of the valuable fur trade. If they were in our possession as they ought to be, this important commerce would pursue its usual route & become an Article of considerable export to

these states. But we are unable to recover them by force at present, war being inexpedient, and are obliged to submit to the injury & disgrace of their being forcibly withheld. We are now attempting to negotiate with Britain. Suppose she was to offer certain commercial privileges advantageous to the whole but operating more particularly in favour of those exports which suit her market and to which she more anxiously applies her attention than to any other part of your Commerce. For to Britain Tobacco and rice are at least as important as Fish and Timber to Spain. Suppose, I say, she was to offer to form a treaty granting these privileges in lieu of your stipulating that she should hold these posts & enjoy the fur trade for a given number of years. I ask whether Congress would conceive themselves warranted in assenting to it or think the honor of the nation was not wounded by the attempt? Would gentlemen representing the States particularly interested suppose themselves at liberty to consent to it without consulting their constituents? I should apprehend, not. And yet the posts are held in defiance of the authority and remonstrances of this country. The claim to the Mississippi has been as strongly insisted upon as the claim to the posts, and the cases appear to me so similar that I should think the same policy that would dictate the yielding the one might with greater propriety consent to the surrender of the other.

Another object more important than the sale & disposal of the western territory presents itself in objection to the suspension of the right. Nature has so placed this Country that she must either be the future friends or enemies of the Atlantic states. And this will altogether depend upon the policy they shall observe towards them. If they assist them in rearing their infant governments and by extending the gentle influence of their laws gradually cement their union with us upon equal principles, it is fair to suppose they may be an acquisition, rather than a disadvantage. In their first settlement exports cannot be much attended to but if these states encrease in the same proportion the US did and we are to presume they will exceed them, in the course of a few years they will turn their views to the best mode of exporting and disposing of their productions. The large navigable rivers which all terminate in the Mississippi point to them as has been mentioned this mode of export. Should the right remain unceded by Congress the consideration of the future force of the inhabitants and a number of eventual circumstances in our favour, which it is impossible at present to foresee but which are probable, may induce perhaps compel Spain to yield us a share in the Navigation.

But should it be surrendered, you at once deprive the Citizens of the Atlantic states from navigating it or from having any intercourse with the settlements on its banks & within your territory. You immediately destroy all Connexion between them and the inhabitants of the Western Country. For after you have rendered them thus dependent

on Spain by using the first opportunity in your power to sacrifice their interest to those of the Atlantic states, can they be blamed for immediately throwing themselves into her arms for that protection and support which you have denied them for the enjoyment of that right which you have placed it out of your power to grant. Is it not clearly to be seen by those who will see, that the policy of Spain in thus inducing us to consent to a surrender of the Navigation for a time is, that by having a clear & unincumbered right she may use it for the purpose of separating the interests of the inhabitants of the western country entirely from us, and making it subservient to her own purposes? Will it not produce this? It will. Will it not give her influence the entire command of the numerous & extensive Indian tribes within this country? It will certainly have this Effect. When once this right is ceded no longer can the U.S. be viewed as the friend or parent of the new states, nor ought they to be considered in any other light than in that of their oppressors.

There is one consideration & of some consequence, which ought to be recollected; that is the impropriety of the US ever acting under the influence of that kind of policy which is calculated to acquire benefits for one part of the Confederacy at the expence of the other. It is confessed our government is so feeble & unoperative that unless a new portion of strength is infused it must in all probability soon dissolve. Congress have it in Contemplation to apply to the states on this subject. The concurrence of the whole will be necessary to effect it. Is it to be supposed that if it is discovered a treaty is formed upon principles calculated to promote the interests of one part of the Union at the expence of the other, that the part conceiving itself injured will ever consent to invest additional powers? Will they not urge & with great reason the impropriety of vesting that body with further powers which has so recently abused those they already possess? I have no doubt they will. If therefore the entering into this treaty, which really does not in my opinion hold out any important benefits, and if any, only to a part of the Union, should interfere & prevent the states from assenting to invest Congress with proper power, throwing justice & equal attention to all the members of the confederacy out of view, Ought not policy to induce us to make the lesser yield to the more important consideration? If we are prudent it ought.

It may be said it is extremely oppressive that the northern and eastern states should be deprived of a treaty, which they conceive an advantageous one merely to gratify the Southern in adhering to a claim to navigation, unimportant if in our possession, which we have not power to assert & must therefore submit to be deprived of. But it should be remembered that the cession is the price of the treaty. If you had not this right to grant why should Spain treat with you? Will she derive any other benefits from the treaty? No: All she can expect,

except the exclusive navigation she now enjoys, unfettered by stipulations.⁸ It would therefore be extremely unwise & impolitic in her unnecessarily to restrict herself. I have stated the reasons which render her particularly anxious to treat with you, and those who are to pay the price have at least a right to an Opinion upon the subject. Besides the delegates of the different states stand here upon different grounds. The delegates of some of the states whose territories or whose claims to territory extend to the Mississippi or to the waters leading into it, and who consider these states as deriving a claim under the general title of the U.S. to navigate the river, view this as an important national right secured by treaty upon which they doubt their power to decide without a reference to their constituents. For if in time of War, under the exclusive rights of Congress and justifiable only by the law of necessity their right to divest their constituents of a national claim would be doubtful, how much more so is it in time of profound peace and when this necessity cannot justify it?

Unless Spain would consent to treat with us upon terms which did not respect the Mississippi & which afforded us many more advantages than those proposed, I should very much doubt the policy of treating with her at all at this time. It does not appear to me honorable or politic that the U.S should at present form any treaties of commerce except upon such principles as would insure to us very considerable benefits and such as would execute themselves.

It is not honorable because though Congress have nominally a right to enter into treaties, they do not possess the power of taking such measures as will ensure an attention to them. The right retained to the states under the confederation will create a dependence of Congress upon their conduct. This will be as different in the several states as their views and policy. They will each interfere with the other in their regulations & be incapable of carrying the stipulations into effect. Sensible of this defect Congress have already applied to the states for additional powers.⁹ I would rather wait the issue of this Application, which may place us more upon an equality with Spain than treat under our present disadvantages. I have always been of Opinion that the true policy of the U.S. consisted in the endeavouring to obtain from their Constituents powers sufficient to enable them to establish such regulations as were suited to our situation, and would render our commerce more lucrative to our own citizens than to any others. All our policy should consist in the establishment of these regulations—in the determination never to derogate from them in favour of foreigners and except in very particular cases in not attempting to form commercial treaties until we were in a situation to demand & expect privileges without purchasing them even with equivalents. This is the situation of Spain as it respects you, and therefore it is wise in her to push her negotiations as she expects an important cession without purchasing it with an equivalent; but I trust we shall have sufficient

prudence not to precipitate ourselves into a measure which we may hereafter repent, without first very maturely considering it.

Upon the whole as the present treaty proposes no real advantages, that we do not at present enjoy, and it will always be the interest & policy of Spain to allow—as our situation by no means presses us to the formation of new connections; and as the suspension demanded may involve us in uneasiness with each other, at a time, when harmony is so essential to our true interests—As it may be the means of souring the states, and indispose them to grant us those additional powers of government, without which we cannot exist as a Nation and without which all the treaties you may form must be ineffectual, let me hope that upon this occasion, the general welfare of the U.S. will be suffered to prevail and that the house will on no occasion consent to alter Mr Jay's instructions or permit him to treat upon any other terms than those he has already proposed.

Tr (DLC: Charles Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson, and endorsed by him: "Speech of Mr C Pinckney read in Comtee. of the whole 10 Aug. 1786."

¹ This speech was printed in the modern edition of the journals of Congress (*JCC*, 31:935–48) from the broadside Pinckney subsequently had printed for the use of friends. It appeared under the caption "Mr. Charles Pinckney's Speech, in Answer to Mr. Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the Question of a Treaty with Spain, Delivered in Congress, August 16, 1786." Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 19,926. For a reprinting of the copy in the James Madison Collection, Rare Book Division, DLC, see "Charles Pinckney's Reply to Jay, August 16, 1786, Regarding a Treaty with Spain," with an introduction by Worthington C. Ford, *AHR*, 10 (July 1905): 817–27.

The broadside was dated August 16, the date debate over the Mississippi question resumed rather than the date Pinckney actually delivered this critique of Jay's August 3 report of his negotiations with Diego de Gardoqui, as attested by Charles Thomson's endorsement on this transcript of the speech. Additional evidence of the speech's August 10 date is found in the correspondence of James Madison. In his August 11 letter to Madison, James Monroe testified that "we went into a Committee of the Whole yesterday" and the negotiations with Spain were "discuss'd fully, by Pinckney & others." See Monroe to Madison, August 11, note 1. And in a letter to Madison of July 8, 1801, Pinckney himself observed: "From being in New York at the time You must remember the part I took in Congress on the Question of the Mississippi treaty & the share I had in preventing the treaty with the Occlusion of the River, from being then adopted." See *The Papers of James Madison. Secretary of State Series*, edited by Robert J. Brugger et al. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1986–), 1:388. Madison had been in New York in early August to consult with Monroe about their joint purchase of New York lands but the agitation over the Mississippi question prevented Monroe from accompanying him northward. From New York Madison wrote to his brother, Ambrose, on August 7 before leaving on August 8 or 9 for Princeton, where he conferred with John Witherspoon, and for Philadelphia where he wrote to Monroe on August 11. See Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:88–91.

Pinckney also later reviewed his role in the Mississippi debate in the following paragraph he wrote to George Washington December 14, 1789. "Upon the conclusion of the peace I believe it was the intention of that court to have entered into a treaty of amity & commerce with us—to have been our friends & to have done every thing in their power to have promoted the intercourse—but they mistook the means—for instead of forming a treaty upon those terms which would have insured a reciprocity of

Benefits, they thought the best way to remove every future ground of difference—to prevent our becoming dangerous neighbours—& to keep us at a distance was to propose the surrender of a right as degrading to the honour as it would have been ultimately injurious to the interests of the Union. I happened to be in Congress at the time the proposal was brought forward through the then secretary Mr. Jay. Having more leisure or having more maturely considered the offer, I was requested by the opponents to prepare an answer to the reasons which Mr. Jay offered in support of Mr. Gardoqui's proposals. This I did, & being afterwards desired by many of the southern members to furnish them with copies, I had a few printed which were confidentially delivered to some of my friends, for their information upon a subject which at that time very much engaged the attention of the public. I have the honor to enclose you one of the few copies I have left." Washington Papers, DLC.

² By late May, John Jay had reached an impasse in his negotiations with Diego de Gardoqui and asked relief from his instructions of August 25, 1785, which had left him little room for compromise, requiring that any treaty he concluded must stipulate the right of the United States "to their territorial bounds and the free navigation of the Mississippi." The appointment on May 31 of Rufus King, James Monroe, and Charles Pettit as a committee "to instruct and direct [Jay] on every point and subject relative to the proposed treaty with Spain" did little to advance the negotiations and Monroe's presence on the committee guaranteed that it would not allow Jay to accept Gardoqui's proposal that the United States "forbear" use of the river for a period of perhaps 25 or 30 years. Unable to break their deadlock, the committee on August 1 proposed their own discharge and a recommitment of the subject to a committee of the whole. The recommendation was accepted and Jay was asked to appear before Congress to report on the state of his negotiations, which he did on August 3. See Monroe to James Madison, May 31, note 2; King to Monroe, July 30; and *JCC*, 31:457, 467–84.

Jay's lengthy brief on behalf of compromising U.S. use of the Mississippi in return for a commercial treaty with Spain led southern delegates to plan a comprehensive response, and Pinckney was selected to answer Jay's appeal for a relaxation of his instructions. Pinckney's delivery of the present speech on August 10 opened the most divisive debate in Congress' short history, which reached a climax on August 29 when Jay's instructions were repealed on a 7 to 5 sectional vote, and ended September 1 when his opponents abandoned their effort to overturn the repeal. The southern argument that nine votes were constitutionally required to make "such alteration and enlargement" of Jay's powers failed. But in the aftermath Jay realized that any treaty he might negotiate which did not uphold American claims to the Mississippi had no chance of ratification, a realization shared by Gardoqui, and little effort was made subsequently to salvage the negotiations. For surveys of the entire "Mississippi Question" and analyses of Jay's negotiations with Gardoqui, see Morris, *Forging of the Union*, pp. 232–44; and the headnote introducing the forty-odd documents on "The Jay-Gardoqui Negotiations" in Jay, *Papers* (Morris and Sirvet), volume 3, forthcoming.

³ See Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry, July 6, note 1.

⁴ For Thomas Jefferson's May 23 report of his conversation with the comte de Vergennes, which had been read in Congress on August 2, see PCC, item 185, 3:172; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:567–69.

⁵ The broadside edition of this speech reads: "at two, and two and a half, and if the impost should operate, at five percent." *JCC*, 31:939.

⁶ A reference to either the Amsterdam (2 vols., 1781) or Yverdon (2 vols., 1784) editions of Samuel Ricard's *Traité général du commerce. Contenant des observations sur le commerce des principaux États de l'Europe*.

⁷ The broadside edition of this speech reads: "and will be resisted whenever circumstances shall authorise; a reliance on the support and protection of their parent state, will operate as a spur to emulation." *JCC*, 31:943.

⁸ The broadside edition of this speech reads: "all she can expect, except the exclusive navigation, she now enjoys, unfettered by stipulations." *JCC*, 31:946.

⁹ See Charles Thomson's three letters of March 4 to the states.

Melancton Smith's Notes of Debates

[August 10, 1786]¹

Mr. Pinckney reads his answer to Mr. Jays report.

1st. What advantage to be gained by a Treaty.

Our relative situation with regard to Spain renders it unimportant. France will not probably interfere in the quarrel with Spain—because her system is peace, to repair the wastes of war.

G. Britain will probably take part with us.

Mr. Adams says G.B. turns her eye to free S. Am.

Spain can do us no good with Portugal.

Nor any with the Barbary Powers, because this is only to be bot.

Spain can do us no good in Italy—though the K[ing] of Naples is Son in Law to the Sp. M[onarch]. Peace must first be made with the barb[ar]y powers.

Spain wishes to be at peace with us—she fears us—our situation, though disagreeable, Spains carry the Seeds of her dissolution.

2. The Public advantages of the proposed treaty.

Reciprocity, no advantage because our commerce free, and theirs shackled—the spanish duties 10 Per C. sometimes 20—the duties on eatables 10 Per C—on Merchdze 25 Per Ct—the Duties on Vessels at 25 Per C. to S. America.

No danger of restricting our Trade, which at present we enjoy.

The purchase of Masts & Spars, no[t] important but she will buy them if as cheap as otherwise.

Timber cannot be exported as cheap as from the Baltic.

She raises wheat for her consumption, and if scarcity she buys in Sicily.

As to the trade with the Phillipines—not probable it will be granted—but if it is, what is the advantage, as but one Ship sails from there.

Examined as it respects the States.

The N. Englands already enjoy a trade with Spain—this will be enjoyed.

The english & french encourage the fisheries, as they already enjoy the benifits of favd. nat[ion]s.

NY, Pensy., & Georgia export wheat & Staves.

Maryland & Virginia prohibited.

Indigo the spanish raise better.

Rice always in demand.

She proposes nothing but she will grant without it.

The Le[. . . premi]um unimportant, because we cannot get it.

Ought not to be agreed to

1. Because it will lower the price of the Lands. The posts held by force, would it be proper to suspend the exercise of the right?

2. It will separte the western Country. The US should not exercise a power for the benifit of one part, at the expence of the other.

It will prevent the states from investing Cong. with farther powers.

The cession the price of the Treaty.

The Deleg. stands upon different grounds—the D. from the States extending westward. Doubt their power to yield the right.

It is not the proper time to treat with Spain—not honorable to make commercial treaties bec[aus]e congress Want powers.

The present treaty offers no advantage, which we do not and probably will continue to enjoy.

MS (N: Melancton Smith Papers). In the hand of Melancton Smith.

¹ Date supplied from the preceding entry.

Charles Thomson to John Jay

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, Aug. 10. 1786

I have it in charge to signify to you the following Order "That the Secretary for foreign Affairs state to Congress without delay any information he may have recd. respecting the sentiments of the Court of France touching our right of Navigating the Mississippi, Also that he state to Congress the territorial claims of Spain on the east side of the Mississippi."¹

I have the honor to be, With great respect, Sr, Yr Obedt humble
Serv, Cha Thomson

FC (DNA: PCC, item 55). In the hand of Charles Thomson.

¹ For this August 10 order and Jay's immediate response explaining "that it is impossible to execute this Order instantly, see *JCC*, 31:509–10. For his comprehensive August 17 report on the subject, which was read in Congress August 22, see *JCC*, 31:537–52.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir New York Augt. 10. [11] 1786.¹

We went into a Committee of the Whole yesterday. The subject was discuss'd fully, by Pinckny & others & the house ultimately came to the resolution & reporting that we sit agn. Today being the order for the report of the Committee—in *part* upon subject of the impost in its relation to Pena. & New York, the order above alluded of going into Committee was postpon'd to take up the sd. report. I consider this by no means as evidence that the majority are agnst Jays propositions, on the contrary we have satisfactory documents to believe that 7 States are for it. It depends therefore whether it shall be absolutely defeated (wh. will be the case provided they have but six States) upon the arrival of Wilson & St. Clair & thier being in sentiment agnst Jay. If this shall be the case, may you not discover it in conversation & send them

up?² It was mov'd as we had expected to repeal the ultimatum in his instructions. I hope you have arriv'd in good health. Remember me particularly to Mrs. Triste & Mrs. House. Tell them we shall stay a day or two on our passage thro Phila. with them. I am yr. affte. fnd. & servt.,
Jas. Monroe.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ Monroe should have dated this letter the 11th, for Congress "went into a Committee of the Whole" on the Mississippi question on August 10. "The subject" was made the order of the day for the 11th, but Congress postponed it in order to take up the report of a committee chaired by Monroe on steps to further the compliance of Pennsylvania and New York with the impost. *JCC*, 31:484, 509–14.

² James Wilson did not attend Congress again, but Arthur St. Clair returned on August 16 when he began taking extensive notes of debates on the Jay-Gardoqui negotiations and on August 18 delivered a lengthy speech in favor of the proposed treaty which is printed below. Madison did not report any exchange with Wilson or St. Clair in his letters to Monroe from Philadelphia, but he did observe on August 11 that "I had some conversation at Princeton with Doct. Witherspoon on the subject which agitates you so much in Congs. He sees it in its proper light, and when an opportunity offers will not withhold his ideas from those to whom they may be useful." Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:90–91.

James White to John Sullivan

Sir

New-york 11th Augt. 1786

In answer to the queries you did me the honor to send respecting the paper currency of No Carolina; it is my regret, that having taken my Seat in congress, ere the last emission of the money in question, I am, therefore not so well informed respecting it, as I could wish. The first emission, anno. 83, was of 100,000£ (dolls. 8s.)¹ the fund, *confiscations*. It depreciated to about 25 pr. Ct., but by the mere operation of moderate taxes recovered to an entire credit, or nearly to par, at the time the last money made its appearance. This came out in the same quantity as the former. I believe the last sum has sunk to a lower ebb than the other ever did. It is a tender by law, & is received very freely—at least, the first, I know, was.

Wishing to pay the earliest attention to any of your excellencys commands, I transmit such information as I am at present master of: As soon as I can be answered from No. Carolina, I shall be happy to send a more satisfactory account to any furthor instructions, to, your Excellency's very obedi. & humb. servt.,
Jams. White

RC (PHC: Roberts Collection); Tr (DLC: Force Transcripts, N.H. Council Papers). Recipient identified from transcript.

¹ That is, eight shillings to the dollar. For a discussion of North Carolina paper currency, see James R. Morrill, *The Practice and Politics of Fiat Finance: North Carolina in the*

Confederation, 1783-1789 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), pp. 59-99.

For Sullivan's interest in paper money, see also Pietse Long to Sullivan, August 6; and James Monroe to Sullivan, August 16.

James Monroe to Patrick Henry

Dear Sir

New York Augt. 12. 1786.

I have wish'd to communicate for sometime since to you an account of a transaction here for your sentiments respecting it, but have declin'd from the want of a cypher, that of the delegation being we fear lost. The affr. however has come to such a crisis and is of such high importance to the U.S. & ours in particular that I shall risque the communication without that cover. Jay you know is intrusted with the negotiation with the Spn. Resident here for the free navigation of the Mississippi & the boundaries between Georgia & the Floridas—his instructions altho' they authorize by implication the formation of a treaty of commerce, confine him expressly with respect to those points & prohibit his entering into any engagment whatever wh. shall not stipulate them in our favor. Upon my arrival here in Decr. last (having been previously well acquainted with Mr Jay) in conversation with him I found he had agreed with Gardoqui to postpone the subject of the Mississippi &ca in the first instance & to take up that of a commercl. treaty; that in this they had gone so far as that Mr. Jay was possess'd of the principles on wh. he wod. agree to make it upon condition, on our part, of a forbearance of the use of the Mississippi for 25 or 30 years; I soon found in short that Mr. Jay was desirous of occluding the Mississippi; and of making what he term'd advantageous terms in the treaty of Commerce the means of effecting it. Whether he suppos'd I was of his opinion or not or was endeavoring to prevail on me to be so I cannot tell, but as I express'd no sentiment on the subject he went further & obser'd "that if the affr. was brought to the view of Congress they wod. most probably disagree to it, or if they shod. approve the project conduct themselves so indiscreetly as to suffer it to become known to the French & Englh. residents here & thus defeat it. To avoid this he said it occur'd to him as expedient to propose to Congress that a Committee be appointed to controul him in the negotiation, to stand to him in the room of Congress, & he to negotiate under the Committee." I then reminded him of the instructions from our state respecting the Mississippi to the delegation & of the impossibility of their concurring in any measures of the kind. Our communications on this subject ended from that time. Upon the arrival of Colo. Grayson I communicated to him all these circumstances with my opinions on them. From that time, and I had reason to believe he

had begun even before my arrival, we have known of his intriguing with the members to carry the point. On 27 of May he address'd a letter to Congress precisely in the sentiment above, stating difficulties in the negotiation & proposing that "a Committee be appointed with full power to *direct & instruct* him on every point relative to the propos'd treaty with Spain."¹ As we knew the object was to extricate himself from the instruction respecting the Mississippi we of course oppos'd it. We found he had engag'd the eastern States in the intrigue especially Mass., that New York, Jersey & Penna. were in favor of it & either absolutely decided or so much so as to promise little prospect of change. The Committee propos'd by the Secretary was admitted generally to be without the powers of Congress since 9 States only can give an instruction for the formation of a treaty. To appoint a Committee with the powers of 9 States was agreed to be a subversion of the govt. & therefore improper. The letter however was referr'd to a Committee who ultimately agreed to report that the Committee be discharg'd & the subject referr'd to a Committee of the whole, & the secrey. ordered to attend. He did so and came forward fully with the plan of a commercl. treaty condition'd with the forbearance of the use of the Mississippi for 25 or 30 years, with a long written speech or report in favor of it.² The project is in a few words this "1. That the merchts. of America & Spn. shall enjoy, the former in the ports of Spn. & the Canaries, the latter in those of the U.S. the rights of native merchts. reciprocally. 2. That the same tonage shall be paid on the ships of the two parties in the carriage of the productions & the Manufactures of the 2 countries. 3. That the *bona fide* manufactures & productions of the united States (to be only excepted which shall continue under its present regulations) may be imported in American or Spanish vessels into any of his Majesties ports aforesaid in like manner as if they were the productions of *Spain*. And on the other hand that the *bona fide* manufactures & productions of his Majesties dominions may be imported into the U.S. in Spn. or American vessels in like manner as if they were those of the said States. And further that all such duties and imposts as may *mutually* be thought necessary to lay on them *by either party* shall be ascertain'd & regulated on principles of exact reciprocity, by a tariff to be form'd by a convention for the purpose to be negotiated & made within *one year* after the exchange of the ratification of this treaty and in the meantime that they shall severally pay in the ports of each other the duties of natives only. 4. Masts & timber shall be bought here for the royal navy provided that upon their carriage to Spain they shall cost no more than if they were bought elsewhere. 5. That in consideration of these advantages to the U.S. they agree to forbear the use of the Mississippi for 25 or 30 years. The term for wh. the treaty shall last." This treaty independent of the sacrifice I consider as a very disadvantageous one & such as we shod. not accept since it in reality gains us nothing & sub-

jects to very high restrictions, such as exist in none of our other treaties altho' they are in effect bad enough. But they are to be justified especially those of France & Holland in the motives which led to them, to bring those powers into the war. The subject was referr'd to a Committee of the Whole on Thursday last who after debate rose & reported that they have come to no decision & require leave to sit agn.³ The delegation of Mass. mov'd in Committee that the ultimatum in his instructions respecting the Mississippi be repeal'd, in wh. event he woud have unlimited powers to act at pleasure.⁴ This they sd. might be carried by 7 States. We observ'd that without the U[l]timatum the instruction woud. be a new one, and of course 9 States necessary to it. The subject will agn. be taken up in a few days. It appears Manifest they have 7 States & we 5. Maryld. inclusive with the southern States. Delaware is absent. It also appears that they will go on under 7 States in the business & risque the preservation of the confideracy on it. We have & shall throw every possible obstacle in the way of the measure, protest agnst. the right of 7 either to instruct or ratify, give information of to this Mr. Jay & the Spn. Resident so that neither may be deceiv'd in the business. This is one of the most extraordinary transactions I have ever known, a minister negotiating expressly for the purpose of defeating the object of his instructions, and by a long train of intrigue & managment seducing the representatives of the States to concur in it. It is possible some, or perhaps one, (in wh. case it will be even) member may change his sentiments; but as he risked his reputation upon carrying it, it is to be presum'd he had engag'd them too firmly in the business to have a possibility of their forsaking him. This however is not the only subject of consequence I have to engage yr. attention to. Certain it is that Committees are held in this town of Eastern men and others of this State upon the subject of a dismemberment of the States East the Hudson from the Union & the erection of them into a seperate govt. To what lengths they have gone I know not, but have assurances to the truth of the above position, with this addition to it that the measure is talk'd of in Mass. familiarly & is suppos'd to have originated there. The plan of the govt in all its modifications has even been contemplated by them. I am persuaded these people who are in Congress from that State⁵ (at the head of the other business) mean that as a step toward the carriage of this, as it will so displease some of them as to prepare the States for this event. I am thoroughly persuaded the govt. is practicable & with a few alterations, the best that can be devis'd. To manage our affrs. to advantage under it & remedy these defects, in my opinion, nothing is wanting but common sense & common honesty, in both of wh. necessary qualifications we are, it is to be lamented, very defective. I wish much your sentiments upon these important subjects. You will necessarily consider this as under an injunction of secrecy & confide it to none in whom the most

perfect confidence may not be repos'd. If any benefit may result from it I shod. have no objection to yr. presenting it to the view of Council—of this you will judge. Clearly I am of opinion it will be held connected with other objects—& perhaps with that upon which the Convention will sit at Annapolis. On the part of the Delegation we can give you similar information except as to what passd between Mr. Jay & myself—will it be necessary. Of one point I have a perfect conviction & upon this the rest of the Delegation will perhaps not write you so freely as myself, wh. is this that the Legislature shod. be conven'd at a time sufficiently early to elect members to take their seats precisely on the day that those of the present delegation expire. Affrs. are in too critical a situation for the State to be unrepresented a day—eminent disadvantage may result from it—they did from this circumstance during the last year.

Let me hear from you upon these subjects as soon as possible & believe me with great respect & esteem your friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

PS. The object in the occlusion of the Mississippi on the part of these people so far as it is extended to the interests of their States (for those of a private kind gave birth to it) is to break up so far as this will do it, the settlements on the western waters, prevent any in future, and thereby keep the States southwd. as they now are—or if settlements will take place, that they shall be on such principles as to make it the interest of the people to sepearate from the confederacy, so as effectually to exclude any new state from it, to throw the weight of population eastward & keep it there, to appreciate the vacant lands of New York & Massachusetts. In short it is a system of policy which has for its object the keeping the weight of govt. & population in this quarter, & is pursued by a sett of men so flagitious, unprincipled & determind in their pursuits, as to satisfy me beyond a doubt they have extended their views to the dismemberment of the govt. & resolv'd either, that sooner than fail it shall be the case, or being only desirous of that event have adopted this as the necessary means of effecting it. In conversations at which I have been present, the Eastern people talk of a dismemberment so as to include Pena. (in favor of wh. I believe the present Delegation Petit & Bayard who are under the influence of Eastern politicks wod. be) & sometimes all the states south to the Potowinack. Altho' a dismembermt. shod. be avoided by all the States and the conduct of wise & temperate men shod. have in view to prevent it, yet I do consider it as necessary on our part to contemplate it as an event which may possibly happen & for which we shod. be guarded—a dismembt. wh. wod. throw too much strength into the Eastern division shod. be prevented. It shod. be so manag'd, (if it takes place), either that it shod. be formd into three divisions, or if into two, that Pena. if not Jersey shod. be included in ours. Be assur'd as to all the subjects upon wh.

I have given you information above, it hath been founded on authentic documents. I trust these intrigues are confin'd to a few only, but by these men I am assur'd they are not; whatever anxiety they may give you I am persuaded it cannot be greater than that wh. I have felt.

RC (DLC: Monroe Papers).

¹ For John Jay's letter of May 29 (rather than the 27th), see *JCC*, 30:323; and Monroe to James Madison, May 31, note 2.

² See *JCC*, 31:467–84; and Charles Thomson to Jay, August 1.

³ See *JCC*, 31:509; and Charles Pinckney's Speech, August 10.

⁴ *JCC*, 31:510.

⁵ That is, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, and Theodore Sedgwick.

Melancton Smith to Thomas FitzSimons

Sir

New York August 12th. 1786

I received your favour of the 8th Instant by Mr. Turnbull.

I cannot find that I have received any Letter from you on the subject of Daniel Parkers & Cos. affairs which I have not answered: nor do I find or recollect that I have received any since I saw you and Mr. Holker in this Town. You may be assured that I am perfectly disposed to meet Mr. Holker on terms of perfect justice and equality in the adjustment of my concerns with Daniel Parker & Co.

You must be sensible that more than a Year ago, I furnished you with a statement of my Account with that company, and I have never yet been informed whether it has been examined and approved.

When Mr. Holker and yourself were here, I proposed surrendering into your hands all their proportion of the property under my controul, upon your advancing their proportion for payment of the Debts. I am still willing to do this, or to comply with any other reasonable terms to bring the business to a final close.

You seem to hold out an Idea that I have had the use of a very considerable property belonging to the Company. If you will please to inspect the Accounts you had from me you will see that the contrary is the case.

I am as anxious as you can be to come to a final adjustment of this business, and if the terms proposed by me are not agreeable, I wish you to propose any other and if they are just and equal, I shall be ready to accede to them.

Mr. John Murray, assignee to Taylor & Rogers has called upon me, several times lately for the ballance due them from Melancton Smith & Co., I have informed him, that you had forbid me paying it, he

threatnes me with a suit. I am extremely loth to be involved in disputes at Law, as I certainly shall be, unless this business can be settled, he has agreed to wait before he proceeds, until I can get an answer from you. I wish your pointed directions on the subject, & whether if I am sued, you will defend the suit and indemnify me. I shall be happy to have your answer to this soon, & am, with respect, Your Obedient hu. servt.,

Melancton Smith

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Addressed: "Thomas Fitzsimmons Esqr, Philadelphia. Favd. by Mr. Turnbull."

Charles Thomson to Samuel Huntington

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, Aug. 12. 1786

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excy. herewith enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress assembled recommending to the State of Connecticut to settle the claims of capt John Stevens for pay and depreciation agreeably to the act of 25 May 1781.¹

With great Respect &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "His Exy S. H., govr of Connecticut."

¹ Captain Stevens had been captured at the battle of the Cedars in Canada in May 1776 and was one of four hostages held by the British for the performance of the articles of the cartel governing the release of the other American captives. Finally released February 11, 1782, Stevens petitioned the Connecticut Assembly for the settlement of his "pay and depreciation" in accordance with a congressional resolve of May 25, 1781, and upon Connecticut's rejection of his claim petitioned Congress. This petition was referred June 21, 1786, to the commissioner of army accounts, John Pierce, whose June 26 report recommended that Stevens' claim be assumed by the United States. Congress ignored Pierce's recommendation, however, and on August 7 referred the case back to Connecticut, apparently believing that Stevens would fare better with this congressional endorsement. See *JCC*, 20:541, 30:351n, 356–57, 31:493–94; and PCC, item 42, 7:315–25.

Charles Thomson to Philip Schuyler

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, August 12th. 1786

In answer to Your Memorial of April last touching the Allowance to be made for You as Commissioner for Indian Affairs, I have the honor of transmitting to You herewith enclosed An Act of the United States in Congress Assembled fixing the allow[ance] to be made to You and the other Commissioners.¹

I have the honor to be Your most Obedt humble servt,

Cha Thomson

RC (NN: Schuyler Papers).

¹ Schuyler's April 14 memorial requesting compensation for his service as commissioner of Indian affairs from April 1779 to March 1784 is in PCC, item 41, 9:383–86. Schuyler's appointment actually dated from July 1775, but as he also held a commission as major general in the Continental Army from 1775 to 1779, he was seeking compensation only for the period after his resignation from the army. For the board of treasury's May 6 report on Schuyler's petition and Congress' adoption of the board's recommendation in his favor on August 9, see *JCC*, 30:198n, 244–45, 410–11, 31:506–7.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, August 12th. 1786.

I have the honor of transmitting to Your Excellency herewith enclosed sundry Acts lately passed by the United States in Congress Assembled.

1st. A Requisition for the Year 1786. This You will receive from the board of treasury, who have it in charge to prepare a letter to accompany it, but as it has been published in the news papers I have judged it not improper to transmit to Your Excellency an authenticated copy.¹

2d. An Ordinance for the regulation of Indian Affairs.²

3d. An Act fixing the Standard of Gold & Silver; the weight and value of the money Unit; the money Account of the United States, and the different species of Coins.³

4th. An Act again presenting to the view of North Carolina, South Carolina & Georgia the recommendation of the 6th Sept. 1780.⁴

5th. An Order for transmitting to the several States, lists of the numbers, names and owners of the Negroes belonging to the Citizens of each State and carried away by the British.⁵

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most humble servant, Cha Thomson

RC (MHi: William Livingston Papers). Addressed: "His Excellency The Governor of New Jersey." LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For the enclosed requisition adopted August 2, see *JCC*, 31:461–65, 965; and PCC, item 122, fol. 62. The attempt to prepare an address to the states to accompany the requisition repeatedly encountered obstacles and ultimately foundered, for which see William Samuel Johnson to Stephen Mix Mitchell, August 25, note 6.

² For this August 7 ordinance, see *JCC*, 31:490–93, 965; and PCC, item 122, fol. 63.

³ This "Act" was adopted August 8. *JCC*, 31:503–4.

⁴ That is, Congress' resolve of August 9 repeating its appeal to these states for a "liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims," for which see Thomson to Certain States, August 14. This paragraph was omitted from the copies of the present letter sent to these three states.

⁵ See *JCC*, 31:508. These voluminous lists were not actually available for distribution for several weeks and were eventually transmitted to the states by the secretary for foreign affairs, John Jay, with a brief cover letter of October 23, which is in *PCC*, item 120, 1:474.

John Bayard to Samuel Bayard

New York Augst. 13th. 1786. Acknowledges Samuel's August 4 letter. "This Day, my dear Son, is the Anniversary of the death of your Dear Mother in Law¹ and is a day of deep humiliation & Sorrow to my Soul. When I call to mind, the Goodness of God to me in giving me such an amiable Woman—my misimprovement of the Blessing—Gods taking Her from me & my dear Children in the midst of Usefulness—My present lonely Situation—the dispersed State of my Family—Oh! what cause have I to be deeply abased & humbled before God, at my misimprovement of this dispensation—at the same time, what cause of thankfulness that God has spared my unworthy life & that my Children have not been deprived of both parents—these various thoughts have been the Subjects upon which my mind has dwelt this day. I did not expect so long to have survived my dear Mrs. Bayard & had settled my Affairs under this prevailing impression. But it has pleased God not only to spare my life, but to give me a full enjoyment of Health. Oh! may my future Life be devoted more eminently to His Service and to the Good of my Dear Children & Fellow Citizens.

"I called on Mr. Wadsworth when He was in Town in the spring & Altho He remained here several Weeks after—I never was favored with a return of His Visit. This makes it improper to press a further Acquaintance—however desirable it might be to me. Jane, Dr & Mrs. Rodgers are well & Join in Love to You & the whole family."

RC (ICHi: Gunther Collection).

¹ That is, Samuel's step-mother, Bayard's second wife, Mary Grant Rodgers Bayard.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My dear friend,

New York 13 August 1786

Col. Henley called on me this evening and made me happy with the information that you was settled at Cambridge. This intelligence is the first I have heard of you for many weeks—have you forgot me? indeed I am afraid you have.

We are now warmly interested in the question, which I some time since communicated to you, and which is considered as very impor-

tant by the speculators in the western lands—how congress will determine is very uncertain. Our Fish, and every article we sell in Spain, is sold upon the Footing of the most favored nation in that country—this is favor, & not right—should we embarrass ourselves in the attempts of imprudent men to navigate the Mississippi below the northern boundary of Florida, we can expect no favors from the Spanish Government. England is our Rival in the Fisheries, France does not wish us prosperity in this branch of commerce,¹ if we embroil ourselves with Spain, what have we to expect on this subject? The answer is too obvious & important to leave a Doubt of the policy of forming a treaty of commerce between the US & Spain.

I do not learn who is coming on to join the proposed commercial convention at Annapolis.² The Virginians Suppose much good will flow from their Wisdom. I hope if any persons goes you will not remain at home. I hear nothing from our federal Court Agents; I have written to them once & again; but they are silent—will you inform me what you apprehend their intentions are. We requested their Advice, in electing a Judge in the room of Col. Monroe—they have not acknowledged the Receipt of our Letter.³ We intend appointing Mr. Hooper of N. Car. conceiving he is the best man on the List.

I know nothing of him. Mrs. King joins me in sincere regards to Mrs. Gerry & Miss Kitty to whom together with Mr. & Mrs. Thompson pray present our best compliments.

Adieu my dear freind, dont neglect a man Who loves & respects you,
Rufus King

RC (NHi: King Papers).

¹ The French chargé d'affaires, Louis Guillaume Otto, had recently had a conversation with King on this subject, which he reported to the comte de Vergennes in the following passage from his dispatch "No. 58." "The sentiments of Mr. King, which I have had the honor to report to you, are shared by but a few persons who are interested in the Newfoundland fisheries. In general, I have found in the northern states very favorable dispositions toward us and animosity toward England. It seems that the ill success of the American commissioners to the Barbary powers, the reply of Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Adams, and the repeated acts of hostility of the savages, have drawn nearer to us the heads of all governments." Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères: Correspondance politique, États-Unis, 32:39–42; and George Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1882), 2:379.

² For the abortive effort of the Massachusetts commissioners Samuel Breck, Thomas Cushing, and Francis Dana to attend the Annapolis Convention, see Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:685.

³ See Massachusetts Delegates to John Lowell, et al., July 17.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York Augt. 14. 1786.

It has occur'd to G.¹ & myself to propose to Congress that negotiations be carried on with Spn. upon the following principles. 1. that exports be admitted thro' the Mississippi to some free-port, perhaps N. Orleans, to pay there a toll to Spn. of abt. 3 pr. centm. ad valorem & to be carried thence under the regulations of Congress. 2. that imports shall pass into the western country thro the ports of the U.S. only. 3. that this sacrifice be given up to obtain in other respects a beneficial treaty.² I beg of you to give me yr. opinion on it.³ It is manifest here that Jay & his party in Congress are determin'd to pursue this business as far as possible, either as the means of throwing the western people & territory without the govt. of the U.S. and keeping the weight of population & govt. here, or of dismembering the govt. itself, for the purpose of a seperate confederacy. There can be no other object than one of these, & I am from such evidence as I have, doubtful which hath the influence. I write in Congress & therefore am depriv'd of the advantage of the cypher, but am so desirous of yr. sentiments as to risque mine without that cover.

Sincerely yr. friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC; Madison Papers).

¹ That is, William Grayson.² For the submission of this plan to Congress, see Virginia Delegates' Motion, August 21.³ For Madison's August 17 reply, see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:107–8.

Charles Pettit to James Hutchinson

Dear Sir,

N York 14 Augt. 1786

By adjourning & even dispatching some Committee Business by 3 o'Clock I have a few Minutes that I did not expect today to acknowledge your Favr. of the 11th.

A Reconsideration of the Question on the Rept. of the Bd. of Treasury was moved this Morning as a preparatory Step to the sending a Commee. to court the Assembly of Pennsa. to permit the Impost to go into operation separately—An Idea that some are very fond of. I have constantly opposed it as a vain Attempt with Pennsa. unless some other Security is provided for the domestic Debt. Seven States how-

ever have carried the sending a Commee. Mr King & Mr. Monroe are chosen.¹ The Report I mentioned was referred to a Commee.—they have agreed (but not yet reported) to authorize the Bd. of Treasury to continue the Issue of Indents in Pennsa—But to declare solemnly in favr. of their Construction respecting the 86,000 Dollars.² Another Commee., of which I am one, have agreed to report a strong Recommendation to the States who have neglected to grant the Suppl[emen-]tary Funds, to do it immediatly.³ This being on a Motion to this Effect, nothing more could be done under it. I merely assented because the Thing is not wrong in itself, but not enough. I proposed a Requisition on the States to pay in their respective Quotas of 27 Millions in Certificates of the domestic Debt within a reasonable Time—each State to be exonerated from the Call for supplementary Funds in proportion to the principal from Time to Time paid, with some other necessary Modifications. I have put Notes of this proposition into several Hands, & it seems to work well, but must take a little Root before I venture a Motion on it. I have told them that without this or some other adequate security for the domestic Debt Pennsa. will never consent to the Impost separately, as she considers it as giving up the Domestic Debt to Destruction. I hope the Parties in Phila. will not divide on this great Question.

My Time will not let me say more than, Your huml Servt.,

Chas. Pettit

P.S. I have not had Time to suggest even these Ideas to the Comptroller. It may be well to mention them to the V. Prest. & him, as yet only in view however, but the Reports I have suggested will probably be made & agreed to.

RC (PPAmP: Hutchinson Papers).

¹ For the mission of Rufus King and James Monroe to the Pennsylvania Assembly, see King's Memorandum, September 13.

² For the work and recommendations of this committee, which was appointed this day, see Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin, July 26, notes 1 & 3; and Charles Thomson to Franklin, August 25.

³ For the August 14 appointment of this committee, consisting of William Samuel Johnson, Charles Pinckney, and Pettit, and its August 16 report, see *JCC*, 31:518n, 523.

Charles Thomson to Certain States

Sir,

Office of Secretary of Congress, August 14. 1786

I have the honor of transmitting to your Exy herewith enclosed an Act of the United states in Congress assembled again presenting to the view of North Carolina, South Carolina & Georgia the recommendation of the 6 Sept 1780.¹ As the compliance with this recommenda-

tion is of great importance to the Union I have kept this Act separate from those transmitted with my letter of the 12 that going singly it may become the sole object of attention. But though it is made the subject of a special letter yet the Act of the 6 Sept 1780 which is also enclosed,² states so fully the Motives end & reasons of this recommendation that I have only to request that your Excellency will be pleased to present this subject again to the view of your Legislature & favour me with the result of their determination thereon, which from their Wisdom, justice & magnanimity will, I trust be, consonant to the Expectations of their sister states & to the wishes of Congress.

With great respect I have the honor to be, Your Excy's &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "No Carolina, So Carolina, Georgia."

¹ For this August 9 resolve repeating Congress' appeal to these three states for a "liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims," see *JCC*, 31:507.

² See *JCC*, 17:806–7.

Charles Thomson to Richard Butler

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, August 15th. 1786.

I have the pleasure to inform You that the United States in Congress Assembled have been pleased to appoint You to the Office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department. For Your further information I enclose herewith a copy of the Ordinance for the regulation of Indian Affairs, and a resolution fixing the Salary of the Superintendants and the deputies.¹

Accept my Congratulations on Your appointment.

With much respect I am, Sir, Your &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For the enclosed August 7 ordinance, August 8 salary resolution, and August 14 appointment of Butler, see *JCC*, 31:490–93, 503, 517.

Charles Thomson to George Clinton

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, August 15th. 1786.

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herewith enclosed, a Resolution of the United States in Congress Assembled, earnestly recommending to the Executive of New York the convening of the Legislature of the said State for the purpose of taking into consideration the recommendation of the 18th April 1783.¹

With the greatest respect &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For the enclosed resolve and Congress' efforts to persuade New York to adopt the proposed Continental impost, see *JCC*, 31:513; and James Monroe to Clinton, August 16, note 3. See also Thomson to Clinton, August 25.

Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell

Dear Sir

New York, August 16th. 1786.

The Ordinance for regulating the Indian Department is now passed, and the secretary will Transmit it to the different states.¹ I am happy to inform you that after repeated endeavours, we have obliged the superintendant for the Southern District to Act in conjunction with the Authority of the State in all matters wherein the Legislative Rights of the States may be concerned, we have also postponed the Choice of the Superintendant for that district, at least for some time when you peruse the Ordinance, please to give advice respecting the Choice of the superintendant I will endeavour to prevent it untill I am favoured with a line from you.² The Ordinance for regulating the postage is now under Consideration, and hope it will be finished this day, no material alterations will take place, except a few cross postes, and the postages to be paid in Hard money.³ The Temporary Government for the Western Country is yet under commitment,⁴ the treaty with Spain Occasions much debate and discontent, the particulars I am not at Liberty to mention (as before observed) this Subject is in a committee of the whole House and there is great Divisions in the Eastern and Southern Delegates and I fear that no small disquietude will attend the decision Shou'd it terminate against us which their is reason to fear, the western Country will experience the disadvantage. The Subject of Acquiring more powers to the Confederation, is in the Order of the day, when finished they will be forwarded to you.⁵ We have at this time twelve states on the floor of Congress, but I expect they will withdraw as soon as this Grand Subject is fully decided. I am exceedingly anxious to hear of Coll. Blount and Family coming forward, necessity will press me to return as soon as conveniency will admit. The deligates of North Carolina is in a disagreeable Situation for want of Suitable provision. Mr. White has not received any thing from the state, my Naval Stores Yet remains unsold. I am very desirous to be relieved in time, and hope to provide better for the Nixt Tower [Tour]. We are assured of the Friendly disposition of the foreign Courts, except the barbary powers with whom we cannot Negotiate for want of Money, this Treaty will cost at least One Million, what measures will be pursued on this Occasion is yet unknown, the subject is at present under committment.⁶ Congress has fixed the alloy of

Coin, the Standard is one eleventh part⁷ fine gold or silver, and one part alloy, the Dollar is made the money Unit by which the Decimal Ratio is fixed in the following manner Viz *Mills* the lowest money of account 1000 equal to the Money Unit or Dollar, *Cents* the highest Copper piece 100 equal to a dollar, *Dimes* the lowest silver Coin 10 equal to a dollar. *Dollar* the Money Unit. By this you will perceive that the mode of Keeping accounts, will be altered which I confess was against my Inclination, as it was contrary to the long Usage. The Silver Coin are a Dime, double Dime, half dollar and Dollar. The Gold coin are an Eagle and half Eagle, and quarter of an Eagle to be stamped with the American Eagle the largest to be equal to ten dollars and so in proportion. That the mint price of a pound Troy weight of uncoined Gold eleven parts fine and one alloy shall be two hundred and Nine Dollars, seven dimes and seven Cents. The board of Treasury have it in Orders to draw up an Ordinance for establishing a Mint, when this is Completed we shall want nothing but Bullion, when this Want will be supplied, it is to me unknown. It appears there is some commotions in the Massachusetts about the Gentlemen of the long robe,⁸ which order the populous wish to destroy. They form Committees and are Clamorous, Rhode Island is also In Convulsions still about the paper Currency,⁹ with which they are like to do Nothing. Some Merchants have moved out of the State, they also form Committees to oppose the passage of the Money while one party endeavour to enforce the law for that purpose.

I remain your Most Obedient servant,

Timothy Bloodworth

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

¹ See Charles Thomson to the States, August 12.

² For Caswell's September 24 reply in which he admitted that "I do not know any person that I think would accept it, whom I would venture to recommend," see *N.C. State Records*, 18:746. On October 6 Congress elected North Carolina delegate James White as superintendent for the southern district, Richard Butler having been appointed to the northern district post on August 14. See *JCC*, 31:747; and Charles Thomson to Butler, August 15. And in consequence of recent reports of animosities between the Indians and American settlers along the North Carolina-Georgia border, Congress adopted a committee report on October 10 which recommended that White be sent to the area immediately to "investigate the causes of the uneasiness," seek assistance from the southern governors, and report back to Congress. Should the Indians refuse "reasonable terms of pacification," White was to inform the governors "that Congress are determined always to afford the most ample protection in their power to the citizens of the United States." See *JCC*, 31:759-60; and *PCC*, item 190, fol. 127. See also Charles Thomson to James White, October 9, and Thomson to Certain States, October 11.

³ Bloodworth erred in anticipating final action on the Post Office ordinance that had been reported on June 15, as it was not entered on the journals until February 14, 1787, for which see William Grayson to Richard Henry Lee, March 22, note 6. Instead, Congress responded to a series of initiatives concerning the transportation of the mails and

postage. Grayson's July 17 motion on letting contracts for conveyance of mail by stage-coaches from Portland to Savannah and establishing cross-posts was referred to a committee consisting of Grayson, William Few, and Rufus King which recommended on August 7 that such contracts be let for a period of twelve months beginning January 1, 1787. Thereafter the journals are punctuated with letters from the postmaster general, Ebenezer Hazard, as well as motions, committee reports, and resolutions relating to specific steps taken. The result was the authorization on September 4 of contracts for four government post routes from Portland to New York, New York to Philadelphia, Philadelphia to Petersburg, and Petersburg to Savannah, with several subcontracted connecting routes to such towns as Concord, N.H., Albany, Annapolis, Wilmington, N.C., and Augusta, Ga. On November 3, in response to complaints from the postmaster general, Congress modified its resolution allowing Hazard to let contracts to post riders "to suit the convenience of the Mercantile business," though preference should be given to stagecoaches where possible. See *JCC*, 30:411, 31:501-2, 518-20, 524n, 529-31, 563n, 629-30, 690-92, 909-12, 918-24; and *PCC*, item 61, fols. 275-76, 387-88, item 190, fols. 115, 123, 125, 130-32. For Congress' September 20 resolution demanding specie payment for postage, see Charles Thomson to Hazard, September 22.

⁴ See James Monroe to John Jay, April 20, note.

⁵ On June 26 Congress had resolved itself into committee of the whole "to take into consideration the state of public affairs," and on July 3 appointed a grand committee to which Bloodworth was named "to report such amendments to the Confederation and a draft of such resolutions as it may be necessary to recommend to the several states for the purpose of obtaining from them such powers as will render the federal government adequate to the ends for which it was instituted." This committee's work resulted in a report proposing seven amendments to the Articles of Confederation that was submitted to Congress August 7 and assigned for consideration August 14. Although the report was printed and circulated, other matters intervened, particularly the divisive debates over John Jay's negotiations with Diego de Gardoqui concerning navigation of the Mississippi. Subsequently interest in revising the Articles was subordinated to the extra-congressional movement for constitutional reform by the report from the Annapolis Convention received September 20, and Henry Knox's September 28 report on the Shaysite disorders in Massachusetts. See *JCC*, 30:354, 387n, 31:494-98, 677-80, 698-700, 965. For the actions that led to the appointment of the grand committee, see William Grayson to Richard Henry Lee, March 22, note 7; and Thomas Rodney's Diary, May 3, note 1.

⁶ See Pierse Long to John Langdon, August 6, note 2.

⁷ Apparently a copyist error for "eleven parts." Congress had adopted a grand committee report on July 6, 1785, establishing the dollar as the principal money unit of the United States and a decimal system for coinage, for which see William Grayson to George Washington, July 25, 1785, note 5. On April 8, 1786, the board of treasury submitted extensive reports to Congress on the establishment of a mint and suggested alternative weights and ratios for coinage, which was taken up on the 12th. Congress delayed action on the report until August 8 when it adopted a resolution making gold and silver standard for U.S. coinage at eleven parts fine to one part alloy and ordered the board of treasury to report "a draft of an Ordinance for the establishment of a mint." The board's report was read September 21 and October 10 and adopted on the 16th, but the plan was never implemented. The first U.S. mint was not established until 1792. See *JCC*, 30:162-82, 31:503-4, 683-85, 760-61, 876-78, 882, 961, 965, 967-68; and Charles Thomson to the States, August 12, note 3, and October 21 (1st letter). See also Don Taxay, *The U.S. Mint and Coinage: An Illustrated History from 1776 to the Present* (New York: Arco Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 23-25.

⁸ That is, the judges of Massachusetts, who were objects of debtor wrath.

⁹ See Rhode Island Delegates to John Collins, September 28, note 5.

William Samuel Johnson's Notes of Debates

[August 16–22, 1786]¹

Treaty With Spain

Affir[mativ]e.

Guardoqui. 25th May 86.² Spain will on no Acct. permit the Navign.

Good Disposn. of Spain—Act of Friendship.

Spain wants & Consums. our Products—Pays in Cash. Will Guranty our Domins. Secure our Trade & Marine.

Jay³—Comml. Treaty wh. Spn. most benifl.—France will give prefe. to Sp.—Marrige with Portugl. &c. Britain will inj[ur]e us with Sp. wh her Rivals &c. &c.

Sp. has inf[luenc]e in Moroc. & Barby. will encrease.

Do. in Italy. In Am[eric]a very Good or Ill. Trad. very benl. but to be secur'd only by Treaty.

Treaty propd. Recipl.—as Natives—all Manufs. & Prods. Tobac. exceptd. Will take Nav. Stores, Masts & Timbr. for Navy at eql. Price—In Cash.

Prohibitn. of Tobac. now exists—Philip[pine]s.

Missisipi. & Territy. Will never yield Massi. Am[eric]a will have it. Ansr. Period distant &c.

Forbn. 20 or 25 Yrs. Now shut. Will be so. Not Impt. for that Perd. Val[u]e of W. Land. Will be so. Lessee adm[i]ts Rig[h]t of Less[o]r. Try—no Injy. much Good. Terr[itor]y few Acres. Sp. has a Nav. Coml. Treat. with Sp. May hereaft. be Indispl. towards—or Unable. Picture of our Circums. Ill. Conte. so till Vig[orou]s Natl. Govermt.

Inst[ructio]n of Feby. 15th, 1781.⁴ to desist from Claim of Navn. of Massipi. below 31st Dege. 30th Ap. 1782.⁵ Approbn. of Do. Repeal Augt. 6th 1782.⁶ Augt 13th 1779.⁷ Resolut. of Instrs. for Treaty of Peace wh. G.B. 8th June 1781.⁸ Proposition of Virga. as to Northn. Boundy. 14th, 17th, Octr. 1780.⁹ Letter containg Reasons on the Right of U.S. to Massipi & Bounds. claim'd. Long & able.King.¹⁰ Minds settled. Reciprocity implies all—Commisss. to regulate. Most favd. Nation. Do's not extend to speciffick Rights purchas'd—Hind[er]s Navign. of Massipi.

Dutch Bottoms—Summy. of the Reas[on]s from Secrety of F. A.

Rept. S. F. Affairs on Sp. claims & Fren. Views in respt. to Missasipi.¹¹ St. Joseph taken by Sp. Marq. Fayette. to C. Flor. Blan.¹² Renvalls Paper.¹³

King. The Fact is you cannot use the River for 20 Ys.—all folls. from this.

Negat[iv]e.

Gray[so]n.¹⁴ Pand[er]s. Base.

Lee.¹⁵ Not attainable. Ergo. Unnecessy. & Mischi[evou]s.

Pink[ne]y. Must pres[um]e Jay has foundn. Little Diffe. betwn. tempy. & perpetl. Cession. Submits Pap[er]s in Ansr.¹⁶

1st. Examine his Premiss[e]s.

2. The offs. of Spain.

3. The Price of the Treaty.

4. The Policy of ag[reein]g to a Treaty at this Time.

France fave. to Spn. but will not risqe. a Cont[es]t. with Engd. & U. S. for her. Engd. Turns her Attn. to S. A. & wd. interfe. for us. Treat. wh. Portgl.

Sp. no use to us in Barby.—Nor in Italy tho the K of Naps. a Son of Sp. Sp. fears us & our Interfe. in S. Ama. It is the Intt. of Sp to Treat.

2ly. The offers are recip[rocal]. Masts—Can[arie]s—Philip[pine]s. Cannot be recip[rocal]. our Trade Free—theirs enslavd.

Duts. high 10, 25 pr. Ct. Wants our Prods. & will not Shut her Ports. Masts no Conseqe. She will want them, & you will want no sale. Their Intt. will open their Ports. Manilla Minisl. Finess. But if real no Advante. N E. States benefd.

Trade wh. Sp. Treats. wh. Spain—Fam[il]y Comp[ac]t.

N York & Pena. may expt. Wheat. Jer[sey] out.

Virga. not Tobac. & most Injd. Caros. & Geor. Rice wants no Treaty or if did not at such expe. No equivt. The Right admitted.

4. Ill Policy—Price of W. Lands. Depends upn. Massi. If Stop. Check emign. & ruin Sale. While uncertn. not relinqh. bcaue. cant maintn. right. Case of the Posts compared. Similar. W. Territy. to be secured to us & Commd. with only by that Navign. No benefsts. to be acqd. to one part of the Union at Expe. of the other. And this Mease. will prevt. the Acqn. of Powers to Congs. S. States Injd. Peace no right to Cede.

No Treats. sho'd be made at this time for want of Power. Wait till that Power obtd. No Precip[itatio]n. Not press'd. Involve us in Conests. Prevent Acqn. of Power &c &c &c.

Monroe. The affords. Treaty. affects. 1. Me[r]ch[an]ts. 2. Tonnage or Shipping. 3. Products. Not benefl. Tariff to be *mutually* Agreed. Interferes wh. the Rights of Indl. States to Prohibit, & with formr. Treats. They may also come in undr. the clause of Most favd. Nation giving same equivalents. Will prevent obtaing. necessity. Powers of Congress.

Augt. 17th. Grayson. Decids the Existe. of the Confedn. Rept. of S.F.A. preps. for new Wars. Feeb[l]e Mon[arch]y of Sp. Fam[il]y Comp[ac]t not extends to this Case. Fr[anc]e nothg to gain by Occlusn. of Missipi. Her Int[eres]t to have it open—so of Armd. Neuty. Brit. will join us agt. Sp. But Cont[inent] can by Præm[iu]n upon their Fish.

Def[ea]t the obt[ainin]g of Comml. Powers for Congs. Rep[ea]l
Imp[os]t. S. States.

The Treaty not beneficl.

MS (DLC: Johnson Papers). In the hand of William Samuel Johnson, and endorsed by him: "Notes Missipi."

¹ Johnson wrote these notes on a single sheet of paper under the caption "Treaty with Spain," dividing his observations into two columns labelled "Affir[mativ]e" and "Negat[iv]e." They contain the substance of positions argued in committee of the whole August 16–22, although much of the material is a summary of arguments set forth by Diego de Gardoqui May 25, by John Jay May 29 and August 3, and by Charles Pinckney August 10, for which see Pinckney's Speech of that date, note 2.

² For Gardoqui's May 25 letter to Jay, which Jay incorporated into his August 3 report to Congress, see *JCC*, 31:467–84; and *PCC*, item 97, fols. 93–98, 166–69.

³ For Jay's commentary on Gardoqui's letter and belief "that a proper Commercial treaty with Spain would be of more importance to the United States than any they have formed, or can form, with any other Nation," see *JCC*, 31:473–84.

⁴ See *JCC*, 19:151–54.

⁵ *JCC*, 22:219–20.

⁶ *JCC*, 22:449–51.

⁷ Actually August 14, 1779. *JCC*, 14:952, 955–66.

⁸ *JCC*, 20:615–617.

⁹ *JCC*, 18:935–47.

¹⁰ For Rufus King's views, see also Charles Thomson's Notes, August 16.

¹¹ This August 17 Jay report was read in Congress August 22. See *JCC*, 31:537–52.

¹² The marquis de Lafayette's February 19, 1783, letter to the conde de Floridablanca was incorporated into Jay's report. *Ibid.*, pp. 540–42.

¹³ For Gerard de Rayneval's "Memoir," see *ibid.*, pp. 546–50.

¹⁴ See also Charles Thomson's Notes, August 16 and 18; and Arthur St. Clair's Notes, August 18.

¹⁵ See also Thomson's Notes, August 18; and St. Clair's Notes, August 18.

¹⁶ See Charles Pinckney's Speech, August 10.

James Monroe to George Clinton

Dear Sir,

New York, Augt. 16, 1786.

I enclose you the draft of the ordinance mention'd to you yesterday.¹ I suppos'd you had been acquainted with the recommend'n for convening the legislature² and in that instance that there was an impropriety in my mentioning the subject to you, otherwise I sho'd have appriz'd you of it. Our delegation were in sentiment ag'nst rejecting the act of New York when the report of the Committee was before them to that effect, from an opinion it wo'd unnecessarily irritate the state, that the best plan was to draft an ordinance which sho'd shew to the legislature it was not a system of oppression, but in conformity with the laws & constitution of the state itself, and thereby be an inducm't with it to grant powers in such conformity with the acts of other states as to enable them to carry it into effect—to proceed with temper in this business & rather to conciliate & gain the confidence

of the state & all its citizens hath been my earnest wish throughout and by all means to avoid irritation. In the recommendation of Friday last I consider'd there was a substantial departure from the system, for it was that the state of N. Y^k grant the powers, (not in conformity with the system) but in such conformity with the grants of the other States as to enable the U.S. to carry it or rather to carry a system of impost into effect. I was therefore of opinion that the immediate assembly of the legislature might be the means of a compromise of this difficulty. What will now be done I cannot say; yr. letter of today is referr'd to a committee.³ Some gentlemen suppose the rejecting of the grant of New York will be adviseable and that the Committee sho'd report so. Certain it is an ordinance cannot be form'd on the present act, yet in making this known to the state or in proposing any alteration of it I co'd wish it might be in a manner that might give offence to none, especially to those who contributed most to bring it about and are the best friends of the revolution. I shall be sincerely thankful to you for any communications on this subject & am very respectfully your friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

P.S. I shall have occasion for the ordinance sometime to morrow early in the day.

Tr (DLC: Burnett Papers). Copied by Edmund C. Burnett (before the 1911 Albany fire) from the Clinton Papers, no. 5767, New York State Library.

¹ Apparently a proposed ordinance "to carry into effect the system of impost recommended to the several states" April 18, 1783 (not found), drafted by Monroe as chairman of a committee that was appointed July 27. See *JCC*, 30:439–44. While most states had adopted the impost as recommended, the New York Assembly's May 4 act had included provisions allowing duties to be paid in New York paper currency and to state rather than Continental collectors. The committee appointed to review the New York act had reported July 27 that it could not be considered "a compliance," and the same day Congress adopted a Monroe motion concerning deficiencies in the acts of other states. A second committee, chaired by Monroe, was thereupon appointed to consider the deficiencies of the authorizing acts of Delaware and Pennsylvania as well as New York, which reported August 9 and 11, separating concerns over the former from those of the New York act. And on the latter date Congress resolved "That it be earnestly recommended to the Executive of the State of New York, immediately to convene the legislature of the said state, to take into consideration the recommendation of the 18 of April, 1783 [on the impost]"—i.e., to reconsider its authorizing act of May 4. See *JCC*, 30:439–44, 31:511–14; *PCC*, item 190, fol. 112; Stephen Mix Mitchell to Jeremiah Wadsworth, May 3, note 2; Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry, May 6, note 2; and Melancton Smith's Notes, July 27.

² For this August 11 recommendation to New York, see Charles Thomson to Clinton, August 15.

³ Clinton's August 16 letter to Congress, in which he claimed to lack the constitutional power to convene the legislature "before the Time fixed by Law for their stated Meeting, except on extraordinary Occasions," was assigned this day to a committee of five that included Monroe. Its August 18 report was considered on August 22–23 when Congress adopted another resolution urging Clinton to convene the legislature to con-

sider the impost, for which see Charles Thomson to Clinton, August 25. In a letter of August 26 Clinton again refused, arguing that the legislature had already deliberated the impost and that Congress' perceived sense of crisis did not make this issue "extraordinary," a rationale with which the legislature readily agreed when it convened in January. Clinton's second refusal doomed the work of the committee drafting the ordinance for implementing the impost. Although it was renewed October 16, it was discharged on February 12, 1787, without having submitted its draft ordinance. See *JCC*, 31:524n, 527–28, 532–35, 555–61, 596n, 966; and *PCC*, item 67, 2:539–50, item 190, fols. 115, 128. For a treatment of Clinton's dilemma in the impost crisis, see John P. Kaminski, *George Clinton, Yeoman Politician of the New Republic* (Madison, Wisc.: Madison House, 1993), pp. 89–96.

James Monroe to John Sullivan

Dear Sir

New York August 16, 1786

I was favored with yours a few days since on the subject of paper money.¹ Virginia hath emitted no bills of credit nor hath she any medium of paper circulating in the state except the indents of the U.S.A, publick securities, for the former of which a provision is made by the passage of the requisition of the last year and the securities of the State by different funds; those to foreigners by the appropriation of confiscated property to an amount nearly commensurate with the debt, & those to the citizens by the annual payment of the intrest but as to real paper money we have none of it and most earnestly hope we shall have none. It is with concern I have been informed it is probable commissioners will not attend the convention at Annapolis from your State. I hop this is not the case. I have looked forward to that convention as the source of infinite blessings to this country—howeve[r] expedient it may be to extend the powers of congress yet recommendations from that body are received with such suspicion by the States that their success however proper they may be is always to be doubted—recommendations will meet with more attention from a body assembled under the particular direction of the States for a temporary purpose in whom the lust for power cannot be supposed to exist; I therefore earnestly hope your State and all the Eastern States will send representatives to this convention—pardon the liberty I take to make this suggestion and be assured of the sincerity with which I am dear Sir, very respectfully yours very humble Servant,

James Monroe.

Tr (DLC: Force Transcripts, New Hampshire Council Papers).

¹ For Sullivan's interest in the issuance of paper money, see also Pierse Long to Sullivan, August 6; and James White to Sullivan, August 11.

Arthur St. Clair's Notes on John Jay's Report

[August 16-18, 1786]¹

It is a commercial Treaty not an Alliance that is proposed by the S[ecretary] for F.A.² Spain is not considered at all in the light of an Ally whether the most potent or otherwise. The most important however in a commercial View because greater benefits are to be derived from Intercourse with her than any other Nation—she will pay in the precious Metals for all we send—and offers the best market.

Secys. Reasoning on the part France would probably take in case of a rupture between Spain and America conclusive—so also as to her Influence but what I may are the Councils of France.

It is the interest of great Britain as well as most European Nations to take the commercial consignments of the U.S. and to deprive them of the means of becoming an important Maritime Power—but maritime Power depends almost altogether on Commerce—from a fortunate concurrence of Circumstances Spain wishes to be upon good Terms with America because she has reason to dread the Machinations of Britain, and to induce her to be upon those good Terms proposes a Treaty of Commerce that would be highly advantageous. If this [*is*] rejected, and a Rupture ensues, America is thrown into the Arms of GB who to humble the House of Bourbon and recover the Assendancy she has lost and is daily losing more, will readily embrace us and when her purposes are affected turn her Arms agt. Us and effectually prevent the possibility of her ever becomming her Rival in any Shape whatever.

The first proposition of the Court of Spain seems to be misunderstood. They shall be founded on perfect reciprocity, and they are well explained by what follows. If duties imposed upon importations are higher in Spain than America—America receives no injury, her Merchants are on the footing of Native Merchants and that secured by treaty the duty paid enters into the price of the commodity and is paid by the Consumer and so with the respect to the Spaniard here it is an indirect Tax by which the Spanish Monarch draws Money from the pockets of his Subjects into his Treasury. The Dutys we impose have the same Effect & the right to increase them to any extent remains as it now is in both Nations but neither can be subjected to an alien duty. But say Gentl. the Advantages the US. may derive from this Treaty may be rendered uncertain by Spains entering into a similar Treaty with other Nations. Certainly she means to preserve that right as America certainly does also.

The provision in favr. of Masts & Timber is an advantageous one. The price is to be paid in Specie in America if they are as good & as

cheap as they can be got elsewhere. The purchase will continue—if they are not we ought not to expect it.

Secrys. 3[d] Reason³ for trying the Disuser for a limited time a most forcible one, indeed it is unanswerable.

MS (O: St. Clair Papers). In the hand of Arthur St. Clair.

¹ Absent since late May, St. Clair returned to his seat in Congress on August 16 having missed the opening rounds in the debate on the proposed Spanish treaty that would dominate congressional proceedings from this day until the end of the month, for which see Charles Pinckney's Speech, August 10, note 2. He probably made these notes on Jay's August 3 report to Congress on the proposed treaty in preparation for his own entry into the debate, for which see St. Clair's Speech, August 18.

² For the report Secretary Jay delivered to Congress August 3 which St. Clair is summarizing, see *JCC*, 31:473–84.

³ See *JCC*, 31:481.

Arthur St. Clair's Notes of Debates

[August 16, 1786]¹

Grayson. Spain the most potent Ally—not most potent but most useful.

The Secretarys Reasoning conclusive.² That in case of War France will most probably take part of Spain rather than America.

Barbary Powers

Commercial Nations mind their own Business.

What is France to acquire from Shutting up the Mississippi? Cementing the Friendship with Spain.

Assistance from Britain

An excellent Reason for quarreling with Spain—she would willingly assist as lesning the power of the Bourbons and in case of Success turning her Arms agt. America.

Præmiums—consider their Influence and Effects.

Southern States irritated

Exclusion from navigating the Mississippi in favr. of these States.

Conveniences to one part of the Union are so to the whole and scarcely in any Instance can she derive Advantages in commerce in any other way.

Southern States will repeal the Impost because Individuals will be disappointed in a profit they had looked forward to.

Will Spain use her influence with Barbary supposing she has it? Yes, She has no Share in the carrying Trade of her own Country, it is in the hands of France—by deciding with America it will be done more advantageously for her.

No Argument can be drawn from what passed when Colonies. All that was profitable was confined to great Britain from the obligation to land and reship in that Island.

Suppose we had the Advantages of the spanish Trade when british Subjects which we had not, we lost them by the Revolution. The regaining them as an independent People is an Object of the proposed Treaty.

Canaries.

Without a Treaty we may be excluded.

Preferential Differences in favr. of U.S. No Nation on earth will treat with us terms of equality—unless we can be give them some thing for it.

Commodities of every kind can find no preference but from being cheaper or better.

If a Stipulation for equal duties is inserted in a Treaty and one party evades it the Treaty is void.

4 Article wants explanation.³ The obvious meaning is that of Masts &ca be furnished on equal Terms with Others. America will have a preference.

MS (O: St. Clair Papers). In the hand of Arthur St. Clair.

¹ This date has been assigned on the assumption that the views summarized here by St. Clair were those articulated by William Grayson in opening the debate recorded by Melancton Smith and Charles Thomson in the following two entries.

² That is, the reasoning of John Jay, as set forth in his August 3 report to Congress, for which see *JCC*, 31:467–84; and the preceding entry.

³ For this fourth “article” in Jay’s report, see *JCC*, 31:478.

Melancton Smith’s Notes of Debates

[August 16, 1786]¹

Grayson

Spain a contemptible friend or foe, and therefore a treaty unimportant.

The family compact does not extend to a guarenty of the dominions claimed by Spain in America, as it comprehends only such territory as the two powers shall mutually possess at the conclusion of the then war.

Nothing can be inferred from the conduct of France dur[in]g the War, as she was then deeply interested in bringing the whole house of Bourbon under engagements to support the independence of the US.

It is the Interest of France to open the Missipi, as it will increase the objects of commerce.

No danger of Portugal—for the Spaniards consider the monarchs of P. usurpers—in 1760, invaded P.—the present Queen of P., no relation to the Spa. market.

G. Britain would rejoice at our going to war with Spain—she wishes to emancipate S. America, & would become our Friend & ally.

Danger of the rivalry of G.B. in the Fishery, but this Treaty does not provide against it. She can elude it by giving large Bounties.

MS (N: Melancton Smith Papers). In the hand of Melancton Smith.

¹ This date has been assigned on the assumption that the views summarized here by Smith were those articulated by William Grayson when he opened the debate recorded by Charles Thomson in the following entry. See also the preceding entry.

Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates

Thursday Aug 16. 1786

Congress went into a comee. of the whole.

Mr Grayson opened the debate with an extemporay speech. He followed the train of Mr P.¹ laboured to depreciate the advantages to be derived from a commercial treaty with Spain, & argued, That Nothing was offered by the treaty but what might be enjoyed without it, That the sacrifice to be made to obtain this treaty was great & far more than an equivalent—that the occlusion of the river would destroy the hopes of the principal men in the S. States in establishing the future fortunes of their families—that it would render the western country of no value & thereby deprive the US of the fund on which they depended to discharge the domestic debt—that it would separate the interest of the western Inhabitants from that of the rest of the Union & render them hostile to it—that it would weaken if not destroy the union by disaffecting the S States when they saw their dearest interests sacrificed & given up to obtain a trivial commercial advantage for their brethren in the East—That Spain knew her own weakness & would not dare to go to war to secure her unreasonable demands—That if she did, she would not be supported by any of the commercial Nations in Europe—That it was their interest & wish that the trade of S Am. should be open—that although France was connected with Sp. by the family compact & policy, yet in case of a rupture bet. The US & S. she would only mediate between them but not join the latter—But in case she did G.B would join the U.S. That she in particular wished to see Sp divested of her S. Am. colonies & to participate in that trade. The interest & policy of the dutch would lead them to the same measures—That the US had nothing to fear from a war with Sp. That Morgan with 1000 men could penetrate into the heart of Mexico & emancipate the Sp. provinces—that

the inhabitants there were ripe for a revolt & only waited for such an event to shake off the yoke of Spain. That the true policy of the US was to stand firm to cement & strengthen the Union among themselves & to assert their right to the navigation of the Mississippi & he had no doubt but that Sp. would finally agree to it.²

Mr King spoke next. Having in behalf of the delegates for Massa. moved new Instructions to Mr J. & observed that this subject was forced upon us, & not to be put off at our pleasure. He proceeded to point out the distressed state of the Eastern States—that they had an ungrateful soil & no staple but what they drew from the sea—that the fishery depended on a market, the best market was Sp & this could not be secured but by treaty. That therefore a treaty with Sp was of the utmost consequence to the E States in particular, but the terms which were mentioned were beneficial to all the states. That the equivalent to be offered was of no great consequence. It was only an Agreement to forbear the use of that which we could not at present enjoy. That the Mouth of the river was in the possession of Sp. That she now excluded us from the use of the Navigation & would continue to exclude us until we were able to assert our right by arms. That if the value of the western lands depended upon the free navigation of the river Miss. the forcible occlusion by Spain operated as strongly to that effect as a voluntary forbearance for a term of years. That however some gentlemen might depreciate the power of Sp. she was by no means a contemptible enemy. That F must favour if not join her—that her hopes of Assistance from any of the Maritime powers of Europe were visionary & ill founded—that they all considered us as rivals & looked upon us with a jealous eye & though they wished us to be independent they never wished us to be powerful. That refusing to treat on the terms proposed is sacrificing the interest & happiness of a Million to promote the views of speculating land jobbers. That entering into a treaty on condition to forbear the use of the Navigation will give time to the U.S. to acquire strength, arrange their affairs, & strengthen the Union, so that at the end of the term they may be prepared to assert their right, whereas by breaking off the treaty, Sp. will be disgusted & will strengthen her posts to exclude us from the use of the river, the settlers in the W. Country buoyed up with the hopes of assistance will attempt to force a passage & the US will be precipitated into a war before they are prepared. That in case of such an event the existence of the Confederation will be endangered. For the States whose interests are now neglected if not sacrificed will not be willing to incur the expence & danger of a war brought upon them as they will think unnecessarily & prematurely, more especially when they considered that by this precipitate step they are deprived of the only advantages which they could expect from the Union. In such a case would there be found a man east of—where to draw the line he did not know—but would say east of Delaware who wd. give his vote for war.

MS (DLC: Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson. In addition to this day's debate, Thomson's notes also record the continuation on three subsequent dates, for which see Thomson's Notes, August 18 and August 21–22.

¹ That is Pinckney, for which see Charles Pinckney's Speech, August 10.

² For William Grayson's views, see also the preceding entry; and Arthur St. Clair's Notes and Thomson's Notes, August 18.

Virginia Delegates' Motion

[August 16, 1786]¹

Nine States being necessary to instruct a Minister in any negotiations respecting the formation of Treaties—and certain Instructions having been on the day of 1785² given to Mr. Jay Secretary for foreign Affairs for the purpose of negotiating with Mr. Gardoqui, Encargado de Negocios of his catholic Majesty, the last clause of which was in these words—"And that the following be substituted, that the Secretary to the U.S. for the department of foreign Affairs be and hereby is instructed in his plan of a treaty with the Encargado de Negocios of his catholic Majesty, particularly to stipulate the right of the U.S. to their territorial bounds and the navigation of the Mississippi from the same to the Ocean established in their treaties with G. Britain, and that he neither conclude or sign any treaty, compact or convention with the said Encargado de Negocios until he hath previously communicated it to Congress, and received their approbation." And Whereas a Motion is made to repeal the said recited clause of Mr Jay's Instructions, leaving the other part of the same in full effect³—And enabling him to negotiate without any respect to the right of navigating the Mississippi, and to conclude a treaty without first consulting the U.S. in Congress Assembd., And as the establishment of a precedent enabling seven States to alter the Instructions of a Minister on the subject of treaties to which the assent of Nine *(States)* was in the first place necessary would be productive of the most serious danger, in destroying the guard which the confederation has wisely provided on this important subject. The sense of Congress is required on the following proposition—Nine States having assented to the said Instructions, and the repeal of the clause abovementioned altering the same so materially as to make it a new one, and enable the Secretary for foreign Affairs to negotiate upon other & very different principles from those contained in the original Instructions.

Are seven States competent to the said partial repeal?

MS (DNA: PCC, item 49). In the hand of deputy secretary Roger Alden.

¹ This undated motion was apparently offered by the Virginia delegates (Edward Carrington, William Grayson, Henry Lee, and James Monroe) this day as debate over the Spanish treaty resumed in the committee of the whole. In his August 12 letter to Gov. Patrick Henry, James Monroe had noted that if Congress adopted the Massachusetts

delegates' August 10 motion to repeal that portion of John Jay's instructions to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi River "the instruction w^od. be a new one, and of course 9 States necessary to it." He assured Henry that the Virginia delegation would "protest agnst. the right of 7 either to instruct or ratify" when debate resumed. By the time he wrote his August 19 cipher letter to Thomas Jefferson, Monroe indicated that "we deny [the right] in [seven states] to [alter] an [instruction] so as to make it [a new one]," thus confirming that this motion had already been made, undoubtedly on the 16th, because the debate remained in this state "without any new [proposition] until yesterday, being friday," August 18.

The assumption that the motion was the work of the delegates of Virginia rather than of another southern state rests largely upon Monroe's remarks to Henry and Jefferson cited above and the parallel nature of the Virginia Delegates' Motion of August 21; Edward Carrington's Motion of August 22; and the Virginia delegates' motion of August 29 in *JCC*, 31:574–75.

² That is, the 25th day of August, 1785, for which see *JCC*, 29:657–58. For John Jay's earlier instructions and commission, see *ibid.*, pp. 561–62, 567–69. See also James Monroe to James Madison, May 31, 1786, note 2.

³ See *JCC*, 31:510.

Rufus King to Nathan Dane

My Dear Sir

New York 17 Augt. 1786

I am exceedingly indebted to you for your friendly letter of the 11th instant¹—it is the only letter which I have received for many months that contained the valueable political information which we so much wanted. I am happy to lea[r]n that prudent and discreet men concur with us in Opinion concerning the Spanish negotiation; it would appear strange to me if a contrary Opinion was entertained by any sensible man North of the Potomack. This business has made little progress since you left us: however it will soon receive a decision—that decision is as uncertain as when you left us.

Congress on Friday determined to send a committee of Two members to confer with the Legislature of Pennsylvania on the subject of their connecting the Impost & Supplementary Funds. The Legislature meet in a few days and Col. Monroe & myself go as the committee.²

The report of the board of Treasury relative to the mint, contained on the 6, 7, & 8 Pages of the Printed Report has been agreed to by Congress³—this establishes the Standard of the various metals, the money of account, and the different Species of coins struck under the federal Authority.

Nothing of importance, except the preceding Acts, has taken place since your departure. The Indian Ordinance I think passed while you was here.

Sedgwick leaves us in a few days, of consequence my Journey to Massachusetts depends on your Return. My Affairs require that I should not long delay this Journey; I am therefore confident you will

make your visit as short as possible. Mrs. King thanks you for your kind remembrance, and joins the President, Mr. Sedgwick & myself in respectful compliments.

With sincere Esteem & Freindship, Yours Affectionately,
Rufus King

RC (DLC: Dane Papers).

¹ The following draft of this letter, misdated August 17, is in the Wetmore Family Collection, CtY.

"After a disagreeable passage of 7 days I arrived here last Sunday [August 6].

"Things here are not in so quiet a State as I expected to find them. Several towns in the Counties of Middlesex, Worcester, Bristol, &c have postponed County Conventions. They appear to have no defined objects in view & to be of various opinions and to hope in the wisdom of a Convention to discover remedies. Some complain that the Legislature by granting the Sup[lemental] funds have sold them to Congress for 25 years—some that the last State tax is heavy and oppress—some that they cannot pay any taxes—some that the salaries &c are too high and the County of B. have an opinion that the Senate [...] part of the Consn. and ought to be ann'd. Some towns and all men who have any just ideas of Govert warmly express their sentiments ag[ains]t their Convention but these things at least embarass the measures of Government and prevent the collection of taxes in some degree and taxes in the State now are less productive than they have been at almost any period. However the unproductiveness of taxes is clearly owing in part to the measures of Gover't and the Treasurers imprudent conduct of the vast number of orders drawn by him on collections which have sold at discount from the first and now from 20 or 30 or 40 percent have perhaps produced more cash than the emission of large sums of paper would have done. Every man is scheming to pay his taxes with ease by purchasing these orders at discount. & no cash is brot into the Treasury. Friends to governt appear to be very much alarmed at these appear[ance]s of disorder & many of them to doubt whether our governments will ever have suff. energy to answer the ends of Government. A few difficulties say they bring us back to anarchy & people appear willing to be led by disaffected men to the County and mere outlaws. All say there must be some change in our Government or amendments, that there is no energy in them, no suff't protection of property, that we ought to encorporate in the federal Gov't more Legis. judicial and executive powers but it appears to me that few have examined their own proposed Substitutes or considered with any great attention or precision what is to be done or the hazard and danger of putting ourselves afloat at the time &c. Do not most of our political evils arise from the serious habits of some of the people—a wish to live without industry by Scheming, trading & making dishonest shifts and turns and to have the benefits of Govert. without paying for them, whence they plot mischief and oppose paying debts stores and make friends to Govert. & order, dissatisfied with those forms of Govert. where these strenuous habits have a large influence. I believe the great body of the people in Massa. are right & when well informed will exert themselves to preserve peace and order. I wish the disposition for convention to hit on something as they say was not so prevalent even among some Sensible men. *(Many good men in the Capitol hope the Com[mercial] Conv[ention] will fall on some thing to remove our grievances, but they tell you they do not what nor how. As to county conv[e]n[tions] they can serve only to dishonor the state hope to infringe on the Constitution, but they probably will convince the remoter of them that their labors are to no purpose but to produce a mispence of time and money.)*

"As to the Span. treaty & navigation of the Miss. &c all the men I have conversed with appear to have adopted ideas similar to ours.

"Several men in Boston by means of Mr. Adams private letters I believe know the terms on which we can have peace probably with the Barbary powers, & they do not ap-

pear to me to be [of] opinion that we ought at present to buy peace at so *dear* a rate of faithless nations.

"Mr. Adams in a letter to the Governor mentions he has laid the papers respecting our eastern Boundary before the Br. Ministry whence you will infer he has received those dispatches sent by Congress.

"Mr Lowell & Sullivan seem to be of opinion that as N.Y. first proposed an adjustment of the Controversy between her and our State the agents of Massa. ought to propose a meeting &c but they have done nothing as yet.

"All the Gentlemen app'd to meet in Commercial Convention have resigned—and the G[overnor] & C[ouncil] have adopted some measures today to induce them still to attend it—the G[overnor] & Co[uncil]l[or]s are empowered to appoint our . . .

"As to the late commotion & Clamors about the lawyers I suspect they have not answered them for after all the enquiries made by Comees &c into the practice of the law department no particular evils or instances of misconduct in lawyers are mentioned and of course I presume not discovered. The principal thing discovered in the Com'ee app'd to search after exorbitant fees &c was that in Suffolk the Courts of Common Pleas set a number of days and the Clerk according to law taxes 1/6 a day for the recovering party which in some instances gave him a considerable large bill of costs. The subject is done with and things go on as usual and could the choice of Delegates come on now I imagine there would be no difficulty about electing the old members, as the Delegation of the State I believe from what has been said in the G. Court and out of it stands very well and high in the opinion of the State.

"I am arranging my affairs so as to be in N.Y. by the Middle of Sepr. if possible—but I shall I expect find it diff't to come on. I am not in expectation of getting anything from the Treas'y for past or future services & it is almost impossible to collect any money of individuals but I shall write to you again or Mr. Sedgwick in a few days."

² For the mission of King and James Monroe to the Pennsylvania Assembly, see King's Memorandum, September 13.

³ For the adoption of this report August 8, see *JCC*, 31:503–4, 965; and Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell, August 16, note 7.

Arthur St. Clair's Notes of Debates

[August 18, 1786]¹

Lee. Forming an Efficient federal Govert. If that cannot be done but by sacrificing one Part of the Empire to another the sooner it is resolved the better.

Navigation of Missisipi greater Advantage than the Spanish Trade.
The Treaty opposed to acquiring Power to Congress.

Without rejecting it it cannot be acquired.

If in our present State cant we make a good Treaty—could we not make a better when better organised.

Secession of the western People. It is a matter very likely to happen at any rate. They will adjoin themselves to the British. I believe it. A strong Reason against the formation of such Settlements—for if they have no regard for the general Good and are not under the general Controul the sooner exterminated the better.

Regret that a Secession of the Eastern States should be expressed as Reason yet it has been expected that the forming treaty would isolate the Southern States—they would dissolve the Confederacy.

Fable of the Belly & Members.

Sedgwick. Morally certain the Trade cannot be secured without Treaty. The refusal must raise resentment.

Grayson. Shutting the Missipi for a time a dismemberment. American Colonies could not be dismemberd without an Act of Parliament—no Minister Prop[osed] to do it but the Crown certainly had the right.

The Secry. has not said decidely that the proposition will be accepted. He has it not in his power even to propose to the S. Minister—the free Navigation he is required to insist upon it.

Not customary to appoint private Men betwixt Sovereings [Sovereigns].

A Mistake it has often been done. Boundaries of Accadia.

For if never concluded—it is what we should wish.

Enmity between England & Scotland not extinguished.

Gent. of States have purchased Lands. Is private Int[eres]t to take the lead of the public?

France would interfere. Yes to oblige U.S. to peace and Concession. Convulse the Union.

Consult the Legislatures—upon a Treaty. Eh!

MS (O: St. Clair Papers). In the hand of Arthur St. Clair.

¹ Date derived from Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates, this date.

Arthur St. Clair's Speech

[August 18, 1786]¹

Having been absent when this Business was formerly under the consideration of the Committee I want much Information I should have derived from the discussion it has already undergone (*but it presents itself to me*) in a very simple (*State. Will the*) proposed Treaty be Advantageous (*to the United*) States. It seems however to resolve itself into these two Questions.

First Would the united States derive Advantages from such a Commercial Treaty as has been proposed on the part of his Catholic Majesty by his Minister?

2d. If they would derive Advantages are not the Stipulations and Concessions expected from them more than equivalent²—on the right Solution of these Questions the whole Business in my Opinion depends.

That the U. S. would derive Advantages I think cannot be disputed. The treaty would secure them an Advantageous Trade from which without it they might be excluded, and from which in all probability they will be excluded in case no Treaty takes place. A Trade where the

Ballance is sure to be in our favour and that Ballance sure to be returned in Gold and Silver. A Trade in which they will not only be their own carriers but the carriers for Spain also. A Trade Sir that at once tends to encrease the Staple of a considerable part of the confederacy, to encourage the Art of ship Building, and to nourish an encreased number of hardy and experienced Seamen. In this View the Advantages can Scarce be estimated for they go much farther than the mere commercial profit they embrace the political Interests of the Nation and her future consequence with respect to other Nations. Treaties of Amity and Commerce Sir have a most happy Effect upon Mankind. They greatly tend to remove by the intercourse that follows from them that Distrust and Jealousy that distant Nations whose manners & Customs are different, who live under different Laws & Governments, and speak different Languages are apt to entertain of each other the interchange of commodities that One has and the other wants begets a friendly disposition disposes them to peace and literally as the poet has beautifully expressed it binds the round of Nations in a golden Chain. But Sir the proposed Treaty does not offer to America mere commercial Profit only. It will have and must have political Consequences. The House of Bourbon is closely united by Blood, by Treaty and by Interest. The Pride, the Arrogance and Folly of great Britain has wrought a great Change in the Sentiments of European Powers. They have seen with pleasure the Union of that House and have been cordially acquiesced in it as the only Security they could have against the boundless Ambition and Rapacity of those haughty islands. We are not only in Friendship but in strict Alliance with one branch of that House—another holds out His hand to Us, if we accept a closer connection will probably follow—if we reject it may not our Ally suspect it arises from a disposition not very friendly to her? When the seeds of Distrust are once sown they seldom fail to ripen into enmity. Should that happen Is there another power on Earth to which we could look up^r for that protection we shall yet a long time Want. Yes say Gentn. Great Britain would readily take us by the Hand. Sir I readily believe it would. I believe Sir they would move Heaven & Earth to recover that Ascendancy in the Affairs of Europe which they have lost for ever, and a connection with it whilst it would consign us to probable ruin, would mark us as the basest and the meanest of Nations that ever inhabited the Earth. But suppose that, with her protection we escaped the Evils we should be justly exposed to, and that with our Assistance she regained that Ascendancy she has lost, would be then safe? No Sir—She would then remember that we were once her Subjects. Her Arms would be turned against us, and with the Detestation of all Mankind we should left suffer the just punishment of perfidy and ingratitude. It follows I think Sir that from such a Treaty the united States would derive profit and they would derive consequence.

Let us now enquire whether the Concess[ions] expected from Us are more than equivalent for if they are the proposal should certainly be rejected. The Proposal Sir is a relinquishment of the right to navigate the M. below the southern Boundary of U.S. This Sir has been solemnly and I think properly refused and if the Negotiation cannot go on but on that Ground it is at an End. Permit me howevr Sir to lament that at so early period and in my Judgment so unnecessarily that matter has been made Object. The united States thought it secured to them by the definitive Treaty—had it been suffered to sleep until it became necessary to us it is more than probable there would no difficulty have occurred in the Exercise of it. At present I presume it will not be contended that the Exercise of that Right is of much consequence—none that can in any degree be placed in the Ballance with the Trade to Spain. An Expedient however is suggested by the Sey. of U.S. by which for a limited time the Benefit of that Trade may be secured, to wit by consenting not to use that Navigation for the same limited time. What Injury will US receive thereby, I say none. The only Injuries that I heard suggested are that Emigration to the western Country would cease and consequently the value of the Lands which are depended upon for discharging the domestic Debt be lessened. If it would stop the Emigration to the westward it is an Event devoutly to be wished. That Emigration Sir has injured us much already, most sensibly Sir during the War by rendering the levies more difficult and the means of supporting it fewer. Sir I have been told & I believe it is true that in the Kentucky Settlement there are at this time 6 or 7000 Men able to bear Arms. Will the Gentn. of Virginia please tell what Advantage that State has derived from that great Body of People—has one Shilling ever come into their Treasury from them? I believe not Sir and farther I believe their never will. In one point of View they are absolutely lost both to the States from which they removed and to the Union. In another point of View they may be considered as very dangerous to it—collected together from every part of America with various views and from different causes they find themselves a distinct People that has little connection with and no defence upon any of the Atlantic States. They are fit instruments ready to be laid hold of by their Ennemies. Are the States bordering upon the Atlantic so overstocked with People, that it [*is*] necessary to encourage a Spirit of emigration? No Man of Observation that travels thro this Country but answer in the negative. He will tell you Sir that the most populous States still want more hands for that Agriculture is still in its Infancy. He will tell you Sir that it cannot be much improved without an accession of Hands. He must have seen Sir that there is scarce a hand can be spared for Manufactures and the Arts, nor can these ever arrive at much perfection until there are many more People in a Comtury than

are necessary merely for cultivation. I have been informed by very intelligent Gentn. from Virga. that the Emigration from that Country has been felt so sensibly that they will soon be obliged to repeal their Laws agt. the Importation of Africans. Can it be advantageous to any Country to send out industrious freemen to make room for Slaves? It is unnecessary to state the Effects because I think it will not be said the preventing Emigration by concentrating our People by accustoming them to the wholesome restraint of Laws and requiring from them a more active and well directed Industry would place us in a better Situation for all Events whilst encreased the means of Subsistence & the Articles of Comm[er]ce and improved our Manners. Sir I am well acquainted with the Manners of our Frontier People and it was the employment of a great part of my Life to improve and civilize them—from the Sparse manner of their Settlement, from the distance they generally are from the Center of Power which is weak in proportion, from their Indigence and from the Injuries they are constantly giving and receiving to and from the neighbouring Indians they acquire a turbulence and ferocity of Disposition that renders them but indifferent Citizens at the best, and the progress of Society may be traced in almost every American State thro all its different degrees—but most unhappily it is a retrograde progression, & Care then Sir should be taken to check this Spirit and if it cannot be checked Government should go hand in hand with it—for want of this necessary precaution the united States I have good Reason to believe are at this Moment involved in an Indian War.

But the value of the Lands will be lessned and the public Credit shaken. I have several times had occasion to mention my Sentiments on this Subject. The Redemption of the Debt by the Sale of those Lands has always appeared to me a Chimera. I believe Sir it will be worse that the Debt will be actually encreased by them. If the public Credit has no better foundation it rests upon the baseless Fabric of a Vision. I have held an opinion however that the public Debt with proper Managers, might be made a public Benefit. I think it might still be made so. All that is necessary is to be honest and provide for the regular payt. of the Interest which is easily within the Compass of the States. In a very little time Sir foreigners would invest their Money in our Funds. They would become friendly to Us from a very powerful Motive and the Union itself would be bound more strongly together. There was a time when this might assuredly have been done. I will not say if it is not passed but I believe it might yet be done.

Mr. Chairman There are yet some other and powerful Reasons on my Mind, suggest themselves why we should agree to the forbearing to navigate the M—— for a limited time. One is that at present we shall be prevented from it and it is not very necessary to us. There appears

to me to be more dignity, more policy certainly in waving the Exercise of a Right we cannot maintain, & obtaining something for the Waiver, than by pertinaciously insisting upon it, lose the Advantage and endanger the Right itself. This I take it is exactly what we should do were the Sentiments of some Gentn. here to prevail. The Spaniards will certainly throw more force into the Countrys they possess on the Mi—i, our Strength will gradually encrease in the adjacent Country, and at last a War in which the Right must be committed must be the Consequence. Whereas should the Disuse proposed be agreed to the Right is established, and tho a War may still be the ultimate consequence, it is not so likely to happen when Spain has made a Concession by accepting the Disuser that the Right is in Us, at any rate we put off to a time in which it is to be hoped we shall be better prepared.

MS (O: St. Clair Papers). In the hand of Arthur St. Clair.

¹ Date derived from the following entry, which records St. Clair's participation in this day's debate.

² The following brief note, in St. Clair's hand and located among his papers at the Ohio State Library, also relates to this subject.

"The duties or imposts are to be the same in both Countries—until that is settled things are on their present footing—it must be the Interest of Spain to bring her Imposts down to ours otherwise it would be an exclusion of her productions—and it would act as an exclusive privilege in favour of America in Spain."

Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates

Aug. 18. [1786]

The Comee of the whole sat again.

Mr Grayson spoke.¹ He depr[e]ciated the advantages of the trade with Sp. & endeavoured to shew that whatever the advantages might be they were confined to the E. States—That those employed in the fishery might find a market for the fish, & NY more speedily settle her wasteland. That the sacrifice to be made to obtain the advantages was wholly at the Expende of the S. States which had no share in them. That the only thing wanting to make the US respectable both at home & abroad was enlarging the powers of Congress, granting it a settled revenue & giving it the power of regulating trade. That for this purpose deputies from the States were soon to meet at Annapolis; but should the Measure proposed be pursued the S. States would never grant those powers which were acknowledged to be essential to the existence of the Union. That Spain would never enter into a war With the U.S. to maintain her claim. She was too sensible of her own weakness & the power of the US to injure her, ever to hazard such a step. That she offered nothing as a compensation for the sacrifice. That the

agreeing to a forbearance for any time was a relinquishment of the right—that the treaty proposed was only sowing the seeds of a war—that a tariff would never be settled & that the appointmt. of Comrs. to settle the boundaries was unusual & agreeing to the appointment of them was the same as giving up to S the territory on the E Side of the river & N. That the power of Congress to dismember any of the States without first consulting their constituents was doubted—that it was better to risque the consequence of offending Sp. by asserting our right, that by treating on the terms proposed to endanger the Existence of the Union—that if Sp. wished to obtain such a valuable acquisition she ought to offer exclusive privileges adequate thereto. That it was not unusual for Sp. to grant exclusive Privileges, witness the Assiento Contract &c. That nothing like this was contained in the treaty. That the offer of putting Am & Sp. on the footing of natives was chimerical, that it has been tried in the family compact, but in a few years was given up as impracticable—that if it could be carried into effect the Spaniards would reap the whole advantage.

Mr Sedgwick expatiated on the advantage of the treaty in promoting the fishery, ship building & the carrying trade &c.

Mr Lee would not go into the argument whether the advantages to be derived from the treaty were great or small, equal or unequal; but admitting them to be as great, as it was contended they were, there were other considerations of more weight in his mind. He was sorry to find gentlemen talk so lightly of a separation & dissolution of the Confederation; he considered our existence as a nation to depend on our Union. He was sensible that to preserve that Union, the powers of Congress should be enlarged. He saw no prospect of this if this measure was pursued farther. If it took place the people west of the moun[tains] would be severed from their brethren on the East, & either set up for themselves or put themselves under the protection of GB or Sp and in either case become formidable enemies to the US. He therefore thought the subject required the utmost deliberation & that we shd be extremely cautious how we advanced one step further.

Mr Symmes. Had written his sentiments & read them off. He did not deny but that some advantages might be derived from a treaty with Sp. but he did not view them in so high a light as some others. The true policy of the US was to cultivate their lands & encrease their population. The fishery & trade drew off great numbers from more useful employments. Seamen seldom married & when old were burthen-some citizens, though some might grow rich by trade he did not consider it of any great advantage but rather a disadvantage to the community as they introduced luxury & gave a disrelish for cultivating the soil. He was not however for going into the extremes with either party in this question. He admitted that a forbearance of the use of the river would lower the value of the lands but this might in some measure be

compensated by Congress setting a less price upon them & shortening the time of forbearance to use the Navigation of the M. He was willing to give his vote for a treaty with Sp and a stipulation—to forbear navigating the river for 12 years but on this express condition that Congress would agree to sell the lands in the W Country for 1/2 dollar an acre, & immediately open an Office for the disposal of them by an indiscriminate location.

Gen St Clair was of opinion the treaty was advantageous.² We are in an agricultural state & stand in need of the manufactures of other nations to pay for which we ought to secure a market for our production. The treaty proposed will give us a new staple by promoting the fisheries. It will encourage shipbuilding & the carrying trade & consequently encrease the number of seamen without which we cannot be secure or respectable. It is no objection with him that the immediate benefits will be reaped by one part of the Union. He considers it in a national view, & that the benefits reaped be [by] one member will redound to the advantage of the whole Union. If one state gains an advantage by foreign commerce that is quickly communicated to the rest by internal intercourse. If no treaty is to be made such as will be equally advantageous to all, we shall never make a treaty. The Objection that no tariff will be agreed to is contrary to the terms of the treaty proposed which is to stipulate that it shall be formed in one year. If this be not done the treaty is broken & we are in the situation we were before it was made. The settling boundaries by commissaries is usual & found by experience to have been effectual for the purpose. These objections being answered & the treaty appearing to be advantageous it is next to be considered what is the value of the equivalent to be given. In his opinion it is very small, indeed none at all. It is as has been observed forbearing for a term of years the use of the right, which we do not now enjoy & which we cannot use, and have not power to assert. This will check the settlement of the Western country. Admit it does. This he considers as advantageous to the Union. Our country is too thin of inhabitants; We have not hands sufficient for the cultivation of our lands much less for manufactures of the most necessary kind. Emigration therefore in our present situation is hurtful, & the settlement of the western country still more so as civilization & government does not advance with the settlers. But considered in another view the equivalent if accepted on the terms offered is a real advantage & an acquisition to the US. We contend for a common right of navigating the river, Sp. claims the exclusive right. If Sp. enters into a treaty with us & grants us advantage in trade on condition that we forbear for a limited time the exercise of our right, She by that yields her exclusive claim & confirms our right. So that should she attempt to exclude us & We be obliged to enter into a war with her on that accot, all the World must admit the justice of our Cause: & hence the

equivalent proposed far from being a sacrifice ought to be considered as an Advantage gained by the US.

MS (DLC: Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson. A continuation of Thomson's Notes of Debates, August 16.

¹ For Grayson's views, see also Arthur St. Clair's Notes, this date; and Thomson's Notes, August 16.

² See the preceding entry.

James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York Augt. 19. 1786.

My last¹ advis'd you of the {progress of Spanish negotiation. Until that time the reference of Jay's letter to a committee was}² I believe the point at wh. {it rested}; but to enable you to form a satisfactory opinion {of the object of that letter I transcribe you only} operative {paragraph} in it. "I take the liberty therefore of} submitting to the {consideration} of {Congress whether it might not be adviseable to appoint a committee with power to instruct and direct me on every point and subject relative to the proposed treaty with Spain}." You are to observe {his only ultimata were} respecting {the Mississippi and the boundaries; the committee}, consisting of {a member from Massachusetts, Pennsylvania}, & {myself, kept it about two months} and at length two of them {reported that they be discharged, the letter referred to a committee of the whole and himself ordered to attend},³ It was agreed to with this alteration that {he attend Congress} to explain {the difficulties stated in his letter} & to lay {before them a state of the negotiation. He accordingly came and being aware objections would be made to his entering into debate, produced a long written speech which he read by virtue of his office} and which was {in substance as follows}.⁴ France against our right of the navigation of the Mississippi and, in case of a variance with Spain upon that point, against us}. Well to be on good terms with {Spain}. Therefore on that acct., as well as to avail ourselves of her {influence in the councils} of {Portugal, the Italian States} & {the Barbary Powers, as also} in {those} of {France herself}. That {Great Britain would rejoice} to see {us at variance} with {Spain}, and therefore wd. {foment dissentions} bet[ween] us, that in case {this treaty failed, Spain, mortified and disappointed} in the eyes of {all Europe} wd. enter into engagements with {Britain} (or in resentment) {so as to exclude us from her ports}. For {these reasons} and fully to obtain the confidence & good wishes of {that power}, as also {her} good services in the lines aforesaid, he {thought it wise to forebear the use} of {the navigation of Mississippi} for {twenty-five years} or {thirty}, if necessary, as a condition to obtain at the same time the following {liberal articles} as the {basis} of a {commercial treaty}. 1. {All

commercial regulations shall be reciprocal, Spanish merchants} in the {ports of} [America] and {American merchants} in those of {Spain} & {the Canaries} to have the {rights of native merchants} of {the} two {countries}. 2. To establish {consuls} in {their respective countries}. 3. {The bona fide manufactures and productions} of both parties, {tobacco excepted}, to {be admitted} into {the ports aforesaid} in {the vessels} of both parties upon the {same footing} as if they were their {own manufactures} & {productions}; and further that all {such duties} & {imposts} as {may mutually} be thought necessary to {lay} on them {by either party} shall be regulated on {principles of exact reciprocity} by a {tariff} to be form'd within one {year from the ratification of this treaty}, and in the mean time they shall severally {pay in the ports of each other those of natives only}. 4. {Masts} & {timber for the navy} to be {bought, provided} they be as {cheap} as in {other countries}. This was the am[ount] of his communications as to {the project} which {he urged} our adopting by {all the arguments he could think of}, such as, we {cant obtain the use}, & therefore of no consequence—{we must now decide}; must terminate in accomodation, {war, or disgrace, the last the worst, the second unprepar'd for, the first the preferable course}—That we shd. avail ourselves of {the moment or Britain would}—therefore no {time to lose} with others of the same kind. This {subject} hath since the above {communication, engaged the attention of Congress} for {ten days past}. The {delegates of Massachusetts} who {are his instruments on the floor} mov'd {in committee} to {repeal his ultimata} with a view of suffring {him to proceed at pleasure} and upon this point hath {the debate turn'd}.⁵ It hath been manifest {they have had throughout seven states and we five. They, to Pennsylvania inclusive}, and {Delaware} being {absent}, the {rest against him}; we deny {the right} in {seven states} to {alter} an {instruction} so as to make it {a new one}⁶ but they will proceed, {be that} as it may, {the treaty} in that event be form'd & soon {presented for ratification}. To prevent this we {have told them we would} give notice to {the secretary} of the incompetency of his {powers} as also {to the resident} of {Spain} to {justify Congress in refusing} to {ratify}, if they shod. chuse it.⁷ In this state it {remain'd} without any new {proposition} untill yesterday, being Friday.⁸ {We stated however in the close of the day} that {we} would agree that {a treaty} be {form'd upon the following conditions. That exports be admitted thro the Mississippi, paying at New Orleans a duty} of {two} & {half per cent ad valorem to Spain}—to be carried thence in {Spanish, American} & {French bottoms}. That {imports} be {prohibited} in that line.⁹ If this should be adopted {we propose} to {change the scene of negotiation} & to carry it to {Madrid}, to take it out of the present & put it into {yours} & {Adams's hands}.¹⁰ We fear however & with too much reason that this will fail. Nothing {could have been more unfortunate than even the} agitation of this subject. {It hath lessen'd the} ground on which we stood & {given Spain} hopes {she

had no} reason to calculate on. What prospects to {the general interest} might be calculated on as resulting from the {deliberations of the convention} at {Annapolis} must be {diminished}. In short {the measure} strikes me as every way {highly injurious}. I am {sorry} to {inform you} that {our affairs} are {daily falling into a worse situation}, arising more from {the intrigues of designing men than any real defect in our system or distress of} our {affairs}. The same {party} who {advocate} this business have certainly {held} in this {city committees} for {dismembering the confederacy} & throwing {the states eastward the Hudson into} one {government}. As yet this business hath {not gone far} but that there shod. be a {party in its} favor, & {a man}¹¹ heretofore {so well respected} but in my opinion so little known, engag'd in it, {is to me very alarming}. Congress have agn. requir'd money for the insuing year, including that part of the principal of the foreign loans that becomes due in that time.¹² All the States except New York & Pena. have acceded to the impost to the acceptance of Congress, the former hath granted the revenues accruing from it but hath not made the collectors so amenable to Congress as the system requires & the other states have done, and Pena. hath granted the impost but suspended its operation untill all the States shall have granted the supplemental funds; a committee is appointed to attend the legislature of Pena. on this subject, & recommendation pass'd to the Executive of New York to convene the legislature to take the sd. system agn. into consideration.¹³ They meet in the usual term in the fall or commencement of the winter. They have pass'd an ordinance regulating the coin. I have been appriz'd of the arrival of the Encyclopedia at Baltimore, upon the cover of a letter address'd from Mr Mazzai, forwarded thence here—but have not heard in whose ship or under whose care it is except from your letter. I have since my last recd. yours of the 10 of May.¹⁴ Your late communications on the commercl. subject have given great satisfaction to Congress. We hope the monopoly of our tobo. in hands of the farmers genl. will ultimately be abolish'd. The services of Monsr. La Fayette are acknowledg'd with gratitude by Congress. I shall leave this abt. the first of Octr. for Virginia, Fredericksburg. Believe me I have not relinquish'd the prospect of being your neighbour. The house for which I have requested a plan may possibly be erected near Monticello. To fix there & to have yrself in particular with what friends we may collect around for society is my chief object, or rather the only one which promises to me with the connection I have form'd real & substantial pleasure, if indeed by the name of pleasure it may be call'd. I enclose you some letters for yrself & Miss Patsy to whom be so kind as make my best respects. I am Dear [Sir] very affectionately yr. friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

² Words printed in braces in this text were written by Monroe in cipher.

³ See Monroe to James Madison, May 31, note 2.

⁴ For John Jay's August 3 speech, see *JCC*, 31:473–84.

⁵ See *JCC*, 31:510.

⁶ See the Virginia Delegates' Motion, August 16, note 1.

⁷ Cf. the Virginia delegates' August 29 motion, *JCC*, 31:574–93.

⁸ See Arthur St. Clair's and Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates, August 18, respectively.

⁹ For the development of this compromise position, see Virginia Delegates' Motion, August 21?, and Edward Carrington's Motion, August 22?

¹⁰ See Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates, August 21–22, note 1.

¹¹ Not identified, but for an advocate of this position, see Theodore Sedgwick to Caleb Strong, August 6.

¹² See *JCC*, 31:459–65.

¹³ See Charles Thomson to George Clinton, August 15; and Monroe to Clinton, August 16.

¹⁴ See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:499–503.

James Monroe to Philip Mazzei

Dear Sir

New York Augt. 19. 1786.

I have recd. the several letters mentiond in your last enclosing a power of Attorney in French to act for you in the affair of Mr Dohrman & thank you for the contents. At present I have only time to write you upon that particular subject and to assure you that Mr. Dohrman is here,¹ and perfectly dispos'd to do every thing in his power to remedy the injuries you have sustain'd by his engagements. I send you a letter from him on that subject—he has been most mortified & to all appearance distress'd beyond measure upon this subject. His claims agnst. the publick are now in the hands of the treasury Board, so soon as they shall report & Congress admit them to any accot. agnst the publick he will give me such assurance as will arrest it there for you—but when you will afterwards get it is very incertain—not shortly I am well assur'd. If you shod. not before I leave this which will be in Octr. next I shall leave the charge of this business in the hands either of Colo. Grayson or Carrington of which however I will inform you. Make my particular regards to Short—assure him of my best wishes—That my friends when I leave Congress shall be his. Believe me sincerely yr. friend & servant, Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

¹ Arnold Henry Dohrman, who had been appointed in 1780 as American agent in Lisbon, Portugal, had come to New York to appeal to Congress for his expenses and back salary in order to pay outstanding debts. His petition had been referred on July 19 to the board of treasury for investigation, but its report of March 19, 1787, was not finally acted on until the following October when Congress allowed Dohrman a settle-

ment of \$5,806 (with interest) for payments to American prisoners, \$1,600 per annum back salary, and title to a township in the Northwest Territory, where he eventually settled. His \$3,000 obligation to Mazzei, however, was apparently not paid until the mid-1790's despite the intervention of Monroe and James Madison. See *JCC*, 30:415, 32:119–21, 33:586–88; PCC, item 78, 8:207–23; Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:254–56, 260–61, 298–99, 10:30–31, 70–71, 136–38, 340–41, 466–68, 11:278–79; and Margherita Marchione, ed., *Philip Mazzei: My Life and Wanderings*, trans. S. Eugene Scalia (Morristown, N.J.: American Institute of Italian Studies, 1980), pp. 236, 287–88, 368. See also these *Letters*, 15:425–26.

Charles Thomson to Walter Livingston and Comfort Sands

Gentlemen Office of Secretary of Congress, August 19th. 1786.

I have received a letter from Mr Gerry in answer to mine of the 2d informing him of his being appointed to determine on your claims, And am sorry to find that "it is utterly out of his power to attend to the business."¹ For your further information I herewith enclose You a copy of his letter;² And Am, Gentlemen, Your Most Obedt &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For Thomson's letter to Elbridge Gerry, see Thomson to William C. Houston, December 5, 1785, notes 1 and 3.

² Gerry's August 11 letter to Thomson is in PCC, item 137, 3:833–36.

Lambert Cadwalader to James Monroe

Dear Sir

Aug 20. [17]86.

I have considered the proposed Plan¹ with all the Attention I am capable of, and am happy to find, that a Temperament, so favorable to your Views and my own Sentiments, will be adopted by your Delegation; I think, however, that a firm, and efficient Stipulation, should be required of Spain, in which, she should engage that no Merchandize, or Commodities whatsoever, should be permitted to be laden in the Return-Boats, as it would deprive the Atlantic States of the Benefit they derive, from the Sale of Manufactures for the Consumption of the Inhabitants of the western Territory, and for the Indian Trade.

It is a moot Point with me, whether it will be more for our advantage to treat in Europe, than America, as the Intelligence to be communicated by Mr Gardoqui to his Court will be the Ground work of the Treaty on their Part.² It is from this Source they must draw all their Information—without it, in my Opinion, they will not venture to



Lambert Cadwalader

conclude a Treaty which they deem of so great Importance to their Possessions on this Continent.

I am Dr Sir, sincerely your's,

L Cadwalader

RC (DLC: Monroe Papers).

¹ Not identified, but undoubtedly one embodying the principles found in the Virginia Delegates' Motion of August 21.

² For Monroe's interest in taking these negotiations out of the hands of John Jay and dispatching Thomas Jefferson to Madrid to negotiate with Spain, see Monroe to Jefferson, August 19, note 10; and the following entry, note 2.

James Monroe to George Washington

Dear General

New York Augt. 20. 1786

May I take the liberty of our former acquaintance to confer with you freely upon the following propositions. You seem'd satisfied with those presented to the view of Congress on Friday by Colo. Grayson¹ viz. that exports be admitted down the Mississippi to N. Orleans as an *entrepot*—to pay there a duty of 2 per centm. or more if necessary to the crown of Spain ad valorem—to be carried thence in Spn., American & french vessels to other countries—that imports be prohibited—in short that any arrangements on this subject be made wh. shall hold up the U.S. to those people, our ultra-montane brethern, as the patrons of their interest, and not give the sanction of Congress to a measure which suspends for a day expressly their just rights—with these objects in view we will go as far as those who are the most anxious to obtain a Spanish treaty & cultivate the good wishes of that branch of the house of Bourbon. The point then upon which I wish particularly to consult you is simply this—the putting the negotiation of this treaty in the hands of Mr. Jefferson & Mr. Adams, that the former be instructed to repair to Madrid under the mediation of France for that purpose in character of Envoy extraordinary.² This I presume may be done without giving offence to the gentn. here, either Mr. Jay or Gardoqui, since it is in difficulties of this kind the usage of courts to proceed thus & this line of negotiation must be particularly respectful to the court of Spain as it will be the highest evidence of our disposition of it as well from the manner as the terms upon which we are willing to make the treaty. Without this believe me I have the most satisfactory evidence nothing will be done. Mr. Jay has within my knowledge since Decr. last been negotiating with Congress to repeal his instructions (or rather with particular members) so as to occlude the Mississippi, & not with Spain to open it. I trust you have sufficient knowledge of me to be satisfied I woud. not make this allegation if I had not the most satisfactory evi-

dence in my my own mind of what I say. This evidence you shall possess whenever you please. I therefore calculate with certainty upon losing every thing whilst the business is in his hands. If in this free communication, I deviate from any of those rules of friendship & respect I have always entertain'd for you, & which I mean this as an evidence, you will attribute it to no motive of that kind since I am not influenced by it.

I am Dear Sir with real esteem & regard yr. very humble servt,
Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ For William Grayson's presentation in Congress on August 18, see Arthur St. Clair's and Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates for that date.

² Monroe also broached this proposition with Lambert Cadwalader, Arthur St. Clair, and Thomas Jefferson himself, for which see the preceding and following entries; and Monroe to Jefferson, August 19.

Arthur St. Clair to James Monroe

Dear Sir

New York Augt. 20th. 1786

I have been favoured with your Letter of Yesterday¹ and thank you for the Communications it contains upon which I will freely give you my Sentiments. A treaty with Spain I consider as very important to America, at the same time it is certainly our Duty to endeavour to obtain it upon the best terms possible—indeed, if it was possible, to give up nothing to procure it, but I believe that cannot be done, for, it seems, as I have been informed, that Spain, notwithstanding she is desirous of being in Amity with Us, has directed her Minister to stipulate as the price of her Freindship, an acknowledgment on our part of her right to navigate, exclusively, the Mississippi River. The Minister of the united States is directed to insist on their parts on the right of Navigating that River freely with Spain. It is obvious that without one or other partys receding in part—the Business is at an End. The Question then is is the freindship of Spain worth any concession with respect to that River. I think it is. Mr. Jay suggested that forbearing to Use for a limited time, the Right we pretend to have on that Navigation—which would be a concession on our parts, might enable him to proceed on the Business which he could not advance in one Step under present Circumstances. In this View I am clearly of opinion that the restrictive Clause of his Instructions ought to be repealed—but as Mr. Graysons proposition is more favourable to the Union than the absolute forbearing to navigate for any given time, how short soever, I think it aught to have a Trial, and therefore I wish to make it an Instruction to Mr. Jay but by no means an ultimatum. As to taking the Negotiation

out of the Hands of Mr Jay and comitting it to our Ministers in Europe I cannot think it adviseable²—so far from being acceptable to the Court of Madrid, it strikes me that it would be more offensive, and if it would be at all necessary that Mr. Gardoqui should be attended to, it would be impossible—for, the investing Mr. Jefferson or any other Person with the Character of Envoy extraordinary would on sending him to Madrid supersede Gardoqui. It appears to me we could not possibly take a more effectual Step to defeat the Measure which in the Light in which it presents itself to my Mind, I think would be a real misfortune to my Country—indeed I do not think there is another commercial Nation in the World but would feel themselves happy in having Spain come forward to them in the manner she has done to Us, nor One that would not be pleased at seeing the Opportunity slip thru our fingers. Consider, my Dear Sir that Spain has on some Measure committed herSelf—without waiting until we should desire her Freindship she has offered it—without requesting that we might send to Madrid to negotiate the Terms, and all Nations consider it as important to have negotiations carried on under their own Eyes, as it gives them an influence upon them and the opportunity of improving every Circumstance that turns up. She has sent her Minister to negotiate them here, it is evident the Freindship of the United States is estimated highly or a Step as uncommon and from so haughty a Court would not have been taken—And what reason can we suggest for desiring to put the Negotiations in a Train, that other Nations would studiously avoid. I can see no good Ones, but I can see two that will very readily present themselves to the Spanish Ministry. One th[at] Mr. Gardoqui is not acceptable and we will not do Business with him, the other that Delay is all we have in View until we can feel pulses of other Courts and put ourselves in a Situation to assert by force that which we claim and they dispute. The first, certainly, makes an Enneiny of Gardoqui and all his Interest with Spanish Ministry, be it much or little will be exerted unfavorably to America. The second as certainly determines the Ministry and the Nation against Us. That Mr. Jay may have been endeavouring to get his Instructions repealed I neither doubt nor wonder at, because I think they were in the highest degree improper. It seems to me that if it had been the Design to give Mr Gardoqui the Ascendant in the Negotiation—to put it in his power to know the utm[ost] latitude of Mr. Jays Power while he could conceal his own nothing would have been contrived better to answer the purpose. But if Mr. Jay is deemed an unfit Person—or if he has not hitherto managed the Business in a manner satisfactory to Congress take it out of his hands and commit to some other—but let the Negotiation go on here. Your communications with your minister may be as

frequent and easy as we please—and if it should at any time be necessary to throw Obstacles in the way of its progress it can be done with more Ease than at Madrid. I am an entire stranger to the Circumstances you allude to relating to Mr Jay. I shall always be happy my Dear Sir to receive any Communication you may please to make. I have replied with the same freedom and with the utmost Candor which, as intended, I trust you will accept as a testimony of the Esteem & regard with which I am &c.

FC (O: St. Clair Papers). In the hand of Arthur St. Clair. Addressed: “[. . .] Monroe Esqr.”

¹ Not found. For the context of this exchange, in which Monroe apparently challenged St. Clair’s arguments that Jay’s proposed treaty with Spain would be advantageous to the United States, see St. Clair’s Speech, August 18.

² See Charles Thomson’s Notes of Debates, August 21–22, note 1.

Georgia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Sir, New York August 21st. 1786.

We have received your Letter¹ wherein you mention that the Chevalier de Merceres, as Heir of the late General Oglethorp, claims land lying in Georgia which has been sold by virtue of an Act of the Legislature of that State.

We have in consequence made every enquiry respecting this matter, and can inform you with certainty that no land or any other property has been sold in that State as belonging to the late Genl. Oglethorp, nor can we hear of any Estate he had there.

Had the case been as you was informed, we should with pleasure have interested ourselves in forwarding your request, and have no doubt but it would have been immediately complied with by the Legislature of the State: As the memory of the late Genl. Oglethorp is much respected in that Country, and we are well assured that any just claim of the Chevalier de Merceres as his Heir would readily be admitted.

We are Sir, With great respect, Your most Obedt. & Most huml servts.,

Wm Houstoun	}	Delegates
W Few	}	in Congress

RC (DLC: Jefferson Papers). In a clerical hand but signed by Few and Houstoun.

¹ See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:121–22. For Jefferson’s interest in the Georgia land claims of the chevalier de Mézières, and his enclosure of this response from the Georgia delegates in a letter to Mézières of December 27, 1786, see *ibid.*, 9:107–10, 113n, 120–21, 127, 143–44, 181–82, 238, 10:280–81, 640–41, 11:235–36.

William Samuel Johnson's Notes for a Speech in Congress

[August 21? 1786.]¹

Not going into Arg[umen]t—well Discussed. Talint & Tempr.—Im-part[ial].

A Barg[ai]n or Cont[rac]t. Sp[ain] is sup[pose]d to Offr. Trade for Mass[issipp]i. Is it a good Barg[ai]n.

The Trade admitd Benif[icia]l. It is all we have—all we can Hope? Trade benef[icia]l to one part of the Union benef[icia]l to all, for we are one Body. The Wealth of Georg[i]a is mine as a Mem[be]r of the Confed[erac]y. It has been shewn how Benef[icia]l This Posit[io]n Clear the Trade of Sp[ai]n benef[icia]l to this Union & ev[ery] Indi-vid[ua]l of it. But the obj[ectio]n here is you will have it with[ou]t a Treaty. It is the Int[eres]t of Sp[ain]. Perhaps we shall. But is it not better to have it of Right than at Will—as found[e]d on Cont[rac]t than dependg on Caprice. Surely it is! Thus far then the Adv[ocate]s for the Treat[y] seem conclusively to have the argum[en]t—and if it was simply proposed no Man here would refuse it so far from it he would think it a great bless[ing] to this Country.

But you may buy Gold too Dear. This the stress of the Arg[umen]t. We must make too great a Sacrif[ic]e to obt[ai]n this Boon. We must give up the Mass[issipp]i for 20 Yrs. But is it so? Is it y[ou]rs to Give? That is mine absolutely wh[ic]h I have a right to Use & can Use. Can you say this of the Mass? This has been ably stated at first, and I wish I co'd say it has been Answd. But I think it has not. I fear it cannot be answd. or If it cannot it concludes the Argt. If you can't Use the Mass[issipp]i for 20 y[ea]rs, It is not yrs to give. When you agree to not to use it you sacrif[ic]e noth[ing]. This too ansd as was observd. Every argt. Depr[eciat]io[n] of West[er]n Land—Injury to Virg[ini]a &c &c. They all fall before it. You give up then only a Right to go to War for 20 Yr. This is a benefit not a loss. The only seem[ing] Ansr. is that Brit[ai]n will Aid us to open it. But this has been fully Ansd. by Pen[sylvani]a.² But with whatever Aid we ought not to go into a War for 20 Ys. at least. It will ruin us. But there is anothr. Branch of this Argt. upon the Right which has been ment[i]one[d] by the Ad[vocate]s for the Treaty but may be carr[ie]d farther than they have pushed it—And has not been Ansd. by their Opponents. What part of Right is it. The Genl. Right in these Cases is the Ownership of the Land on both sides the River. This belongs to Sp. But we have a Right under the Treaty with Britn. This all our Tit[le]. But Sp. says Brit. could not Grant it for 2 Reas[on]s. 1st. It was a partic[ula]r Grant to her in nat[ur]e of a personal Grant which she co'd not transfer. It was not to her & her As-signs. If so we could take nothing by the Brit[is]h Grant. But

2ly. Supp[os]e, they will say, That Brittn once had such a Right as was capab[l]e of being Grantd. Yet we took it from her before the end of the War. The Floridas were Conq[uere]d & all the Rights of Brittn. in the Quartr. fin[al]ly revested in Spain. This reasoning is at least plausible. I do not say it is Conclusive. On the Cont[rary] I think the right of the U.S. may be established in oppositn. to it. But at best it admits of much Dispute. Thus Circumstand. is it not a very desirable Obj[ec]t to obtain a Confirmation of this Right. Surely it must! as it must put an End to all fut[ure] Altercat[i]o[n]. This the prop[ose]d Treaty will effect. For as has been obs[erve]d the Accep[tanc]e of Sp. will admit the Right & in the fut[ur]e Estoops her from saying U.S. have none. Pensa. then had good right to say you do not give up a Right you rather acquire one.

But Ind[ependen]t of all that has been said, As the Argt. is rested chiefly upon the Injury it will do Virga. & the S[outher]n States—This point sho'd be clearly established, which I have not yet seen done. If Gent. speak farther upon the subject they will apply themselv[s]. to do this. At present I think for 20 Years there will be little Use for the Missi., & I rely upon this that whenever it shall be really essential to the well-being of that Peop[l]e wheth[er] bef[or]e or after 20 Yrs, Treaty or no Treaty, it will be opened. Neith[er] Sp nor U.S. can prevent it. The Peop[l]e will no more be restrained, than those Migh[t]y Waters can be confin'd by a Dam. I do not theref[or]e see the Dang[er] of the Treaty. We secure a present & immed[iat]e Good of no small Amount, at most at the exp[ens]e of remote & possible Evils which may never be realized. In such Cases all sound Politicians decide in favr. of the meas[ur]e.

This can never shake the Union. I rely upon the good sense & jus[tic]e of our Southn. Brethern. Let the matter be fairly stated to them as it is here, they will decide as we do, that it is best for the Whole, & theref[or]e in a polit[ic]al sense best for every Individ[ua]l. Gen[era]l Good must be attendd. w[ith] part[ia]l Evil and Inconvenience. It is so in the Govt. of the Univ[ers]e—a frat[ern]i[ty]. If I verily thot it would Depreciate in a Degree the Conn[ecticut] Lands yet I sho[u]ld conceive we ought to sacrif[ic]e the add[itiona]l Profit we might make to so Benef[icia]l a Treaty, & to the gen[era]l good. I hope othr. Gentn. will entertain the same Ideas & Act upon them.

The Ramificat[i]o[n]s of the Argt. unnecessary to be pursued. These the great Points. On them we shall, I hope We shall Decide, with that Candor Imp[artialit]y & Firm[n]es[s] of sound Polit[ic]s & good Patriots.

MS (DLC: Johnson Papers). In the hand of William Samuel Johnson, and endorsed by him: "Notes relatd. to Massi."

¹ For the context of this day's debate in committee of the whole on John Jay's negotiations for a trade treaty with Spain, see Charles Pinckney's Speech, August 10, note 2; Johnson's Notes, August 16-22; and Charles Thomson's Notes, August 16 and 18. This

date has been conjectured because of Thomson's mention of Johnson in this debate in the following entry.

² Undoubtedly a reference to Arthur St. Clair, for whom see St. Clair's Speech, and Charles Thomson's Notes, August 18.

Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates

[August 21–22, 1786]

Monday 21 In Comee. of the whole.

Delegates of Virga. moved to send a minister or envoy to Sp. to propose N[ew] O[rleans] to be a free port for produce of upland country &c.¹

The arguments on both sides again repeated by Grayson, Monroe, & Carrington on one side. Johnson, Sedgwick & King on the other.

A doubt started by Mr Bloodworth of the power of Congress to dismember the empire. This gave the argument a new turn.

22. Again in Comee. of the whole.

The delegates of Virga. forward their Motion amended,² a long sp. by Monroe & Carrington.

The delegates of Mass. amended their Motion.³

Grayson against the power of Congress.

MS (DLC: Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson. A continuation of Thomson's Notes of Debates, August 18.

¹ For the background and context of this motion, see James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, August 19, note 10; Lambert Cadwalader to Monroe, August 20, note 2; Monroe to Washington, August 20, note 2; and Arthur St. Clair to Monroe, August 20, note 2.

² See Edward Carrington's Motion, August 22?

³ Not otherwise identified, but perhaps amending their August 10 motion for repealing John Jay's instruction to stipulate the right of the United States to free navigation of the Mississippi, for which see *JCC*, 31:510.

Virginia Delegates' Motion

[August 21? 1786]¹

In com'ee of the Whole August 1786

Motion by the delegates of Virginia

Whereas difficulties have taken place in the Negotiation between the hon'ble Mr. Jay Secretary for foreign Affairs on the part of the US and Don Diego de Gardoqui Encargado de Negocios of Spain upon points respecting the navigation of the Mississippi and the boundaries, which it is highly for the interest of both countries should be amicably settled; and whereas it is the earnest desire of

the US to cultivate the friendship of the Catholic King and they are willing, to obtain this important end, to make such concessions on their part as the most essential interests of the several Members of the confederation and their constitutional rights admit of; therefore Resolved That the Chargé des Affaires at the court of Spain be instructed to assure his Catholic Majesty of the high regard the US entertain for his friendship and of their earnest desire to cultivate and preserve always the best understanding between his Majesty and the said U.S. That as an evidence of this disposition they are willing upon the subject of the Mississippi that a treaty be formed upon the following principles.

1. That New Orleans be made an Entrepôt for the reception of the bona fide produce of the US brought down the Mississippi by the Citizens of the US, such produce to be landed at said port for exportation; that the said citizens be at liberty to return with their boats empty or with passengers only up the Mississippi to the places from whence they came.

2. That such produce aforesaid shall pay there at the time of the exportation a duty not exceeding [*blank*] per centum ad valorem to the crown of Spain.

3. That such produce aforesaid shall be exported thence in Spanish, American or french bottoms; those in the bottoms of Spain under the regulations of Spain and those in the bottoms of America and France under the regulations of the two countries by treaty or otherwise.

4. That imports of every kind and country to the said port and up the said river in American and french bottoms be prohibited and that all vessells engaged in transportation of such exports shall come to the said port in balast only.

5. That the US be authorised to appoint a consul to reside at New Orleans who shall be responsible for any violation of the stipulations by the citizens of the US.

6. That American factors be permitted to reside at said port for the management of the business of exportation only.

7. That the said treaty shall continue in force for the term of [*blank*] years.

8. That as to the boundaries they must insist his Majesty will accede to those defined in their treaty with G Britain.

And farther to assure his Majesty that so soon as instructions shall be given to his Minister in these states to this effect the US will authorise their secretary to conclude a treaty in conformity therewith; but that they cannot enter into any treaty or compact whatsoever with his Catholic Majesty on the said subjects upon any other terms or conditions whatsoever.

MS (PHi: Charles Thomson's Letterbook); reprinted from Burnett, *Letters*, 8:410–41.

¹ This undated motion contains the substance of the compromise conditions the Virginia delegates announced they were unprepared to accept during debate Friday August 18, "in the close of the day," as James Monroe reported to Thomas Jefferson in a letter of the 19th (see note 9). If these proposals were accepted, Monroe explained, they would then propose "to change the scene of negotiation" to Madrid. In that event, an attempt would be made to place the negotiations in the hands of one or more special envoys, Jefferson and John Adams, but the present motion contains only the former conditions, and leaves their presentation to Congress' chargé at the court of Spain, William Carmichael.

Although Edmund Burnett conjectured that this motion was offered August 18, the present editors believe that it was submitted later, rather than before, Monroe wrote to Jefferson on the 19th and to Washington on the 20th, or consulted Lambert Cadwalader and Arthur St. Clair who responded the 20th. See Burnett, *Letters*, 8:440–42; Monroe to Jefferson, August 19, and to Washington, August 20; Cadwalader to Monroe and St. Clair to Monroe, August 20; and the preceding entry.

It also seems clear that the motion was a calculated attempt to draw the French court into mediating the negotiations by including provisions for French participation in the New Orleans export trade, and that it met strong opposition which led to its modification the following day, for which see the following entry.

Edward Carrington's Motion

[August 22? 1786]¹

1st. The right of navigating the Mississippi against the Current from the Ocean to the degree of N. Latitude, to be suspended for years, except as to return boats, and transportation of passingers.

2d. New Orleans to be made a free port as far as relates to the exportation of American Produce coming down the Mississippi which is to be landed at the said place and shipped from thence in Spanish or American bottoms, the latter to come in Ballast or laden with such goods as Spain shall permit. Spain to be allowed for port duties and all other charges and duties whatsoever, as well on acct. of the Vessels shipping as of produce a sum not exceeding 2 1/2 per Ct. ad Valorem on the produce thus landed & exported.

American produce's only to be brought down the River.

The privilege of Carrying to from the Port of New Orleans, to be extended to the French, provided the Negotiator thinks it will facilitate the Treaty.

An American Consul to reside at New Orleans.

American Factors to be permitted to reside at N. Orleans for the transaction of the business of exportation &c.

MS (O: St. Clair Papers). In the hand of Edward Carrington.

¹ Carrington undoubtedly offered this amended motion—a retreat from the Virginia delegates' position of the preceding day (see the preceding entry)—this day in the committee of the whole in the midst of the "long sp[eeches] by Monroe & Carrington," for which see Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates, August 21–22, note 2. Its presence

in the St. Clair Papers rather than the PCC remains unclear. After adjournment of the committee of the whole this day, however, Congress took up John Jay's August 17 report concerning Spanish territorial claims east of the Mississippi and French sentiment regarding U.S. navigation of the river, which asserted on the basis of Jefferson's dispatches from Paris that the French court "is not ready to admit all our Claims as ascertained by the treaty of peace to be within their Guarantee." See *JCC*, 31:537-52. On August 23 the committee of the whole on the Spanish treaty reported a recommendation that Jay's instructions regarding navigation of the Mississippi be repealed, permitting him to agree to an unspecified forbearance of the river's use provided Spain renounce its claims to territory within the United States east of the Mississippi and north of the Floridas. See *JCC*, 31:554, 565-69. Defeated in the committee of the whole, a group of southern delegates thereupon turned to the French chargé, Louis Guillaume Otto, and in a conference with him "only a few hours before the departure of the packet" on August 23 appealed to the French court to intervene in the negotiations. Immediately following the meeting Otto penned for the comte de Vergennes the following dispatch (in translation), which is in the Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères: Correspondance politique, États-Unis, 32:58-61.

"My Lord: For more than a year Mr. Gardoqui has been negotiating with Mr. Jay a commercial treaty, and to-day is no further advanced than on his arrival here. Many circumstances conduce to this delay which I think proper to explain. The northern states, which in all the commercial negotiations recognise no other interest than that of their fisheries, would be well disposed to conclude with Mr. Gardoqui if the delegates from the South did not propose as a condition *sine qua non* the opening of the Mississippi. In consequence of this difference of sentiment and interest, the delegates of the five southern states have formed a league to break off completely every negotiation with Mr. Gardoqui. They publicly assert that that minister has no powers [*to conclude a treaty*], that this whole affair is in the hands of Mr. de Galvez, and that in general a negotiation of this importance ought not to be entered on in America, since the ease with which in a republic the dispositions of the sovereign body are ascertained gives great advantages to a foreign minister, who on his part conceals with the greatest care the instructions and the ultimatum of his court. They fear, moreover, that the indifference of the northern states to the navigation of the Mississippi will cause them to urge on the negotiation; and that they will find means to secure votes, to the prejudice of the southern states. In open congress they have asserted that France alone could succeed in procuring for them a treaty of commerce with Spain, and that they should negotiate with that power in vain without the mediation of their great ally. In the midst of this fermentation the leaders of this party came to me to explain the necessity of having recourse to your good offices, and of putting this negotiation wholly into the hands of his Majesty.

"The navigation of the Mississippi,' they said to me, 'is perhaps the most important object for the United States; the inhabitants of the vast and fertile regions of Kentucky, and of the neighboring countries, have no other outlet than New Orleans. If congress is unable to procure for them an entrepôt in that city, they will regard its protection as wholly useless, and we are informed, in the most positive manner, that they are disposed to separate from the confederation and to throw themselves into the arms of England, in order, through the lakes and the river St. Lawrence, to gain the outlet which is refused them on the Mississippi side. In this case it will be easy for Great Britain to exchange Gibraltar for West Florida, and to make the whole interior of America dependent upon her. We earnestly desire to be in intimate relations with Spain, but we are at the same time convinced that without the support of France we shall never be able to negotiate with success. Some of the northern delegates, and especially Mr. Jay, wished to persuade us that France was opposed to the opening of the Mississippi; but we know that peace has brought about a new order of affairs, and that the objections which your court made to our pretensions can no longer be based upon the same principle. Only the Comte Vergennes can procure for us the advantages we desire; we have written this to Mr. Jefferson, under an injunction of secrecy, and we wish that your court may make

our treaty for us, or that no treaty at all be made.' After having declared to me many other motives leading them to wish for this measure, they communicated to me in writing the following articles, which should serve as a basis for the negotiation:

"1. All the commodities and productions of interior America to descend the Mississippi in flat-boats to New Orleans, which will be the entrepôt for those commodities, and will serve only for exportations.

"2. The Americans to pay, on their arrival at New Orleans, a duty of two and a half per cent on the value of their goods, which duty will take the place of compensation for the favor asked of Spain.

"3. An American consul to reside in that city, and to be personally responsible for all that may be contraband.

"4. The said commodities to be re-exported from New Orleans only in French, Spanish, or American bottoms.

"5. Importations of every sort to be prohibited, and no boat to ascend the Mississippi except flat-boats which have served to transport goods to New Orleans, and these empty, or at most carrying only passengers.

"6. Spain to permit French and American merchants to reside in New Orleans, to deal in the aforesaid commodities.

"7. France to share in this commerce because of her mediation.

"In making these communications to me, my lord, the delegates begged me to transmit them to you at once, at the same time enjoining upon me the most profound secrecy toward Mr. Gardoqui and all persons who might speak to me of this negotiation. Without giving them any hope, and conforming to the orders which you thought proper to give me, that I should not interfere with the affairs of Spain, I said to them that they might rely upon my discretion, and that I would communicate to you the confidential conversation which they had held with me. They wish to give powers to Mr. Jefferson to negotiate the treaty at Madrid, but to instruct him in the most positive manner to conform entirely to your counsels, and to take no step without your consent. They already have seven states on their side, and if they can gain two more, which is very likely, Mr. Jefferson will receive his instructions at once.

"I have had this conference only a few hours before the departure of the packet; it is possible that the passion of the delegates who spoke with me may have led them to exaggerate some details. I shall be careful to animadvert in the future upon any points which appear to me susceptible of correction, without losing sight of the reserve and circumspection which you have enjoined upon me." George Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1882), 2:384–86.

During the August 28–29 debate over the report of the committee of the whole, the Virginia delegates presented a lengthy reaffirmation of the southern position, for which see *JCC*, 31:574–93. See also Charles Pinckney's Draft Letter to John Jay, September 1–3.

Arthur St. Clair to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir

[August 22? 1786]¹

I have enclosed you the Abstra[ct that] I promised Yesterday,² very imperfect however for I have been much hurried in putting it together, and wants much of the Amplification. The Arguments, on both sides, received as well method in Arranging them. You mentioned your design to communicate them to Mr. Bee,³ to which I have no Objection, on the Contrary I am happy to give him any Informa-

tion on the Subject, as it has become public, (not a little improperly)⁴ and he is perfectly at Liberty to make such Use of it as he thinks proper, but you will readily observe that how useful soever the publication might be were it in a proper dress for the public Eye, many parts would be very improper both on Account of the Matter and the Situation of the Treaty, for after all the Agitation it has produced, it is only a Sugestion [that] such a Concession might be aceded to on the part of Spain, but very far from being certain. This you will be so obliging as to mention and believe me, Dear Sir, Your most obedient Servt,

A. St. Clair

RC (DLC: Pinckney Family Papers). Addressed: "Doctor B. Rush." Endorsed: "Spanish Claims on Navigation of Mississippi."

¹ No specific evidence has been found to date this letter, but it seems to have been written near the end of the debates over John Jay's negotiation of a treaty with Spain. These took place in committee of the whole August 16–22, and reached a milestone with the reading on August 23 of the report of the committee of the whole, which was debated August 28 and adopted on August 29. See *JCC*, 31:554, 565–70, 574–96. It seems plausible that St. Clair wrote it before the submission of the report of the committee of the whole.

² Enclosure not found, but for what may have been a draft of this "Abstract," see the following entry.

³ Apparently former South Carolina delegate Thomas Bee. This connection with Bee might also explain why this letter is located in a collection of Pinckney Papers. Rush may well have entrusted the letter and enclosed extract to Charles Pinckney for transmission to South Carolina, with Pinckney forwarding the enclosure under cover of a letter of his own.

⁴ Perhaps a reference to the fact that some of the details concerning the debate over Jay's negotiations had been leaked by the southern delegates to the French chargé d'affaires, Louis Guillaume Otto, who reported what he knew about them to the French foreign minister, the comte de Vergennes, August 23. See the preceding entry, note.

Arthur St. Clair's Notes

[August 22? 1786]¹

All commercial Regulations founded in perfect reciprocity.²

Consuls to be established by both except Bilboa & Guapuscoa where none have ever been admitted.

Bona fide productions of U.S. imported into the Spanish European Dominions in A[merican] or S[panish] Vessels & [...]—except Tobacco which shall continue under the present Regulations. All duties & Imposts to be ascertained on principles of perfect reciprocity by a tariff to be formed by a Convention within one Year after Ratification.

Masts & Timber for S. Navy to be bought & paid for in Specie in U.S. if to be had on equal Terms with other Countries.

These Articles give much & sacrifice nothing.

By the Canaries Flour will find its way to Spanish America.

Minister not instructed on that point—but there are hopes of its being obtained.

Obstacles are the M[ississippi] & Territorial Limits.

A. Minister opposed to every Idea of relinquishing it, and fully sensible of the Importance of it.

Relinquishment strongly insisted on.

Spain will never yield that point. Their Maxim to exclude all Mankind from their american Shores.

Reminded that the adjacent Country was filling with People and the time must come when they would not be contested to abstain from using it as a high way to the Ocean.

S. Minister thinks the time far distant—treaties provide not for such distant contingencies. The rapid Settlement prejudicial to U.S. and they will be obliged to seek it—tho necessary in Treaties to leave neither party any thing to complain of, yet Misi must be shut agt. Us.

If the right to navigate was the clearest possible, the enjoyment can be provided for only by being able to repel Force by Force.

Expedient to limit the Treaty to 25 or 30 under present Circumstances, and to stipulate a forbearance to use the Navigation below S. Territories to the Ocean. Duration of the Treaty & forbearance would be equal.

Uncertain if S. M. would be content. Instructions prevent even sounding. Worth trying because, unless it can be settled in some way their can be no Treaty however advantageous.

Navigation at present not important, nor probably become so in a less time than that proposed. A forbearance to use while we do not want it no great Sacrifice.

S. now excludes us, and holds it agt. us with a strong hand. She will not yield it peaceably and therefore we can only acquire it by War. Not prepared for War and many of the States would be little inclined to a War for that Object.

For various Reasons such a War inexpedient. S. will for a long Space will exclude us. Should we not (for a valuable consideration) consent to forbear to use what is not in our power to use.

If S. & U.S. part on this point what are the latter to do?

Will it be consistent with their Dignity to permit S. forceably to exclude us a right which at the expence of a beneficial Treaty they have asserted. We must do this & be humiliated or attack Spain—are they ripe for this?

Such an Article might be supposed to lessen the value of western Lands. So would the forceable exclusion if there is any thing in the Argument—but America in one Case would lose some of its Dignity—which of the Cases is least desirable.

We lose nothing by attempting the Compromise. They who take a Lease admit the right of the Lessor.

A probability that it would succeed—other Articles in the Treaty inducing it now—like Articles would again tempt to a prolongation.

Little territorial Limits by impartial Commissioners not sovereign. This made desirable because not prepared for War. We should place ourselves in a Situation as that by forbearing Hostilities we may be exposed to Indignities. Better had these matters lain dormant, but they press themselves and must be determined by accommodation, War, or Disgrace. The last the worst that can happen. The second unprepared for the first our Attention should be bent to.

The best Season because the Disposition of S. at present friendly.

Commercial Arrangements to form particularly with Britain. Now able and Willing to grant U S favours, other Treaties may render her in future both unable and unwilling.

S. giving U.S. marks of Respect and even courting our favour by offers and Attentions not very common for her to bestow when other Nations discover a very different temper—and the Advantages to be reaped from a Treaty with her greater than can be obtained from any other Nation.

If her endeavours to take Us by the hand are rejected, contrary Dispositions & Passions will take place and influence her conduct, and operate greatly to the Disadvantage of U.S.

France would tell us our claim ill founded. Spanish Ports on its Banks & within our Country in Florida would be strengthened and there they would bid us defiance.

MS (O: St. Clair Papers). In the hand of Arthur St. Clair.

¹ St. Clair may have drafted these notes for use in preparing an "Abstract" for Benjamin Rush of "The Arguments, on both sides," related to John Jay's negotiations for a Spanish treaty, for which see the preceding entry, note 2.

² The first portion of these notes, arguments for the treaty with Spain proposed by Jay, closely follow the notes Jay laid before Congress August 3, for which see *JCC*, 31:477-78.

Arthur St. Clair's Notes

[August 22? 1786]¹

Mr Jay Aug 17th²

In the Madrid Gazette An Acct. of the Capture of St Joseph by the Spaniards & the River Illinois.

Marquis de lafayette to the Ct. de florida blanca. The Navigation of Mississippi objected to for fear of raising Suspicious. Spain abide for the present by the Limits appointed by Treaty.

Nothing proposed to be given up—a Stipulation not to use a right for a certain time confirms that Right. If it is not consented to—it will be withheld by force—and no acknowledgment of the right express or implied.

Weakens the public Credit and never will be strengthend or aided by western Territory.

Shutting the Mississippi will prevent emigration—a most desirable End. If Countries are too full of People for Agriculturists they will turn themselves to Manufactures—the very thing America wants.

America filled up would not stop European Emigration—it would have a contrary Effect—but instead of Husbandmen it would bring Manufacturers and manufactures can only be carried on when there are more People than is necessary for the Cultivation of the Earth.

MS (O: St. Clair Papers).

¹ John Jay's August 17 report on "the territorial Claims of Spain on the East side of the Mississippi, and the sentiments of France touching our right to navigate that river," which provides the substance of the opening section of these notes, was read in Congress on August 22. See *JCC*, 31:552n.

² See *JCC*, 31:537–52.

³ St. Clair apparently drew this line to separate his preceding notes on Jay's report from the following four paragraphs containing his own views.

Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[August 22–25, 1786]

August 22d. Delivered to Col Grayson—the Memorial of Thos. Lake &c by their Attorney *George Meade*—with the several papers annexed to it.¹

Transmitted to Secretary f. foreign Affairs.

4 Copies of Journals from June 1st to Augt 8.

4 Do. to Board of Treasury.

1 Do. to Secretary at War.

1 Do. to President of Congress.

Augt. 23d. Transmitted to the States—

26 copies of the Journal from June 1st to Augt 8th.

Augt. 25 Transmitted to the board of treasury²—the report of the Comptroller on the accounts of Oliver Pollock, dated Augt. 14th. 1786 and of Augt. 17th 1786, and letter from the board of Augt. 21st enclosing the same.

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, July 21, 1786.

¹ Thomson did not retain a copy of this memorial, but for Meade's efforts to obtain a rehearing "respecting the condemnation of the brigantine *Hope*," and a committee re-

port on this appeal, which foundered because the Continental appeals system was in abeyance, see *JCC*, 28:11n, 91n, 128n, 413–14, 29:491–92.

² None of these papers is in the PCC.

James Manning to Samuel Jones

My dear Sir,

New York 23d August. [17]86

Your mortifying favour of the 20th Inst. just now came to hand. On Thirsday last I was attacked with a Vomiting and purging which forbid my attempting to leave home. Besides a great national Question was pending before Congress, from which I could not have been absent, if able to set in the house, which I could scarcely do, without incurring the displeasure of more than half this Confederacy; but to close the rear I had totally mistaken the time of my appointment, for Friday Eveng. which, indisposed as I was, without regarding my dinner, I returned from the City Hall to Elizabeth Town with the impetuos[ity] of a lover to the wished for Interview. I need not tell you how great was my disappointmt. to find I had missed you.¹ Long before the Sun arose I set out on foot for the Point, stept onto the first Boat, presuming that you would wait the arrival of that, at least, before you left N. York, as there would be another in the Afternoon, if you returned at all that day. To guard, however, against this, in my estimation, only probable chance of missing you, I persuaded the Boatman to go out of his way to speak every Elisabeth town Boat, on their way up, & when we haled the last, & found you not on board, I felicitated myself that I had compassed my object; for I could not dream that you would go in a Stratten Island Boat; but what was my disappointmt. when I arrived at 12 to find that you had left the City at 11 OClock. Fatigued, disappointed & very unwell I was constrained to yield the pursuit. What a strange futility has attended this business? I am at a loss to account for it, but upon a providential interposition. Till I was informed by your Letter I never heard that you would stay at Sisters with a view of waiting for my return should that be necessary. But enough of this. By the bye, I dont think I have used you so ill as you suggest.

I shall attend to your request respecting Mr Edwards, if I am permitted to be at Providence at Commencement, which I hope to be, though it will be somewhat uncertain.

His Letter to Govr. Hancock, with its enclosures I shall attend to also. A Tutor from Providence who can be recommended you could doubtless have, if a Support in any wise adequate, could be given him. What my Ideas, after returning to Providence, may be of the Kentucky business, I cannot now say. Had I seen and conversed with you I could have better decided. My Expectations of any person for that Office from N England, are not very sanguine. I wish you had mentioned

what Salary a Tutor may expect. This, however, you can state before the Graduates disperse, after Commencement, & when he will be wanted to enter on the Business. Also when the principal, whoever he may be, must be on the spot. This must depend on the Arrangements made by you. Probably I shall leave this City by this day week & not before. My state of health is somewhat recovered.

With best respects to Mrs. Jones, I am, with every Sentiment of Esteem, Sir, Your disappointed friend & Brothr,

James Manning

RC (RPB: Henderson Manuscripts).

¹ For his anticipation of a visit with Jones, see Manning to Jones, August 3.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, Circular Office of Secretary of Congress, Aug 23 1786

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excy herewith enclosed two copies of the Continuation of the Journal of Congress from the 1 June to 8 of the present month, one for the executive the other for the legislative branch of government.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Exy's &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell

Dear Sir

August 24th 1786 New York

Congress has been for som time in a Committee of the whole on the subject of Instruction to the Secretary of foreign affairs, in his negociation with a foreign Minister. The particulars is confind to the Cabinet. The committee Divided Yesterday on the Question, & seven, States appear'd for the propos'd Instruction, & five, against it. Next Monday the subject will com under consideration in Congress. How it will end remains Uncertain.¹ It has been Debated with som warmth in the Committee, & every argument advanced pro, & con, however all reasoning fall prostrate before Interest. Nor is Justice & propriety free from the attack when supported by Federal Compact. The United force of which, I fear will be insufficient to confine in proper limits, this great ruler of human Actions. It appears to be the policy of the Eastern States to embarrass the Western Country, to prevent emigra-

tion. Congress som time past recommended to the Governor of New York to convene the Assembly for the purpose of altering the impost, which he refus'd. Yesterday after the Committee rose, this matter was Debated, & the Impost of New York was rejected, & the recommendation renew'd,² which I thought improper as there is not the least probabil[ity] of his complying, deeming the measure unwarrantable by the constitution. Inclos'd You have the orders of the Board of Treasury to Mr Hindman, this Gentleman came to this Town soon after the copy of the Letters sent by Mr Child which I lay'd before the Board without los of time, & receiv'd the answare inclos'd.³ I am extreemly anxious to hear of Coll. Blount's coming forward, necessity demands my return as soon as the Interest of my Country will admit. Hope I shall be relieved by the Last of October If not sooner.

I remain with the highest Esteem & regard Your Excellencies Most Obedient & Very Humble Servant, Timothy Bloodworth

RC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

¹ Debates on the proposed Spanish treaty had taken place August 16–22 in the committee of the whole which delivered its report on the 23rd. The report was debated in Congress August 28 to September 1. Although the northern delegates succeeded in a seven to five vote on the 29th in repealing the ultimata concerning the Mississippi, they were effectively stalemated by the southern delegates' protest that under the 9th Article of Confederation seven states could not alter instructions previously approved by nine. See *JCC*, 31:554, 565–70, 574–96, 596–607, 609–13, 620–22. For the North Carolina delegates' summary of the issues involved and their reasons for opposing the position taken by secretary for foreign affairs John Jay, see Timothy Bloodworth to the North Carolina Assembly, December 14, 1786.

² See James Monroe to George Clinton, August 16; and *JCC*, 31:558–61.

³ Bloodworth is undoubtedly referring to the board of treasury's August 18 directive to Col. James Hindman, Continental commissioner of accounts for North Carolina, to move his office and papers from the state capital of New Bern to the village of Kinston, "the seat of Government," but actually only the residence of the state's comptroller, Francis Child, who maintained his records there. See *PCC*, item 140, 2:257–58. Hindman had established his office in New Bern in October 1785 at the advice of North Carolina delegates Richard Dobbs Spaight and Hugh Williamson, and took exception to entreaties from Caswell and Child to move to Kinston for their convenience despite the congressional resolution of June 3, 1784, directing the commissioners to proceed to the place designated by their respective state's executive or assembly. This unresolved squabble resulted in appeals from Caswell and Child to the board of treasury and Hindman's journey to New York to plead his case. The latter's August 21 and 22 responses to the board's directive were submitted to Congress on September 1 together with the body of correspondence from the North Carolina officials. They were referred on the 6th to a committee consisting of Henry Lee, Bloodworth, and William Few, who were "discharged" at a later date, apparently after Hindman agreed to return to North Carolina to carry out his assignment. See *JCC*, 27:542–43, 28:447, 31:621–22, 638n; *PCC*, item 140, 2:253–68, 287–306, item 190, fol. 119; and James R. Morrill, *The Practice and Politics of Fiat Finance: North Carolina in the Confederation, 1783–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), pp. 142–46.

Charles Thomson to the People of Kaskaskia

Gentlemen,

Office of Secry of Congress, Aug 24. 1786

I have the honor to inform you that the Extracts from your Registers¹ dated the 10 Novr 1784 and 2 June 1786 have been duly reced. & communicated to the United States in Congress Assembled, and I have it in command further to inform you that Congress have under Consideration the plan of a temporary government for the district of Country where you reside and that its adoption will be no longer protracted than the importance of the subject and a due regard to your interest May require.²

With much respect, I have the honor to be, Gentlemen your Most
Obt. h. S, CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "⟨*Mons Langlois, Notary & Register*⟩ To ⟨*be communicated to the good people*⟩ The Inhabitants of Kaskaskies and the neighbouring Villages." Endorsed: "NB sent to the P Master at Philadelphia to be forwarded by the way of Pittsburg."

¹ Simply petitions submitted by their "Register," Pierre Langlois.

² For the reception of the Kaskaskia petition of November 10, 1784, see these *Letters*, 22:328n.11. This petition and a second of June 2, 1786, were sent for translation to the department of foreign affairs August 22 and referred the following day to a committee consisting of James Monroe, William Samuel Johnson, Rufus King, Charles Pinckney, and Melancton Smith. The committee's report, adopted August 24, merely explained that the petitioners' desire for a territorial government was under study. See PCC, item 30, fols. 435–42, item 41, 5:113–29, item 127, 2:17; and JCC, 31:561n, 563. In fact, the fate of Kaskaskia was a subordinate consideration in the work of the committee on territorial government, which was awaiting a response from Virginia to a request to revise the conditions of its territorial cession, for which see Monroe to John Jay, April 20, 1786, note. Its report was eventually submitted on September 19, and debated September 29 and October 4, but then languished until April 26, 1787. An ordinance for the government of the northwest territory within which the Kaskaskia settlements were located was finally adopted July 13, 1787. See JCC, 31:667n, 669–73, 700–702, 738–39, 32:242, 334–43.

William Samuel Johnson to Stephen Mix Mitchell

My Dr. Sr.

N.Y. 25th Augt. 1786.

If I were capable of omitting to write so valuable & worthy a Friend as I certainly esteem you to be thro negligē. or inattentn. I sho'd absolutely despise & could never forgive myself. Be assur'd this never can happen. Besides the usual inability ⟨*Difficulty*⟩ which you are sensible I labor under & which render writing extremely difficult to me, I have in fact ever since my last return here been so uncommonly ⟨*constantly*⟩ engag'd that it was impossible for me to find time for it. On the one hand Congress has sat more Hours & more constantly than usual to

avail themselves of the advantage of having 12 States upon the Floor: on the other Mrs. J has been for some time in Town in attendance on our Daughter (who by the way has brought Mr. V. a fine Son)¹ so that every Moment has been universally appropriated either to Business or Company, a situation which I am persuaded will with your excuse my not sooner engaging your obliging favour of the 9th.² Add to this that I had some little hope till well on these few Days that you might perhaps be prevailed upon to permit my attendance on New Haven Superior Court. Had I conceived as you politely insist that an immediate application from me might have had that effect I certainly should have made it with all possible energy as I really believe a short excursion here would have been beneficial not only for the public but to you personally, while it gave me a short relaxation from the perplexing load of Politics. I now despair of seeing you before October if indeed I may even then have that pleasure. In the mean time Mr. S.³ & I are labouring in the Political Vindication as well as we can. Most that we do I presume you see detailed in the Paper. With respect to the Impost Act (King & Monroë) are applied to go to Pennsylvania if possible to persuade their assembly to recede from their Resolution relative to the Support of Funds⁴ and we have applied to the Governor of New York requesting him to call the Assembly of this State that they might again take that subject into immediate consideration. He refused to do it. We repeated the application yesterday on stronger ground & in a more decisive manner.⁵ Yet it is imagined he will be deaf to all we can say to him. The public will [. . .] us. The Treasury are directed to report an Address to accompany the Request you so justly ridicule.⁶ When I hope we shall speak that plain language to our Constituents which you so wisely advise. We have finished an Ordinance for Indian affairs, & are at work upon one for the Government of the Western Country. You know how slowly everything important must commonly proceed. Other matters of high consequence are in agitation. You know as fully as I can explain to you that the Crisis of our Fate is rapidly approaching. We may escape Perdition perhaps. If we do we should impute it to that all-gracious Providence which has so often & so signally interposed in our favour. Not that there are not those here who will do all that belongs to them to do to prevent it, but all they can do must be ineffectual unless Providence do more than we have any even enthusiastic grounds (right) to expect will be done for us. I know not how those Politicians & Philosophers who look only to satisfy the Censor find repose to their Souls. For my part, I confess if I did not firmly believe that Providence raises all & levels all with a steady, impartial & unerring hand which continually aduces Good from Ill I should be in absolute despair, throw up the hands, & abandon not only political existence but life itself. But there is, there must be an author for us to adhere to sure & steadfast. My chief concern is therefore that come what may (& what probably will) no just blame may be imputable to the State of

Connectt. or the Delegs. of that State. For the rest I leave it in humble hope & confid[enc]e to the all Directing Powr. This you see is my political System.

There is a late Rept. beff[or]e Congs from a Grd. Comme. as full as you wish relative to the reguln. of Trade & another very conseq[uen]tia]l [. . .] to the Confdn. & Powers of Congs. It will soon be discussd. Samll has indeed retd. [. . .] reinfusd as was expectd.⁷ No talk of Missipi since you left us. Mr. Kean found benefit by a journy to B. & is now for the same purpe on a Northn. Tour. Hindman with him courting the Ladies. No very Signal Char[acters] now in Congs. unless this Signally excpts. Genll. M.⁸ a worthy good Natd. Man. Our Presid[en]t behaves very well. I am amazed at what you mention of Wyllys.⁹ That buss. you have heard is recd here with difity him from [. . .] We are astonish'd we have not rec'd the Act of Ass[embly] of Westn. lands. I shall now hesitate to Execute the Deed imag[inin]g it co'd not have been so long delayed if agreeable. Mr. S[turges] cannot attend after Octor¹⁰ unless there sho'd be those to take it in rotation & allow more time to Attend some of his Courts which I wish would be the Case. He is a worthy honest Man & will understand our affairs & judge properly of them. I hope you do not admit an idea of being absent from it. I have called a few times upon Mr. Shaler but not seen him but dare say there will be no difficulty about it. Yr. Ticket Mr. Bayd. says has drawn a Prize 10 Ds. for which you may have the Mo. or a Ticket in 3d Class.

Yr. friends enqu[ir]e frequently after you & were rejoic'd to hear that you was well & that I had a Letter from you & could in Conseq[uen]ce present yr. Complt. to them which they return very afectly part[icularl]y Mr. Sturges In which I join them Most humbly & with the most respectful Compts. to Mrs. M. Am Dr. Sr.¹¹

FC (CtHi: Johnson Papers). In the hand of William Samuel Johnson.

¹ Johnson's daughter Elizabeth, wife of Daniel C. Verplanck, had just given birth to Johnson's first grandson, Gulian C. Verplanck.

² This letter, dated by Mitchell "Wethersfield August 9," is also in the Johnson Papers, CtHi.

"Genl. Parson on his late arrival from Nw. York called at my Door, when I was so unhappy as to be absent and not to see him; a few Days afterwards I receivd. a Line from him, pressing me in your name to return to Nw. York, while you could attend the Supr. Court at N. Haven: Happy was I that you did not write yourself! The complaisant air with which you would have addressd. me, so peculiar to yourself (coming from such a freind) would have had nearly the Force of an irrisistable Mandate.

"In consequence of your Desire expressd. in his Letter, I have had serious tho'ts of releiving you for a few Days, the latter End of this Month, but there must be very little dependance placed upon me in this matter; It has been customary for Gentn. who were attending, when their private concerns required, to retire a few Days and leave the State unrepresented, and no Exceptions taken.

"I complain loudly of you as cruel, that you have not wrote me on other Subjects, many things must have occurrd. on the Political Theatre, during the summer, which (being described by your pen) must have afforded instructive pleasure to me.

"My affairs permitting me this rainy Day to speak to you, suffer me to ask you, not to impute my Silence to an Oblivion of the many Obligations I am under to you, for your kindness and improving Assistance during the last Winter, but to my hurry in agricultural and domestic Concerns.

"We hear you have again made out a Requisition upon the States and are preparing an Address to accompany it. I conjecture, your hopes must far exceed your Faith, or your faith would remove mountains. Pray speak plain Language to the states, paint your Situation and your feelings without Disguise, and let them know you are or will soon be, the most contemptible political Body which ever conven'd.

"The States have sufficient Ability to do great things, we are fast recovering from the fatigue of the Warr, and like a young Man who by sleep shakes off his Weariness, we are by two or three years quiet, so far recover'd as to run into every kind of Luxury and Extravagance and not so much by Credit as formerly. New Buildings are erecting in every part of the Country, and no striking Marks of penury appear.

"In constant hopes and Expectations that Nw. York and Pensylvania will so far discover the Precipice on which the united States as a collective body stand, by reason of withholding the necessary Means for the preservation of our Union, I am the more easy, that the States do not comply with yr. Requisitions, pleasing myself with the tho'ts, that such Discovery will induce such a compliance with the Resolve of C. of April 1783 as will cause the general Impost to operate by next Spring.

"The Regulation of Trade is as essential a point to be obtain'd as the Impost, the former will eventually include the Latter and ought to be urged with as much pathos.

"The English Prints inform us that our Countryman Mr. Lamb has been unsuccessful in his Legation and has returnd. to Europe.

"How our affairs in Europe and Africa are, whether a Minister is to be sent to the Hague, whether our worthy freind Mr. Kean is dead or alive, what new Characters you have in Congress, what old members have retired, How our new President wears and a great variety of other congressional Questions, I wish to ask you.

"State political Business seems to be asleep, nothing is talkd about but our farming concerns, the Politicians wearied themselves last spring in electioneering for a Governor and are not entirely freed of their fatigue to this Day. Nothing is said of Majr. Wyllys's affair, and what is passing strange! alth'o I have been frequently in Company with the father and Sons, not one of them ever open'd. his Lips on the Subject to me.

"I know not whether you have as yet receiv'd the Act of Assembly, empowering you to make their Cession to Congress of western Territory. I intend this week to apply to Col. Wyllys for Information and forward it soon, if it has not been sent on.

"I wish to know whether Mr. Sturgiss intends to continue in Congress after Octr., tis best the State should not fail of Representation at the Beginning of the new Year.

"Our Brethren in the Delegation are part of them practicing Attornies and Genl. Wadsworth is engaged in his new Business, and cannot give Attendance, untill he knows whether he shall continue in Office another Year.

"Before I left Nw York, Mr. Shalor was so kind as to lend me some Money, which is not paid; I expected him to send the Receit to Col Wadsworth and it should have been paid e'er this, Col Wadsth. has returnd. without it. I beg you to excuse me to Mr. Shalor; I will send it by the first opperty. or deliver it to Col Wadsworth.

"I purchased a Ticket in Philadelphia Lottery No. 828—Class second. which I suppose has drawn—still I wish to hear, pray you to enquire of Col. Byard and also whether yr. Tickets for 3d. Class are selling.

"With many Compts. to all my Acquaintance and especially to Mr. Sturgis, I am with the highest Esteem and filial Regard, Sir Your humble Sert."

³ Jonathan Sturges.

⁴ See Rufus King's Memorandum, September 13, note 2.

⁵ See the following entry.

⁶ For this board of treasury report, which was submitted August 31, see *JCC*, 31:613–19. It was referred September 7 to a committee consisting of Edward Carrington, John Henry, William Samuel Johnson, John Kean, and Melancton Smith which reported October 6. The draft "address" to the states reported by the committee was debated and amended October 9, and debated again October 17, when it was rejected. Failing to reach agreement on a suitable address to accompany the 1786 requisition on the states, Congress ordered the board of treasury to transmit with it "an accompanying state of the receipts and expenditures to the 30th of June last, . . . together with an estimate of the accumulation of the public debts by a failure in complying with the requisitions heretofore made." See *JCC*, 31:747–51, 753–57, 882–85, 966–68. For the context of the board's August 31 report, see its June 22 letter which was read in Congress June 27. *JCC*, 30:359–66. A somewhat variant draft of an 8-page fragment of the October 6 committee address in the hand of Edward Carrington, is in a "Continental Congress" collection at ViHi.

⁷ That is, Johnson's son Samuel William had returned home from Bermuda for a visit.

⁸ Rhode Island delegate Nathan Miller, who was brigadier general of Rhode Island militia. *Bio. Dir. Cong.*

⁹ That is, Maj. John P. Wyllys of Connecticut, whose order for the execution of deserters under his command at Fort McIntosh had been under investigation by Congress, although cleared and released upon the recommendation of the secretary at war on August 4. See *JCC*, 30:115n, 119–21, 136–37, 423n, 433–35, 31:485.

¹⁰ Jonathan Sturges attended through October 23. His accounts for attendance from July 8 through October 24 (which included travel time), which he submitted in a letter of February 7, 1787, to the Connecticut Committee of the Pay Table, is in the Revolutionary War Collection, Ct. See also *JCC*, 30:396, 31:906, 910.

¹¹ The following response to this letter, which Mitchell dated "Wethersfield, 14th Sept. 1786," is in the Johnson Papers, CtHi.

"Yours of the 25th Ult. came safe to hand, I am under many Obligations to you and particularly for this last pledge of your Notice and Attention. [*Congratulates Johnson on the birth of his first grandson.*]

"I can very easily beleive you are perplex'd with Politicks. I fear Congress will and must wind themselves up in their own Web of Resolves and Reresolves and never find their Way out. I am sorry to be forced to own to you that we are unable to govern ourselves, the most enlightned human Understanding our Country can boast, cannot point out any Method which promises well, to extricate our Country, from that flood of Evils which awaits us at this Day.

"Every thing East of this State seems running to Distraction and without some extra Interposition of divine providence, we shall soon see more perilous and trying Times than ever we have seen.

"Enclosed, I send you a paper containing the Votes of a Convention held at Hatfield, (which tis most likely you have already seen), by this you will easily perceive the Temper of the people, altho many petty Greivances are enumerated, the Gist of the Budget is, the payment of private and that part of the public Debts, which is called our home Debt.

"We are told the three western Counties in Masehusetts have risen in Opposition to Government and prevented the Courts proceeding to Business, two others are contriving to follow the Example.

"The Court in Taunton County was to convene this Week. The Clergyman of Taunton called on me on Monday last and informs, that there will be great Opposition, some Militia Officers were exerting themselves in favor of Government and twas expected the Govr. would at the Head of two or three Regiments of Horse from Boston be at Taunton on Tuesday last; twas expected the matter would not be Parade only, but serious.

"I have my Apprehensions that the Flame may catch in this State. The present Generation while on this Side the Grave will be a Set of inflammable and turbulent Beings and require very tender and gentle handling, they will recollect former times and former Measures, and when a little press'd with their Necessities, be prone to resort to the old Method of Opposing force to Law. God only knows when our Troubles will end! I console myself, with the tho'ts, that the Ruler of all, had some great and beneficial purpose to answer by this Revolution, which he has not, but will in his own Way and Time effect, and that we shall yet live to see Days of peace and quiet, that Empire and good Government will at length be established in this Land; my fears are, we shall see one or more Revolutions first.

"Had the Impost been granted in time, it might in some measure have bound us together and even yet it would make the Nations abroad beleive we should stick together awhile. It seems New York would not grant it if they had no other reason for a Refusal but their will and pride; pitiable indeed! To hazard our very political Existance, rather than bear the Taunts of a few fools, that they were obedient to the Solicitations not the mandates of Congress on such an Occasion. On this Subject, I had written a long Letter to our freind Melanckton Smith but on second tho't and recollecting that he was with the Moses and prophets of our Israel I tho't best to lay it aside. Your Address to the States will (I fear) prove like Water spilled upon the Ground and have no Influence to awake us from our Stupor. We must not only hear, but feel before we Stirr.

"His Excellency our Govr. was here on Saturday last and gives me to understand, he has sent on the Act relative to western Cession, and has wrote in pointed Terms to Col. Abel to supply you with Money, and directed him to give him his answer immediately yea or nay, that other provision might be made. The Govr. express'd a strong desire to see your Letter to me. Presuming on your good Nature I ventured to show it him, and must ask your Pardon.

"I omit saying any thing to you on the Subject of our next year Arrangements, in giving Attendance on Congress, expecting to see you at New Haven in October, (*Deo volente*).

"The Disposal of our Reservation in the western World, will be a Subject of some Altercation the next Session of Assembly; some are for selling it for continental, others for State securities. Your and my best freinds are of the former Class, I confess myself rather of the latter, but not unalterably fixed: Your assistance with Mr. Sturgiss will be indispensibly necessary.

“My Neighbour and your Acquaintance Capt. John Wright died last Evening of the Consumption, after one Week’s confinement only.

"My Ticket I enclose to you praying you will exchange it for one in the third Class and forward to me. With my best Compts and respects to Mr Sturgiss and other friends, I am with the most sincere Affection and highest Esteem and Regard Your very humble Sert."

Charles Thomson to George Clinton

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, Aug 25, 1786

I have the honor of forwarding to your excellency herewith enclosed an Act passed the 23 by the United States in Congress Assembled together with a copy of the Acts of the States therein referred to.¹

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Exy's &c

LB (DNA; PCC, item 18B).

¹ The enclosed resolve "again earnestly recommended to the executive of the State of New York, immediately to convene the legislative of the said state, to take into their con-

Charles Thomson to George Read

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, Aug 25. 1786
 I received by last post and had the honor of communicating to the United States in Congress Assembled your two letters, of April 9 & Aug. 19th.¹

The latter is referred to the board of treasury with orders to report, so that I am in hopes the grounds of complaint mentioned will speedily be removed.²

With great respect, I am, Sr, Your obedt humble Servt

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ The former letter (actually dated April 8), which was Read's response to Thomson's March 1 letter to him, is in PCC, item 78, 19:547–50; and William T. Read, *Life and Correspondence of George Read, A Signer of the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1870), pp. 407–12.

² For the receipt of the "latter," enclosing an unidentified "Act of the State of Delaware," see JCC, 31:563n. Neither is in the PCC, and no board of treasury report on this "complaint" has been found.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

Dr. Gerry New York 26 Aug. 1786

The Boston papers mention as from authority that the Executive intend convening the Legislature at an earlier day than that to which it stands adjourned; the object of an earlier meeting being the late Requisition of congress &c. I cannot judge of the propriety of the proposed measure with as much justice as you who are on the spot, and know the temper of the People.

But I had concluded the distance of the Day of the next meeting of the General Court, as a very fortunate event in the present disposition of the people.

The paper money of Rhode Island will have destroyed itself, and left an useful Lesson to the neighbouring States, before the first of February—the sober part of the community will prevail over those turbulent Characters who are now moving the people for conventions, Reforms &c, &c.

If so the conduct of the Legislature will promote more temperance & Wisdom in a remote than in an early meeting.¹

Inclosed you have a report which congress agreed to on the 23 instant²—you will from this observe that we are, as the lawyers say, at issue with New York. The Governor it is said will not convene the Leg-

islature. If he does not, I think I dont hazard much in saying, that he is the only one of the thirteen who would under similar circumstances refuse. I presume that I shall not be suspected of any great partiality for this State when it is known that I have not been the last man in urging the adoption of this Measure. My Idea is that congress should do every think [thing] in their power for the public Good. If the misfortunes attending a want of national Faith & Honor must fall on our country, let the whole world say that Congress stand acquitted.

Adieu, Yours with Affection,

R King

[P.S.] I write you currenti Calamo³—you will be my Apologist as you are my friend.

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ For the response of the Massachusetts government to the protests and disorders mounting in western Massachusetts, a regulator movement that came to be associated with the name of Daniel Shays, see Hall, *Politics without Parties*, pp. 208–13; and William Pencak, "The Response to Shays's Rebellion Reconsidered," in Gross, *In Debt to Shays*, pp. 136–41.

² See Charles Thomson to George Clinton, August 25.

³ Cf. "currente calamo. . . With a running pen; hence, of writing, offhand." *Websters Dictionary*.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My Dr. Gerry

New York 26 Aug. 1786

I wrote you a line this morning inclosing the Act of congress of the 23 instant relative to the Grant of the impost by N York. This serves to accompany the Report of a Grand committee upon a very important subject—read and examine it. I have just received a copy, and that I transmit to you¹—it may be unnecessary to remark to you that these reports ought not to be laid before the public, until they have recd. the approbation of congress, but as the Subject is highly important, I possess you of a copy and request your examination and Remarks.

I have nothing particular to add—except a peice of information for Mrs. Gerry; Mr. *Hindman* has been on a visit for more than five weeks at the Manor of Livingston;² Shrewd suspicions have been entertained, that an Affair of the Heart led, and detained, him there. The amour is developed—and the information is authoritative that Mr. Hindman has with all proper, humility, agitation, anxiety, & homage, tendered to Miss Katy Livingston a proposal of a most interesting and passionate nature, and that after such surprize, and disapprobation, as the prerogative of the sex authorises the manifestation of, he has been most graciously heard, smiled upon, and encouraged.

The usual ceremonials will not be long delayed.

R King

[P.S.] Married

Col. Smith to Miss Adams	12 June 86
Majr. Fairley to Miss Gates	17 Aug. 86
Col. Barber to Miss Crook — .	July 86

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ See Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell, August 16, note 5.² For William Hindman's visits to Livingston Manor, see also Hindman to Unknown, June 24, 1786.

Samuel Livermore to John Sullivan

Dear Sir,

New York 26th August 1786.

In answer to yours of the 14th instant¹ I would first observe that there have been for sometime past 12 States in congress the whole Union except Delaware State.

Their attention is taken up partly by hearing and answering petitions which in our General Court are pretty numerous—but necessary to administer publick justice. Partly by making acts or ordinances for the publick good. It is not easy for you to conceive the length of time and debate ocupied in making an ordinance for Indian affairs. Publick treaty's with foreign powers and debates on certain points contained in them take up much time—every thing under this head is under the injunction of secrecy, until concluded.

Requisition—mode of taxation—imports [imposts], additional articles to the consideration [confederation] to be recommended to the States for adoption, present powers of congress in respect to certain objects, have taken up much time.

Western Territory—Indian war, Indian treaty's, coinage—commerce &c &c.

Our foreign debt or the intrest of it must doubtless be paid in solid coin. But that coin will not be sent from this country as I suppose. But our produce being sold in foreign countries must raise the cash and that cash be negotiated to discharge our debt. Our cash being collected in this country may be applied to purchase bills of credit from such American merchants as have sent cargoes to Holland, France and Spain. Spain is doubtless the market for the northern States to get cash and a treaty—but I must be silent. No doubt you easily see an answer to your question abt NH or any other State paying their quota in produce. Let the produce be sent to market in Holland, France or Spain especially the latter it will raise the cash: that cash will pay the quota.

You will ask then, shall a state turn merchant? Perhaps they must in some sort.

As to the plenty of money in this and other States—Wheat brings cash, so does any article for exportation.

Cash is plenty enough for these things. Paper and silver go alike here owing as it is said to the smallness of the quantity of paper compared to the quantity of silver, the goodness of its fund—double mortgage—its being receivable in all publick payments here &c. Concerning paper in other States you know as much as [I]. I am urged by the northern States to remain here until certain points are obtained in congress even although it should defeat my attending our Superior court. I am therefore in a very delicate situation between two important points of duty but still not without hopes of effecting both. Of these anxieties however I perceive the publick intend soon to relieve me as they have very politely turned me out of the delegation and I suppose intend to starve me out of the office of Ch. J. But please to excuse my troubling you with wrongs that only touch myself.

Your depreciation affairs has been decided against you—but it shall be tried once more—I have some hopes yet. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to effect a point in my estimation so just.²

Charles de la Valley's petition I have not yet presented—I intend to offer it but nothing can be more hopeless of success.

I have a plan for a post rider to be established from Boston to Concord, Exeter, Portsmouth and Bath the same rout once a week which I think would be of great publick use—and I hope it will be effected.

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most obedient Servant,
Samuel Livermore

Tr (DLC: Peter Force Collection).

¹ Not found. Livermore also wrote the following note to President Sullivan on August 24—and none of the letters therein acknowledged is in Sullivan, *Letters* (Hammond).

"This is to acknowledge the rect. of your favours of the 10th, 12th & 14th of Augt current to which I can at present make no answer for want of time: only to say Congress are very ardently engaged in very important matters & much divided: so that I fear I shall not get off so soon as I intended: and that I shall not be at the Dover Court. But I shall be more particular in my next." Force Miscellany, DLC.

² See Livermore to Sullivan, August 31, note.

Charles Thomson to John Ettwein

Rev'd. Sir,

Office of Secretary of Congress, Aug 26. 1786

Upon receiving your letter of the 1st I did myself the honor of immediately communicating it to the United States in Congress assembled, who have thereupon been pleased to pass a resolution respecting the Indian Congregation, a copy of which is herewith enclosed.¹

I most heartily join you in prayer to God that He "may grant these poor sufferers a time of peace & rest after so many tribulations that

other Heathen may see the great difference of a civilised Christian life and the life of Savages.”

Please to convey to the revd. D. Zeisberger my sincere respects and the esteem I have for his zeal & perseverance in the good work in which he has been so long engaged. I hope he will continue to the end & that his labours will be crowned with success.

With great respect, I am, Revd & Dear Sir, Your obedt humble Servt,
Cha Thomson

P.S. Enclosed I also send you An Ordinance passed by Congress for the regulation of Indian Affairs & beg leave to inform you that Richard Butler Esqr. (late genl.) is appointed Superintendt of Indian Affairs for the northern district.²

RC (PBMCA: Ettwein Papers).

¹ Ettwein's August 1 letter praying for the relief of about 100 displaced Moravian Indians seeking to return to their homes on the Muskingum River was referred August 8 to a committee which reported August 17. The committee's recommendation that they be permitted to return to their former settlement and be provided axes, hoes, blankets, and up to 500 bushels of corn for the ensuing winter from the public stores at Fort McIntosh was adopted by Congress August 24. See *JCC*, 31:505n, 526, 562–63. Ettwein's letter is not in the PCC.

² See Thomson to Butler, August 15, note.

James Monroe to John Tyler

Dear Sir¹

Sunday Morning Augt 27, 1786

My engagements with which you are acquainted have so entirely engrossed my attention that I have not been able to pay that attention to the proposition with the perusal of which you have been so kind as favor me;² I must however request of you to be so kind as favor me from some post on your journey with the provisoes it contains. I will write you fully on it at Annapolis—a safe & agreeable journey to yourself & lady is the wish of your friend & servant, Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC: John Tyler Papers). Endorsed by John Tyler: “Letter recd during my Trip to New York &c., 1786.”

¹ Although this letter bears no address, its endorsement by Judge John Tyler (1747–1813) and presence in the papers of his son President John Tyler identify the recipient. Tyler's visit to New York may have been prompted by his recent commission as an admiralty court judge by the Virginia Council. Moreover, Tyler's initiative in the Virginia assembly the preceding January had resulted in the call for a commercial convention of state delegates that would soon meet in Annapolis. Although he was not among the Virginia delegates attending the convention, Tyler may have travelled to Annapolis, where Monroe fully expected to write to him, to keep abreast of developments. See *Journals of the Council of State of Virginia [1776–91]*, 5 vols. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1931–82), 3:548; Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:204–8; Madison, *Papers* (Rutland),

9:115–19; and Mervin B. Whealy, “‘The Revolution is not Over’: The Annapolis Convention of 1786,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 81 (Fall 1986): 228–40.

² This “proposition” has not been identified.

Nathaniel Ramsey to Otho Holland Williams

Dear Sir,

New York 27th. Augt. [17]86

I send you inclosed the receipt filled up agreeably to my former letter. The paper money of this State has as yet no fixed or publickly avowed depreciation on it, but no other kind of money is paid to any person who will receive it, and I find by experience that since it has got into circulation every article which I purchase at market is raised in price. But the advocates for the money attribute this rise to other causes. The paper of Pennsylvania is publickly and generally sold at a discount of from 10 to 12 per Cent. The Rhode Island paper is totally damned.

I am informed that the rage for a paper currency in Maryland still prevails. I apprehend that it will [*be*] necessary to gratify the populace with a small sum this fall to prevent a greater evil. You tell me that McHenry is to be the Elector, are there any new Candidates for representatives in the Town, or County besides Mr. Lux. There are most wicked lies propagated against me in Cecil, and my election will be considerably opposed, but I am determined to give myself no trouble about it, not even to go down to it.¹ I am perfectly agreed to live retired at home, and never leave it, except, once in a while to pay a visit to my friends at Baltimore, and Philadelphia.

The price of public securities here are very variant. They took a start some time ago from an opinion that the system of public impost would be immediately carried into execution, but that prospect having failed, owing to the defective law passed by the State of New-York, they are now low and a dull sale—finals that have not had facilities, issued for their interest are from 2/9 to 3/ in the pound, those on which facilities have Issued are from 2/ to 2/6. By facilities you are to understand, the certificates which are Issued for the Interest due, and are received for 2/3ds of the continental tax from those States who have complied with the requisitions of Congress. And they sell from 5/6 to 6/6 in the pound. I believe I could here purchase one or two thousand dollars of black and State Continental Money at the specified valued, that is have the interest givn up, what could be made by such a speculation? and who can help me to make it? a good bill on Philadelphia would answer the end of cash and the paper money could be transmitted by the post. Please to write me on this subject. We are all well [well] and to convince you that we have no news I will enclose you a News-paper.

I am with great esteem, you[r] Humble Servt. Nat. Ramsey

RC (MdHi: Williams Papers).

¹ Ramsey was not reelected to the Maryland legislature. *Bio. Dict. of Md. Legis.*, 2:671–72.

Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell

Dear Sir.

New York, August 28th. 1786

Have enclosed to your Excellency a letter from the Vice Consul of France, who Complains of the Tardy payments of our State.¹

The public Business make Slow advances, we have not yet Considered the Additional Articles to the Confederation. The Report of the Grand Committee on that subject has layn some time on the Table.² But the Grand subject of treaties has imployed our deliberation for Some time past, and I expect will this day make its appearance in Congress.³ Am sorry it is not in my power to give you the particulars Consistant with the Rules of the House. The Eastern Delegates often Mention the Justice of Ceding the Western Country to Congress which I believe arises from the desire to have it in their power to embarrass the population of that Country which they Seem to View with a Zealous [jealous?] eye and Openly declare on the floore of Congress, their desire if possible to prevent emigration, it appears to me expressive of that Intention but as it is yet subject to alteration the embarrassment may be removed.

With the Utmost Esteem & respect I remain Your Excelly's Most Obedient & Most Humble servt., Timothy Bloodworth⁴

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

¹ For the July 17 letter from Jean B. Petry prodding North Carolina for remittances on its long-standing debt to Martinique for war supplies, see *N.C. State Records*, 18:688–89. Other correspondence on the debt is in *ibid.*, pp. 575, 587, 598–600, 740–41, 746–50. For the background of this issue, see these *Letters*, 21:500n.2, 22:437n.3

² See Bloodworth to Caswell, August 16, note 5.

³ The report of the committee of the whole on the proposed treaty with Spain, which had been submitted August 23, was taken up this day. See Bloodworth to Caswell, August 24, note 1.

⁴ For Caswell's September 24 reply to Bloodworth's letters of August 16, 24, and this date, see *N.C. State Records*, 18:746–47.

John Henry to William Smallwood

Dear Sir

New-York Augst. 30. 1786

Your Excellency will perceive from the enclosed report that an apportionment of the domestic debt is in contemplation. The subject as yet has never been under Debate, so that it is difficult to determine

what will be the opinion of Congress. From the Sentiments of some Gentlemen out of doors, the measure if not acceded to, will be at least countenanced.¹

The operation of this system will raise the price of all public securities, which will in some measure defeat the object of our legislature. If it is possible by any means, to procure a Sum of Money, it appears to me, that there is no mode in which it could be so advantageously laid out, as in purchasing our quota of the domestic debt. The State of Pennsylvania has already in her own hands more than her proportion, some other States are nearly in the same condition, all will aim at the same thing, and thereby produce an instantaneous rise on the value of the debt, such a one as will probably require double the Sum that is now requisite to secure the whole of our share of the debt. This is a subject of serious concern to us. I will therefore take the liberty of suggesting an Idea that has occurred to me, and upon which I have spoke confidentially to a Gentleman in this City. It is his opinion and also my own that by Contract, the greater part if not the whole of our debt, may be obtained at this Time at a very moderate rate. The Credit of the state is good, and if authority was given and confidence reposed in some individual for this purpose the most beneficial effects would be derived from it. Tobacco would be received instead of Money which would greatly ease our people. I expect the full plan from the Gentleman to whom I allude which when received shall be laid before your Excellency.

Be so obliging as to let me hear from you upon this subject. I am, Sir, with Sentiments of the most perfect respect & Esteem, Yrs.

J Henry

RC (MdAA: Executive Papers).

¹ This report, which was issued as a broadside, was submitted on August 16 by a committee consisting of William Samuel Johnson, Charles Pettit, and Charles Pinckney to whom an August 14 motion by Pinckney "relative to supplementary funds" and the apportionment of the domestic debt had been referred. See *JCC*, 31:517-18, 521-23, 966; and *PCC*, item 190, fol. 115. See also Henry to Smallwood, November 1, 1786.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York Augt. 30. 1786.

Since my last we have been from day to day upon the business wh. engag'd us when you were here. They carried the repeal by 7 States in the Committee of the Whole & afterwards in the house.¹ We mov'd to postpone to take into consideration the plan in conformity with the Idea I suggested to you,² in which we enter'd into long reasoning upon the Secrys. project, proving if we were well founded, its futility,

& disadvantages in many instances, proposing to take the negotiation out of his hands, as to the Mississippi & the boundaries, commit them to our Chargé at Madrid, to agree on principles there, the treaty to be concluded here—that 2 Comrs. be added to him to enter into the treaty & the three authoriz'd to form also a commercl. treaty—to be incorporated together—for wh. five States voted. Their repeal was afterwards carried by 7 States only—today—additional instructions being added to their proposition for repeal respecting the boundaries, form'd with view of taking in Georgia, were also only carried by 7 States. The President reported today the Chair upon the propositions altogether that the question was lost³—so that it now remains will Mr. Jay proceed? & I apprehend he will not. I have avail'd myself of a few moments to drop you this & to assure you of my friendship & esteem,

Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ For the repeal of John Jay's instructions in committee of the whole on August 23 and by Congress on August 29, see *JCC*, 31:554, 565–66, 595–96.

² See Monroe to Madison, August 14; and *JCC*, 31:574–93.

³ See *JCC*, 31:597–603.

Samuel Livermore to John Sullivan

Dear Sir,

New York 31 Augt 1786

This after so many repeated strugles is to give your Excellency joy of success in respect of your deprecation! tho' not in the name of Depren. but a resolution is past to recommend to N.H. to pay you 4300 dolls. in such sort as depren. was pd. to the officers of the line to be ch[arge]d to the United States in like manner.¹

This was found by Calculation to be the sum your depren. wd. amount to.

I intend to set out for NH the 2nd Sept.

I have the honr. to be yr. Excelys most obedt servant,

Samuel Livermore

RC (ICHi: Gunther Collection).

¹ Sullivan had long been seeking additional compensation for his service as major general in the Continental Army from 1775 to 1779 and had submitted memorials to Congress on the subject December 29, 1783, March 10, 1785, and December 24, 1785. See *PCC*, item 41, 9:253–56, 325–28, item 78, 21:439–46. He had obtained payment on a small part of his claims in January 1784, but met a hostile reception on the larger portion of them recapitulated in his third memorial, which was referred to committee January 9, and rejected July 19, 1786. See *JCC*, 26:14–15, 30:16, 53, 415–17. The New Hampshire delegates (Livermore and Pierce Long) revived the appeal, however, and obtained passage of a resolution this day recommending the payment of \$4,300 to Sullivan by the state of New Hampshire, charging the sum to “their general account with the

United States." *JCC*, 31:607–8. See also Livermore to Sullivan, August 26, and Charles Thomson to Sullivan, September 2, 1786.

Edward Carrington to James Mercer

Dr Sir,¹

New York Sept. 1. 1786

I have had the pleasure to receive your favors of the 26th June and 25th August, together with the certificates which were the Subjects of them and should have returned you an Answer immediately on receiving the first, had it not been for a painful indisposition from which I have since recovered. I will with great pleasure have them adjusted in whatever Offices they may respectively be admissible, as soon as I am sufficiently at leisure to act upon them, with a great number of others sent to my hands by my friends. You may be assured that every thing needful for the proprietors shall be attended to.

It is proper that two men who have equally the public good at heart and differed so widely as you and I have done upon a point of policy remaining as yet in speculation, should communicate to each other the reciprocal effects of enquiry and reflection upon it. I mean the emission of paper money, which it seems but too much occupies the views of Virga. I assure you, Sir, I have devoted much of my attention to the effects of the experiment in the other States, most of whom have gone into it, and thus stands my information. In Rhode Island, almost in the instant of its birth, it ceased to circulate, except in the payment of debts, for which it was made a Tender, and has convulsed the State nearly to a civil War. In N. York it has but just made its appearance but is not a tender provided the Creditor will not bring Suit, or in other words, it gives a letter of licence until the Debtor can dispose of his property, and *run away*. There is at present no marks of depreciation; but in the decline of Commerce & distress of Merchants, who Dare do no business upon Credit, symptoms of bad consequences are plain. In Jersey, its age is about the same as that of New York, and its operation the same also—its effects must of Consequence be in concord. In So. Carolina it is in age much older than any of these before mentioned, its operation and effects the same, and is depreciated to the degree of 25 per Cent notwithstanding the most oppressive associations for the support of it, such as no Government, much less a free one, should afford occasion for. In No. Carolina, where it had existed for three years a tender, to the banishment of Commerce into Virga., Government has past an Act which eventually acknowledges a depreciation of near 100 per Cent—That is to say in directing a quantity of Tobo. to be purchased the price of 50/ per Ct. is allowed, when the specie price is but 25 or 30/. In Pennsylvania it has been in circulation near two years, and although it is in no sense made a tender, as well as managed with tolerable attention

to the principles of finance in respect to a limitation of quantity and seasonable and certain redemption, it is now as low as 10 per Cent under the Value of specie. You will understand me as not denying the practicability of emitting paper money to the advantage of the State and so managing it as to preserve its Value—but I say none of the American States can now do it—our people are not in habits to afford a scheme of that sort fair play—from the instances of the five States first named, it is evinced that paper money, once emitted, our legislatures will prevent it from its proper use, and carry it to the aid, of fraud and injustice, losing Sight of every principle of Management upon which it can promote the convenience of honest Men—from the instance of the latter, it stands evinced that the people have not Sufficiently got clear of the Smarts of the injuries which the old emissions, during the War inflicted, to place a confidence in any thing carrying the same external features. A few words now as to the true policy of Virga. under the whole State of American politics in this business of paper money. Whatever might have appeared proper formerly, it certainly would now be highly impolitic for her to come into the measures. I observe that wherever paper is thrown into circulation, and has in any degree the force of a tender, unless it is the legitimate offspring of specie, it will for ever banish the latter, and with it commerce. Now in case of such an abandonment of the other States, where will they go so naturally as to Virga. Where is the great Staple demanded by all the markets in Europe. I am convinced that if Virga will but have reflection and fortitude enough to act for herself, and keep out of the Current of Madness which has seized upon the other States, she will in the course of next year experience a happy return of a flourishing Commerce and plenty of hard Cash. Indeed Sir, I think it is in her power from her pre-eminence and weight in the Union to set an example which may yet restore the empire to the fair pursuits of justice, economy, and industry. It is really to be regretted that the different legislatures seem rather solicitous to fabricate schemes of fraud and indle [idle] speculations amongst the people, than to establish the good of the Country upon Wholesome and just Laws: could our attention be once turned upon this object those resources in which we abound for an advantageous commerce would be brought forth by industry & their product nourished by economy—but so long as the prospects of our people are flattered by the idle speculations which all paper systems hold up—and so long as there is a forbearance of Laws to make them just. We shall remain the contempt of the World. Should you find as much leisure as to favor me with a line upon this or any other subject you may be assured it will afford me much pleasure to receive it.

I am dr Sir, with great regard, Your Afft Hl St,

Ed. Carrington²

RC (CtY: Betts Collection). Endorsed: "Carrington Colo. Edwd., abt. Fr Thornton's & Jas. Lewis's Certificates sent him by J Mercer to get allowed for their use."

¹ Recipient's identity conjectured from the letter's endorsement.

² In 1786 Carrington submitted three expense accounts for £213.12.0 for 89 days service, February 1 to April 30; £220.16.0 for 92 days, May 1 to July 31; and £220.16.0 for 92 days, August 1 to October 31. Continental Congress Papers, Vi. Despite his claim of delegate service from February 1, Carrington did not actually take his seat in Congress until March 3. See *JCC*, 30:93.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York Sept. 1. 1786.

Sometime since I was appointed of the Committee to attend the Pena. Assembly, contrary to my wishes, & not being able to extricate myself (having apologiz'd in the first instance upon Mrs. Monroe's indisposition which was not admitted in expectation of her better health) am now under the necessity of attending.¹ The question was not I suppos'd taken upon the whole report of the Committee of the Whole—but upon the subsequent instruction as to the boundaries only. The President Stated it from the chair to be upon the whole, but the next day qualified it as meaning the whole then before the house, the other part being (as to the repeal) decided the day before. We suppos'd the question, having been taken upon the several amendments, had been, as stated above, afterwards taken on the whole.² It is enter'd in the journals as carried in the affirmative as to the repeal. A motion was made is the question carried? & laid aside by the previous question. It has since been made an order that we shall not move in form or substance any proposition which has been set aside by the previous question, unless the same number of States are present—the State of R. Island, being abt. to leave the floor which their delegation accordingly did immediately.³ I shall sit out for Phila. on Monday next—will you be there on my arrival? Sincerely yrs.

Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ For Monroe's and Rufus King's mission to Philadelphia, see King's Memorandum, September 13, note 2.

² Monroe was attempting to clarify a cryptic reference at the close of his August 30 letter to Madison concerning congressional action taken on the report of the committee of the whole on the Spanish treaty. Congress had considered the committee's two resolutions on August 28, repealing on the 29th the ultimatum in John Jay's instructions on free navigation of the Mississippi River. On the 30th the second resolution containing revised instructions regarding Spain's recognition of the U.S. boundaries specified in the peace treaty was defeated after complicated maneuvering. Monroe had mistakenly assumed that the August 30 vote was on the whole report not just the second resolution. See *JCC*, 31:609–13, 620–21.

³ Because the southern delegates continually reasserted the ultimatum on free navigation during debate August 28–30, Rufus King moved on August 31 the rule of order

explained here by Monroe which was adopted this day. See *ibid.* With the immediate departure of the Rhode Island delegation debate on the Spanish treaty effectively ended until April 1787.

Charles Thomson to John Sullivan

Dear Sir

New York Sept 2. 1786

I have the pleasure to inform you that yesterday¹ Congress passed a resolution recommending to the State of Newhampshire to pay you the sum of 4300 dollars in Compensation for the extraordinary expences to which you were exposed in the separate Commands and expeditions on which you were employed at sundry times while in the service of the United States. I herewith enclose you a copy of the Act for your private satisfaction.

In my public letter which accompanies this I have enclosed a copy to be communicated to the Legislature.²

With great Respect I am, Dear Sir, Your obedt humble Servt,
Cha Thomson

RC (DLC: Peter Force Miscellany).

¹ Actually the day before yesterday, for which see Samuel Livermore to Sullivan, August 31, note.

² The text of this enclosure in Thomson's letterbook reads:

"I have the honor of transmitting to Your Excellency herewith enclosed an act passed the 31st of last month by the United States in Congress Assembled, and which I have to request the favour of your Excellency to communicate to the Legislature of the State over which you preside. With the greatest respect, I have the honor &c. C.T." PCC, item 18B, fol. 90.

Rufus King to Jonathan Jackson

Dear Sir,

New York 3. Sep. 1786

Mr. Cabots information relative to the Spanish commercial regulations is very satisfactory; I find it corresponds with the best accounts I have been able to collect on the Subject, & Mr. Gardoqui himself confirms it.

A Treaty with Spain is at this Time a desirable Event; If the present situation is preferable to a rupture with Spain a Treaty between us must not be long delayed—the boundaries of their and our Territories, remain to be ascertained; they claim extensive Tracts of country within the Limits of the united States as fixed by the Treaty of Peace & Freindship with Great Britain; we insist on the right of freely navigating the Mississippi from its source to the Ocean. They deny this right and refuse us the navigation where both banks are in the possession

of Spain—the Rapid Settlement of the western country, more particularly on the Ohio and that Part of Georgia, which is adjacent to the Mississippi, urges a decision of these interfering claims and Pretensions. As Time is more favorable to young than old nations, policy would warrant Delay—but these western adventurers will not suffer it—they at this time hold a bold language, are yearly making almost incredible accessions of Strength, and their own particular interest is to them as to all others the active principle of their Conduct. If therefore our Disputes with Spain are not settled, we shall be obliged either wholly to give up the western Settlers or join *them* in an issue of Force with the Catholic King; the latter we are in no condition to think of, the former would be impolitic for many Reasons, and cannot with Safety be *now* admitted, although very few men who have examined the subject will refuse their assent to the Opinion that every Citizen of the Atlantic States, who emigrates to the westward of the Allegany is a total Loss to our confederacy.

Nature has severed the two countries by a vast and extensive chain of mountains, interest and convenience will keep them separate, and the feeble policy of our disjointed Government will not be able to unite them. For these reasons I have ever been opposed to encouragements of western emigrants—the States situated on the Atlantic are not sufficiently populous, and loosing our men, is loosing our greatest Source of Wealth.

But what is wealth in Governments imperfect as ours are? indeed my Dr. Sir, your opinions on this subject are but too well founded—and you may be assured that the ablest and most discerning men in these States, are anxiously affected with the Difficulties which you so feelingly & properly describe. What can be done is the Question—the answer is various. Some say, and the opinion is extensive, infuse a new portion of Strength into the confederation and all will be well. But it should be remembered that the pressure of a common Calamity which induced the present confederation is now removed, that the individual States are governed by their particular Interests; these stand, or are supposed to stand, in Opposition to each other, and, so long as the Idea obtains, will prevent Unanimity in any Opinion concerning the Corroboration of the Federal Constitution.

Others, and by no means the least respectable, answer, that nothing can be done in our present Form; that the Error lies in the original plan. Diminish say they the Number of States—let those which are to be Established be nearly equal. Reform their Constitutions, give their Governments more Energy—the Laws more Stability, the Magistrates greater Authority and Responsibility—Let the State Governments be confined to concerns merely internal: and let there be a federal Government with a vigorous Executive, wise Legislative, and independent Judicial—they tell you that a League or confederation between

so many small, and unequal, Sovereignities never did, or can, answer the views of its Patrons—they illustrate, by affirming that the Greek Republics were finally melted down, and united, under one Head—that in France and Spain, which were formerly each divided into as many independent States or Sovereignities, as they now contain Provinces, the People did not find their Happiness in these small Divisions, but sought it under their present form—that the Heptarchy, or seven Saxon Kingdoms, of England were finally united by Egbert, and that peace & Happiness then succeeded to Treasons, insurrections, & Wars, which made up the History of that famed Confederacy.

It must not be understood that these Remarks authorize an Opinion that a monarchy would promote the Happiness of the people of America¹—far, very far, from it. But they show this; if wise & prudent men discerning the Imperfections of the present Governments, do not in Season and without Fear, propose suitable Remedies, the causes which changed the Governments alluded to may, and probably will, change those of America. Since a convention must assemble at Annapolis I am glad that Delegates will attend from Massachusetts. I hope extraordinary as the measure is, that it may issue more favorably than I have ever expected.

Neither Chancellor Livingston nor Mr. Duane will attend; they are very little concerned in the politicks of the present Times. Mr. Madison of Virginia has been here for some Time past, he will attend the convention. He does not discover or propose any other Plan than that of investing congress with full powers for the Regulation of commerce Foreign, & domestic.² But this power will run deep into the Authorities of the individual States, and can never be well exercised without a federal Judicial—the reform must necessarily be extensive.

I will not add on these subjects. We must wait Events. I hoped long before this to have been in Boston with Mrs. King. But we are yet to be delayed. Mr. Sedgwick left us a few days since on account of his Health. I cannot break up the Representation of the State, which would be the case in my Absence. I wait the Return of Mr. Dane.³ Be pleased to present my respectful compliments to Mrs. Jackson, & be assured that I am with high Respect, Dr. Sir your obt. and very humble Servt.,

Rufus King

RC (MHi: Lee Family Papers).

¹ Historians were once fascinated with the idea of monarchical tendencies in the United States, seizing upon a number of statements and rhetorical flourishes gleaned from the correspondence of several founding fathers. As King and his colleague Nathaniel Gorham had been linked with such sentiments, Edmund C. Burnett discussed the issue at this point in his edition of congressional correspondence, explaining that "King's remark is one among many indications that the idea of establishing a monarchy in America was in circulation at that time, although perhaps only in whispers." Burnett, *Letters*, 8:459n.3. The principal sources cited in this brief discussion were Richard Krauel, "Prince Henry of Prussia and the Regency of the United States, 1786,"

AHR 17 (October 1911): 44–51; Louise B. Dunbar, *A Study of "Monarchical" Tendencies in the United States from 1776 to 1801* (1922; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1970); and a forthcoming biography by John M. Palmer, *General von Steuben* (1937; reprint ed., Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1966).

Krauel had discovered the draft of a letter from Prince Henry, the brother of Frederick the Great and a patron of Steuben, in the Prussian Hausarchiv in Charlottenburg, undated but written in reply to a missing November 2, 1786, letter from Steuben concerning fundamental changes that were likely to take place soon in the government of the United States. Speculating on "what could impel Steuben and his friends to such a communication with a Prussian prince," Krauel conjectured that Steuben had enclosed to the prince a letter presumed to have been written by Nathaniel Gorham—"wherein the latter, according to the memorandum of Rufus King, is said to have invited the prince to come to the United States as king, if the American people should decide to give themselves a constitution according to the English pattern." King's memorandum, dated May 10, 1824, actually reads: "Col. Miller this evening said to me, speaking of Mr. Pr[esident] Monroe that he had told him that Mr. Gorham, formerly President of Congress, had written a letter to Prince Henry, brother of the great Frederic, desiring him to come to the U.S. to be their King, and that the Prince had declined by informing Mr. Gorham that the Americans had shown so much determination agt. their old King, that they woud. not readily submit to a new one; Mr. Monroe adding that Genl. Armstrong had given him this information and that the papers or correspondence was in the hands of General Hull.

"This communication arose from the letter of Monroe to General Jackson, expressing his opinion that among the Federalists of the time of Genl. Washington, were persons in favor of Monarchy!!!" King, *Correspondence* (King), 6:643–44.

In the 80 plus years since Krauel wrote, no evidence to document this story has been found. The likelihood that President Gorham wrote such a letter is greatly diminished by the fact that no presidential letters of any description by Gorham are known and that his presidency expired within four days of the date of the date of Steuben's letter to Prince Henry. No discussion of the subject is even hinted in any of the surviving congressional correspondence and much of the documentation originally used to support Krauel's conjectures dates from three or four decades after the fact and originates with persons reporting second or third hand information.

² For Madison's views on and role in calling the Annapolis Convention, see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:115–19.

³ Nathan Dane returned to his seat in Congress September 13. *JCC*, 31:646, 650, 652.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York Sept. 3. 1786.

In my last I advis'd you of the point to wh. seven States had brought the business. After repealing the instruction in part, entering the repeal affirmatively, setting aside a motion requiring the sense of Congress whether the repeal was valid so as to give a new instruction by 7 States, by the previous question, & passing an order to prevent our moving it again untill they shod. have the same number of States on the floor, on their part the thing was complete. I inform'd you also of our propositions & the number of States for them—it was on Friday last that they clos'd the business.¹ It has been propos'd by some of the gentn. on ours to notify Mr. Jay of the opinion of the 5 States but I

think we shall not do this.² He is possess'd of course of our sentiments in the official way; to communicate them otherwise than thro the journals might have an intemperate & factious appearance. We have as yet done nothing but under the constitution & almost in all cases the rules of the house, nor shall we I apprehend. Some gentn. on their side hinted their determination to withdraw if the question shod. be brought on as to the validity of the repeal. Whether we shall take any other step is undecided. I doubt the propriety of so doing further than moving for permission to transmit copies of the journals to the States for their information & to obtn. instructions to their delegations.³ I shod. suppose the Secry. wou. not proceed untill he finds himself supported by the States to whom the 7 delegations belong. Upon Jersey & Pena. then it rests. To engage their leading men is now the object.⁴ Most probably he has already consulted them but his consultations & those of his party I doubt not have been founded on partial representations. To remove their impression a view of the journals may be necessary. I consider the party especially Jay & the principal advocates as having gone too far to retreat. They must either carry the measure or be disgrac'd (as the principal already hath been by the vote of 5 States), & sooner than suffer this they will labour to break the Union. I therefore suspect they have been already (and indeed have too much reason for my suspicions) intriguing with the principal men in these States to effect that end in the last resort. They have even sought a dismembermt. to the Potowmack & those of the party here have been sounding those in office thus far.⁵ To defeat the measure therefore completely we must follow their mov'ments & counteract them every where, advise the leading men of their designs, the purposes they are meant to serve &c, and in event of the worst extremity prepare them for an union with the southern States. I fear some of those in Pena. will have a contrary affection—but it must be remov'd if possible. A knowledge that she was on our side wou. blow this whole intrigue in the air. To bring this abt. therefore is an important object to the Southern interest. If a dismembermt. takes place that State must not be added to the eastern scale. It were as well to use force to prevent it as to defend ourselves afterwards.⁶ I consider the convention of Annapolis as a most important æra in our affrs. The Eastern men be assur'd mean it as leading further than the object originally comprehended. If they do not obtain that things shall be arrang'd to suit them in every respect, their intrigues will extend to the objects I have suggested above. Pena. is their object. Upon succeeding or failing with her will they gain or lose confidence. I doubt not the emissaries of foreign countries will be on the ground. In short I do consider this convention as requiring your utmost exertions, in the change things will infallibly take, as well to obtain good as to prevent mischief. Mr. Randolph will I hope devote himself to the publick

upon this occasion & not suffer himself to be taken off by his professional pursuits before the convention dissolves. I write you freely without the cover of a cypher knowing you have not yours with you. Indeed I fear nothing to the publick or myself from a publication, for I am satisfied if the publick were acquainted with the conduct of these unworthy servants their consequence woud. be of but short duration. Prevail I beg of you on Colo. Mason to attend the convention. It will give him data to act on afterwards in the State.

Very sincerely I am yr. friend & servt., Jas. Monroe

[P.S.] I have always consider'd the regulation of trade in the hands of the US as necessary to preserve the union—without it, it will infallibly tumble to pieces—but I earnestly wish the admission of a few additional States into the confederacy in the southern scale.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Endorsed by Madison: "Design of the Eastern states, in certain contingencies, to dismember the union by the line of the Potomac."

¹ See Monroe to Madison, September 1.

² For evidence that such an "opinion" had already been drafted, see the following entry.

³ For the failure of Charles Pinckney's September 28 motion to lift the injunction of secrecy on the Spanish negotiations and allow the delegates to communicate with the states, see *JCC*, 31:697.

⁴ For earlier attempts to sway New Jersey's John Witherspoon and Pennsylvania's Arthur St. Clair and James Wilson toward the southern position, see Monroe to Madison, August [11], note 2.

⁵ Cf. Theodore Sedgwick to Caleb Strong, August 6; Monroe to Patrick Henry, August 12; and Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, August 19, note 11.

⁶ Monroe's apprehensions over the intentions of the eastern delegates had their counterpart in French chargé Louis-Guillaume Otto's summary of congressional conflict during the Jay-Gardoqui negotiations. In his September 10 dispatch to the comte de Vergennes, which is in *Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères: Correspondence politique, États-Unis*, 32:65–71, Otto included the following assessment (in translation) of southern motivation in the affair:

"The negotiations relating to the treaty of commerce with Spain, of which I had the honor to give you an account in my last despatch, have since been the constant subject of the deliberations of congress. The southern states had vainly flattered themselves that they could detach Pennsylvania and New Jersey from the league of the North; they have, however, proposed the mediation of his Majesty and the plan by which New Orleans is designated as a commercial *entrepôt* for all the commodities of the interior. The only change which they made in it consisted in giving full instructions to Mr. Carmichael to open negotiations at Madrid instead of sending Jefferson there. This project has met serious opposition from the states of the North. As to the navigation of the Mississippi, they remarked that, far from being advantageous to the confederation, it would only serve to separate from the United States all the interior country; that the inhabitants of Kentucky, no longer feeling the necessity of maintaining commercial connections with the maritime states, and having, furthermore, a policy entirely different from that of their neighbors, would only think of rendering themselves wholly independent of congress as of a sovereign body from which they could derive no benefit; that the fertility of those countries would insensibly attract the most industrious inhabitants of the northern states, who would not hesitate an instant to exchange the arid rocks of Massachusetts and of New Hampshire for the smiling plains of the Ohio and the Mississippi; that a limited population spread over an immense surface would weaken the springs of the government, and that anarchy and discord would inevitably

arise from this state of affairs; that the policy of congress ought to be to strengthen more and more the maritime states, and to await the time when the surplus of population would flow toward the interior; that, independently of all these motives, care should be taken to avoid exciting the jealousy of the savage hordes which still infest those lands; that a war with one of these perfidious nations, in the present exhausted state of the finances, would be one of the greatest calamities; that the possessions of the United States were already of too great extent, and that their territory ought to be reduced rather than augmented beyond all proportion; that, moreover, the court of Spain did not appear in the least disposed to give up the navigation of the Mississippi; that by insisting on this article would only irritate his Catholic Majesty and render him less disposed to yield on the most essential parts of the treaty. For these reasons it was necessary not only to reject the plan of mediation proposed by the southern states, but to recall the ultimatum which proposed the opening of the Mississippi as a condition *sine qua non*. Not confining themselves to simple arguments, the delegates of the North at once made a motion to repeal this clause of the ultimatum, and to authorize Mr. Jay to conclude with the Spanish minister. Seven states having given their sanction to the change in the instructions, the motion was passed in the form of a *resolution*. The five southern states protested against this measure, which they called illegal; they proved that, according to the articles of the confederation, the consent of nine states was necessary to give instructions concerning the conclusion of a treaty; those instructions could not be revoked by seven states only; that a proceeding so extraordinary threatened the total overthrow of the constitution, and that even if Mr. Jay should be able to sign such a treaty with Don Diego de Gardoqui, they would never consent to the ratification of such a treaty; that in regard to the western country it would be useless to insist on the necessity of restricting the territory of the United States; that the fertile plains of the interior would always attract a considerable number of the inhabitants of the different states, and it would be easier to stay a torrent than the constant flow of this population; that everybody knew the restless spirit of a people ever urged on by necessity, and eager to change home and climate; and that the colonists of the rich countries of the West, having no facilities for exporting the surplus of their produce by way of the Mississippi, would finally without fail come to an understanding with England, in order to obtain an outlet by the lakes and the river St. Lawrence.

"All these arguments made not the least impression upon the northern delegates; but the position of Mr. Jay becomes very embarrassing. The instructions given by seven states not being constitutional, he cannot conclude his treaty without encountering bitter reproaches from the five southern states, who loudly accuse him of having by all sorts of intrigues directed the actions of the northern delegates, in order not to suffer the negotiation to slip from his hand. They even threaten to displace him, or at least to give him two assistants. On the other hand, this minister cannot refuse to execute the orders of a party of which he is himself the most zealous partisan, without losing his popularity and influence. Whatever Mr. Jay's conduct may be, it is to be feared that this discussion will cause a great coolness between the two parties, and may be the germ of a future separation of the southern states.

"Mr. Gardoqui affects the greatest indifference about these negotiations. Recognising the instability of the American governments, the weakness of congress, and the continual fluctuation of political principles, he sees no necessity of concluding a treaty which his Catholic Majesty can easily do without. He has often said to me that in spite of all the precautions of the government it would be impossible to prevent contraband trade and other disorders which the Americans would not fail to cause; that it was of infinite importance to his court not to encourage establishments on the Mississippi which might one day become neighbors so much the more dangerous for the Spanish possessions, since even in their present weakness they were already conceiving vast schemes for the conquest of the western bank of the river; that the savages would always form the best barrier between the two nations; and that nothing better could be done than to leave matters on their present footing.

"I have had the honor thus far of explaining to you merely the ostensible arguments of the two parties; but a long acquaintance with the affairs of this country authorizes me, perhaps, to divine the secret motives of the heat with which each state supports its opinion in an affair which does not appear of enough importance to disturb their harmony. The southern states are not in earnest when they assert that without the navigation of the Mississippi the inhabitants of the interior will seek an outlet by way of the lakes, and will throw themselves into the arms of England. They know too well the aversion of their compatriots for that power, and the difficulty of conveying heavy cargoes through the rivers which lead to Canada. But the true motive of this vigorous opposition is to be found in the great preponderance of the northern states, eager to incline the balance toward their side; the southern neglect no opportunity of increasing the population and importance of the western territory, and of drawing thither by degrees the inhabitants of New England, whose ungrateful soil only too much favors emigration. Rhode Island, especially, has already suffered considerably from the new establishments of Ohio, and a great number of families daily leave their homes to seek lands more fertile and a less rigorous climate. This emigration doubly enfeebles New England, since on the one hand it deprives her of industrious citizens, and on the other it adds to the population of the southern states. These new territories will gradually form themselves into separate governments; they will have their representatives in congress, and will augment greatly the mass of the southern states. All these considerations make evident to the delegates from the South the necessity of promoting by all sorts of means their establishments in the West, and from this point of view a treaty with Spain appears to them most desirable. But if this treaty contains only stipulations in favor of the northern fisheries, far from strengthening themselves against the too great preponderance of the northern states, they would furnish them with new arms, by increasing their prosperity and the extension of their commerce.

"The conduct of this thorny negotiation is in the hands of Mr. Jay." George Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1882), 2:389-93.

Charles Pinckney's Draft Letter to John Jay

Sir,

New-York [September 3?] 1786¹

We are to inform you that we consider the resolutions of the 20 July & 25 August 1785 as still in full force & that you are bound to adhere to the restrictions and limitations therein contained as the partial repeal of the restraining clause being carried by only seven states, we do not conceive the Question ought to have been considered in any other light than that of having been lost. Nine states being necessary under the confederation to authorize the entering into treaties, the same are certainly necessary to alter, amend or enlarge the powers of the negociator, and as the repeal of the restraining clause in your instructions had a tendency to enlarge and alter your powers, so we suppose your own good sense will dictate to you the impropriety as well as danger of proceeding upon any other principles than those of stipulating, the free navigation of the Mississippi and the fixing the territorial limits agreeable to the treaty with Great Britain. As the repeal however may be transmitted you without intelligence of the manner & Authority by which it was carried we conceive it our duty to give you

this information and to say that if you proceed we shall consider you as proceeding upon powers incompetent and unconstitutional and that we shall not hold the states we represent, bound to ratify or attend to any treaty you may form upon the supposed Opinion of having been released from the restrictions abovementioned by the partial repeal of seven states.

FC (DLC: Madison Papers). In the hand of Charles Pinckney. Endorsed by Madison: "to be addressed to Mr. Jay. Secy of For. Affrs."

¹ This letter was apparently drafted by Pinckney soon after the end of debate on the Spanish treaty (September 1) as a warning to John Jay that the southern delegates continued to regard the ultimatum on Mississippi navigation as valid, despite its rejection by seven states, and that any treaty negotiated by him that ignored his earlier instructions would not be ratified by Congress. Other members of the southern bloc, however, thought the letter too bold a threat, for which see the preceding entry, note 2, and it was never sent. Monroe apparently enclosed this copy of Pinckney's draft letter in his September 3 letter to Madison, in whose collection of papers it is located, though at the end of the 1786 documents rather than with Monroe's letter. Cf. Burnett, *Letters*, 8:460n.3, and Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:114n.2.

Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell

Dear Sir.

New York, September 4th. 1786.

The public business make slow advances owing principally to an unhappy division between the Eastern and southern delegates on a treaty with Spain the particulars is Confined to the Cabinet. I am exceeding Anxious to have your Opinion on the subject and shall endeavour to obtain leave for that purpose, the opposition is like to become serious, both appear firm and immoveable and seven States seem determined to carry on the business whilst the five Southern States oppose with a Uniform exertion, how the Matter will terminate is quite uncertain, two states have left Congress Rhode Island and Newhamphshire, all Other Business Seems to be out of View at present. Prior to this unhappy dispute the additional powers to the Confederation was reported by the Grand committee, which now appear out of View and Some Gentlemen urge the measure will be useless. If the present plan is carried into execution, as it will introduce a necessity for a different Government if Seven States can carry on a treaty or in other words will persist in the Measure, it follows of Course, that the Confederated compact is no more than a rope of Sand and if a more efficient Government is not obtained, desolution of the Union must take place. We have also had under consideration a Colonial Government for the Western Country which remains unfinished, the Particulars if I mistake not was mentioned in A former letter.¹

I am sorry to hear our paper Money has depreciated, the Currency of New York is yet equal to silver, how long it will Continue in that

State is uncertain, the Jersey currency is also good within the limits of the state but in this City they make a discount of 15 per cent for that Currency. Rhode Island yet remains in the utmost Confusion about their paper Money, the Mercantile Interest will not suffer it to pass notwithstanding the heavy penalties inflicted by the Acts. We have had a very Moderate Summer, & the people in general are healthy. It gives me pain to mention to your Excellency my personal disadvantages. The Naval Stores which I brought with me remain unsold, nor do I see the least probability of disposing of it for money, a Method here prevails of bartering for that Article; which does not answer my purpose. Have been exceeding a[n]xious for the return of Colo. Blount at which period I was desirous to return as the state wou'd be unrepresented, my Colleague² and myself have not been absent one hour at any time since we took our Seats in Congress. Hope your Excellency will suffer me to return this fall that I may have in my power to make better preparation against the ensuing Spring. I remain with Sentiments of real Esteem, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Very Humble servant,

Timothy Bloodworth³

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

¹ While Bloodworth touched on the draft ordinance for western government in his letter of August 16 (note 4), he did not give "the Particulars."

² Bloodworth's colleague, James White, also commented on the difficulties he was experiencing in meeting his delegate expenses, in the following September 14 note to John Gray Blount. "Your kind attention to making the earliest, & best advantage of the warrants deserves my thanks. I seem to be unfortunate in not being able to get any money immediately; but, on the other hand, I congratulate myself in the friendly assistance that is likely to turn the unpromising business to its present expectation." Blount Papers, Nc-Ar.

³ Bloodworth also signed a receipt this day for the following "list of papers belonging to George Fisher" received from the office of the secretary of Congress, undoubtedly in connection with his appointment to a committee on a July 20 petition from Fisher, for which see *JCC*, 30:423n, 31:573n; and *PCC*, item 41, 3:338-43.

"An account current with the United State for depreciation.	No. 1.
"A Revisal of account Current.	No. 2.
"An account Current with Commissary Genl. Trumbull.	No. 3.
"A Certificate Mr. Clarkson Secy. P.T. dated May 2d, 1781.	No. 4.
"A Letter from Mr. Burrall to the Board of Treasury, May 24, 1785.	No. 5.
"An Account Current with Peter Colt.	No. 6.
"A Letter 15th May 1782 from Mr. Duane to G. Fisher	No. 7.
"A Letter 22 July 1786 from G.F. to Committee of Congress.	No. 8.
"A Contract between Peter Colt & G. Fisher 17th Jany. 1778.	No. 9.
"A Resolution Congress Jany. 5th, 1781.	No. 10.
"A Letter from P. Colt May 27th 1781 to George Fisher.	No. 11."
PCC Miscellaneous Papers, M332, reel 9, fol. 179.	

Charles Pettit to John Nicholson

Sir

5 Sept. 1786

The inclosed Note or Certificate No. 120, signed Benja. Walker & dated New York 31 July 1786 for the Payment of 92 36/90 Ds. from the U.S. to Mary Cawfield, was put into my hands by Mary Cawfield to procure a Certificate from the State of Pennsa. for the like Sum drawing Intt. from the 1st of Augt. 1783.

She grounds her Claim to this Exchange on the following State of her Case which I believe to be true from the Information of Dr. Cochran & others—That she came from Ireland—served her Time with a Person (whose Name I have forgot) at Easton—was then hired & in the Service of one of the Hospital Doctors while the Army lay at Valley Forge—After some Time this Doctor (I forget his Name also) put her into the Service of the Army Hospital, in which service she continued to the End of the War & for which she obtained this Certificate, but was discharged in the State of New York.¹

If this intitles her to the Exchange, as I conceive it does, I request you will please to give me a State Certife. for her.

I am Sir, Yr. most huml Servt.,

Cha. Pettit²

RC (PHi: Graz Collection).

¹ Mary Cawfield's name does not appear in the surviving records of Congress, but for a suggestive hospital return submitted July 23, 1781, by Dr. John Cochran, Director General of Hospitals, recording the positions of the 36 matrons and nurses "employed at present. . . in the different Hospitals," see PCC, item 22, fol. 63.

² Pettit wrote this letter in Philadelphia during an interlude of about five weeks away from Congress, ca. August 18 to September 26. Cf. *JCC*, 31:520, 535, 687, 690, 696. During this period he also wrote a letter dated "Philada. 12th Sept. 1786" to the Philadelphia printer and publisher Mathew Carey concerning his "personal Acquaintance" with the late Nathanael Greene, under whom Pettit had served as assistant quartermaster general, 1778–80. "His penetration & Judgment were," Pettit explained, "as you justly mention, superior to those of most Men, and his Thirst for Knowledge was very great; but it appeared to me that his acquired Knowledge arose more from desultory Reading and cursory Observation after he became engaged in Business than from Systematic Studies in youth. He was himself sensible of the Deficiency of his Education in this Respect, but instead of discouraging, it stimulated him to greater Industry & strong Exertions of his natural Talents. His Manner & Address, tho' abounding in Marks of Benevolence & other essential Qualities of Politeness, shewed little of the polish of the Dancing School or the Ball Room." Lea & Febiger Collection, PHi.

the conveyance of the mail, and to make arrangements, for establishing certain Cross posts therein mentioned.¹

I am, Sir &c. &c.

C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Ebenezer Hazard, P[ost] M[aster] G[eneral].

¹ For the debate on and adoption of this September 4 "Act," see *JCC*, 31:518–20, 524n, 529–31, 563n, 629–30.

Henry Lee to George Washington

My dear Genl.

New York Sept. 8h 1786

By Col. Humphrey I had the pleasure to receive your letter acknowledging the receipt of the china account paid here by me,¹ and at the same time got one hundred and fifty dollars payment in full for the money advanced. Before this Mr. Gardoqui's box must have reached you; it was sent to the care of Mr. C. Lee in Alexandria and I hope your china has also got to hand. It had left this for Norfolk addressed to Colo. Parker before your letter expecting the mode of conveyance got to me, or I should have obeyed your wishes.

The period seems to be fast approaching when the people of these U. States must determine to establish a permanent capable government or submit to the horrors of anarchy and licentiousness. How wise would it be, how happy for us all, if this change could be made in friendship, and conducted by reason. But such is the tardiness of the virtuous and worthy part of society in matters of this importance, and such the concert & zeal of the vicious, that it is to be apprehended that wickedness and audacity will triumph over honor & honesty. The enclosed proclamation just come to hand will shew you the temper of the eastern people²—it is not confined to one state or to one part of a state, but pervades the whole. The decay of their commerce leaves the lower order unemployed, idleness in this body, and the intriguing exe[r]tions of another class whose desperate fortunes are remediable only by the ruin of society produce schemes portending the dissolution of order & good government. Weak and feeble government are not adequate to resist such high handed offences. Is it not then strange that the sober part of mankind will continue to prefer this incertitude & precariousness, because their jealousys are alarmed and their envy excited when they see the officers of the nation possessing that power which is indispensably necessary to chastise vice and reward virtue. But thus it is, and thus it has been, and from hence it follows that almost every nation we read off, have drank deep of the miserys which flow from despotism or licentiousness—the happy medium is difficult in practice.

I am very unhappy to hear by Mr Shaw that your health declines; I must hope he is mistaken and cannot help thinking so, as Col.

Humphreys tells me that you look very hearty, and use vigorous exercise. If the Potomac navigation proceeds in the manner these gentlemen mention, it is another strong evidence that difficultys vanish as they are approached, and will be a strong argument among the politicians, a favor of the Spanish treaty and the occlusion of the Mississippi. Mrs. Lee joins me in most respectful compliments to Mount-Vernon.

With unceasing and affectionate attachment, I am dear gentl your
Most Ob l ser, Henry Lee Junr.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ Not found.

² That is, Gov. James Bowdoin's September 2 proclamation denouncing the insurrection led by Luke Day in Northampton Co., Mass., which appeared in the *New York Daily Advertiser* on September 9.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

Phila. Sepr. 12. 1786.

I arriv'd here a few days since to press on the legislature of this State a seperation of the impost from the supple[menta]l funds. I have the most satisfactory evidence they will reject the proposition. We proceed therefore further merely to discharge our duty—both parties are united in opposition to it. To morrow we shall be recd. by the legislature.¹ I am sorry I came on the business.

Before this you have recd. my letters informing of the subsequent progress & final close of the business which lately engagd us in Congress;² or rather so far as it depended on their direction. By agreement nothing was to be done in it untill our return. I expect to sit out back in a day or two. It will depend much on the opinion of Jersey & Pena. as to the mov'ments of Jay, and that of Jersey much on that of Mr. Clark now with you at Annapolis. He put Hornblower in Congress & may turn him out agn., for he has no positive weight of his own. Clark has always been anxious for taking the western lands from us. I shod. suppose him inclin'd to turn it to the best acct. I conclude therefore that if he knows the delegation, especially his part of it, pursue a system of policy so contrary to his own, & to what is in effect the interest of his country, he wod. dismiss Mr. Hornblower. Perhaps you may be able to hint to Mr. Clark that Jersey except Symes was with the eastern States upon this occasion.³ Mr. Henry of the Maryld. delegation has referr'd Mr. Stone⁴ to you for information upon this subject by my request. Mr. Stone is my friend and a very upright sensible man. You will shew him what part of my letters you find necessary. The ablest men here believe & act on it, in the rejection of the proposi-

tion, that the refusal to sepearate the 2 parts of the system⁵ endangers the govt.—and that it will most probably induce a change of some kind or other. It is well for the southern States to act with great circumspection & to be prepar'd for every possible event—to stand well with the middle states especially. I sincerely wish you to suffer no anxiety and to put yourself to no inconvenience upon our private affair. I have no occasion for the money untill abt. the 5 or 10th of Octr. to help to remove me to Virga.—and even then it will be in my power to do without it, with tolerable convenience, if you shod. find it inconvenient to command it. Believe me it will put me to no inconvenience. My engagments are but few & those within my controul. Let me hear from you as often as possible. Remember me to Colo. Tucker & his lady, to the rest of yr. Colleagues & to Mr Stone & believe me sincerely yr. friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe.

[P.S.] Colo. Grayson came with me in the interval to relax from business & meet his lady here. She is with him—but unfortunately he is afflicted with an extry. disease. The phisicians differ in the name. He is often delirious—is afflicted with st[r]ange fancies & apprehensions—in the morning he is better, than in the latter end of the day & night, at wh. time his infirmity rages. It is suppos'd by some to be the floating gout. Shippen calls it a bilious affection of the nerves. The very close attention he hath lately paid to business with the laborious exercise of the mind & the want of that of the body I fear hath given birth to it. To day he hath been better than heretofore.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ For Monroe's and Rufus King's mission to the Pennsylvania assembly, see King's Memorandum, September 13.

² That is, concerning the repeal of John Jay's instructions governing his negotiations with Diego de Gardoqui on the navigation of the Mississippi. See Monroe to Madison, September 1 and 3.

³ For information on Madison's discussion with Clark on this issue, see Abraham Clark to Madison, November 23, 1786.

⁴ That is, former Maryland delegate Thomas Stone.

⁵ That is, the separation of the impost from the granting of supplemental funds, the subject with which Monroe began his letter.

Edward Carrington to James Monroe

Dr Sir,

New York Sept. 13. 1786

I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 10th Instant¹ and immediately sent to Mrs. Monroe that which was covered for her. Colo. Graysons indisposition gave me, upon the receipt of your letter, some alarm and much concern: both have, however been somewhat allevi-

ated by the information of Genl St Clair who left Phila. on Monday Morning, and says he had got much better—his meeting Mrs. G——² was luck; I hope they will be able to proceed to New York immediately and their arrival will releive me of great anxiety on his account. I am sorry to find by your letter that my apprehensions of the issue of your Mission are to be realized.³ Congress will certainly lose some ground in the confidence, as well of foreigners, as Citizens, by such a failure in an application to a State, and the probability of such an event, and certainty of the consequences gave rise to my objections to the Measure. The business of the Accounts is still before the Committee⁴ in which we have now a Majority dependant on a report leading to justice, and the Minority are rather relaxing in their ideas of contracted powers—they have intirely yielded to the necessity & propriety of liberating the Commissioners from defined modes of evidence. I shall however endeavour to carry the report in the full latitude of my proposition, as to the principles of the claims, however unnecessary they may be for us, that we may in the house, have something to sacrafice to the pertinacity of some Gentlemen in the business of Opposition, for the preservation of more useful & necessary things. I spent Sunday, as I have almost every ev'ning since your departure, with the Family at the Sycamores,⁵ and have the pleasure to inform you that all are well there except Mr. Kortright wh[o] is somewhat better than wh[en] you left him. I shall write to Grayson by this opportunity.⁶ I am dr Sir, Your Affte. Hl St.,
Ed. Carrington

P.S. May I ask the favor, of you to call on Colo. Pickering, if he is in Phila., for some papers which he is to send me—they will be bulky & are of great consequence.

RC (DLC: Monroe Papers).

¹ Not found.

² That is, Eleanor Smallwood Grayson.

³ For the mission of Monroe and Rufus King to the Pennsylvania assembly, see the following entry.

⁴ That is, the committee appointed August 9 on Rufus King's motion to replace the commissioners appointed to settle accounts between the United States and the individual states with a board of three for that purpose. *JCC*, 31:508n. For the adoption of an ordinance to that effect, see Charles Thomson to the States, October 16.

⁵ Apparently the family seat of Laurence Kortright whose daughter Monroe had married on February 16, for which see Monroe to James Madison, February 11, note 3.

⁶ Not found.

Rufus King's Memorandum

[September 13, 1786]¹

Monroe and I were sent to the Legislature at Phila. The requisition of supplies for the general Treasury were ill complied with, and owing

to their insufficiency, the numerous Claimants often went empty away; but such of them as belonged to the States, which were the most punctual in paying into the Treasury their quotas, complained that strangers were paid, when they were dismissed unpaid. In this disorder of the finances, Pennsylvania, which had paid her quota more freely than many others, adopted certain regulations, according to wh. instead of paying her quota into the general Treasury, she assumed to distribute it among her own citizens, holding claims on the general Treasury.² This assumption increased the financial embarrassment of Congress, and, if followed, would have put an end to all the contributions from the other States.

To remonstrate against this course of proceeding by Penna. M. and myself were deputed to her Legislature. Genl. Mifflin was the Speaker of the House, it being before their present Constn., their Legislature consisted only of a single body—Being first named in the mission, it was in course that I should deliver the remonstrance. I had taken a good deal of pains to examine and arrange the matter of my discourse, and having acquired some reputation, felt unusual Solicitude that my performance should not disappoint any expectations that might have existed. The doors of the Legislature were open and the House very full—I had scarcely risen from my chair and addressed the Speaker, before all my thoughts were scattered and my power to recall them wholly gone. Confused and mortified, I had nothing left but to turn to my Colleague, who was sitting by me, and to ask him to take my place wh. he did and I sat down. Monroe went on and presented the views wh. he entertained on the subject. During his Speaking I rallied and recalled my scattered thoughts, became composed, and when Monroe finished, I again presented myself and went thro' my discourse without trepidation and to my own satisfaction.³

Reprinted from King, *Correspondence* (King), 1:127.

¹ King's memorandum concerns his appearance this day with James Monroe before the Pennsylvania Assembly, but internal evidence clearly indicates that it was written at a later date, certainly after the adoption of "their present Const[itutio]n" (of 1790) which he mentions, and perhaps much later, as his expression of the purpose of the mission is somewhat confused.

During his mission to Philadelphia with Monroe, King also wrote the following note, dated "Saturday 9 Sept. 1786, City Tavern," to Pennsylvania Council President Benjamin Franklin. "Mr. King presents his respectful compliments to his Excellency B. Franklin Esq. and is extremely sorry that an engagement of Mrs. King's, not known to him yesterday, will deny him the Pleasure & Honor of complying with his engagement to dine with his Excellency on Thursday next." Franklin Papers, PPAmP.

² On July 27, 1786, Congress resolved to appoint a committee to draft an ordinance "to carry into effect the system of impost recommended to the several states for their adoption," which would be implemented as soon as New York approved the impost and Pennsylvania and Delaware made crucial revisions in their authorizing acts. And on August 11 Congress adopted the committee's recommendation to send a committee to confer with the Pennsylvania legislature—"to explain . . . the embarrassed state of the public finances, and to recommend . . . repeal [of] the clause in her Act granting the

impost, which suspends its operation until all the states shall have granted the supplementary funds." King and Monroe were named to this committee on August 14. See *JCC*, 30:443–44, 31:505n, 508, 511–13, 515.

The two apparently left New York for Philadelphia on September 6, the day Secretary Thomson recorded in his journal that Massachusetts was represented only by King's colleague Nathaniel Gorham (*JCC*, 31:638). A letter from King and Monroe (not found), enclosing a copy of the congressional resolution explaining their charge, was read to the Pennsylvania Assembly on September 11 and referred to a committee appointed to confer with them, and on the following day the assembly ordered that the two be received "tomorrow." The assembly journal for September 13 reports simply that King and Monroe "made the communication with which they were charged from the Honorable the United States in Congress assembled," but the following day a committee consisting of George Clymer, William Findley, Thomas FitzSimons, Robert Morris, John Smiley, Robert Whitehill, and Joseph Work, was appointed "on the several papers relative to the mission of the committee of Congress." The matter was concluded when the assembly adopted the following committee report and proposed resolution on September 21.

"That your committee have paid serious attention to the important facts which have been stated by the Honorable Delegates, and to the reasons and arguments which they have advanced, as well as to the measure recommended by the United States, and after mature consideration they are unanimously of opinion, that it is necessary to the welfare of these states, that speedy and effectual measures be taken for enabling the federal government to perform their engagements.

"That an immediate compliance with the recommendation abovementioned would involve a breach of the faith of this state, pledged to the public creditors, citizens thereof, unless at the same time some further and other funds were provided for the payment of the interest due, and which shall become due to them.

"That it is impracticable for this House, now so near the period of its dissolution, to provide funds, or make any arrangements which may be necessary in order to comply with the recommendation of Congress.

"Your committee therefore propose the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That it be, and it hereby is warmly and earnestly recommended to the next House of Assembly, to pay an early attention to the abovementioned resolution of Congress, and to take such measures as shall to them in their wisdom seem most expedient for supporting the faith of this commonwealth, and enabling the United States in Congress to perform their engagements." See *Minutes of the Third Session of the Tenth General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, DLC(ESR), pp. 300, 304, 306, 313, 315–16; and PCC, item 69, 2:557–60.

³ One eye witness of this day's proceedings, Philadelphia County assemblyman Henry Hill, later recorded the following observations on King's performance before the assembly.

"I lately had the pleasure of hearing Mr. King's harangue to our Assembly, on the Subject of the Commission with which he & Mr. Monro were charged by Congress. It was truly, to the best of my judgment adapted to insure applause even from an Attic Audience.

"Virginia appeared in the most advantageous light. Should her liberal support of the Union be Withdrawn, & Pennsylv. refuse her's—he represented with wonderful effect what would become of our State regulations—of the renown of our heroes & patriots—they would all be swept away—and utterly lost!

"The impression made on the House in favor of the point 'suppliated' was remarkably tho' tacitly confess'd and had the Members individually been question'd on the Spot whether the impost should be granted without reserve no one doubts it would have succeeded. They chose however on cool deliberation to refer the important business to the next Assembly. Whether or not such a measure is practicable appears very doubtful." Hill to George Washington, October 1, 1786, Washington Papers, DLC.

South Carolina Delegates to William Moultrie

Sir, Duplicate New York Sepr. 15th. 1786.

Your Excellcy. will herewith receive the proceedings of Congress relative to the appointment & meeting of the federal court to terminate the territorial dispute between us and the State of Georgia which is fixed to be holden in this City on the third Monday in June next¹—the reasons which have induced the determination of Congress to so distant a day and our conduct in this business we beg leave to detail.

When the second Monday in May arrived, which was the day appointed for the agents to meet,² we had received no other information than our appointment as agents, and the act of the State under which the agents were appointed; which law also appointed commissioners for an amicable adjustment of the difference. The agents for Georgia did not arrive until the very morning of the day on which we were to appear.³ From them we learned, that their legislature had adjourned a few days before the intention of our State for an amicable adjustment was known; but they had no doubt but their State would cheerfully adopt the measure. Believing from the law of our State that it would be most agreeable to our constituents, we agreed to postpone the business for one week, in hope of receiving further information on the subject, but none arriving & still holding the opinion that it would be most consonant to the wishes of our Legislature to have the matter amicably settled—the Legislature of Georgia being also to meet in July, and having no doubt at that time that they would have coincided in opinion with our Legislature in having the matter determined by mutual agreement we consented to a further postponement until the first Monday in September.

From this time we have exerted ourselves by every possible means to bring the matter to a speedy decision, by offering the agents of Georgia (first consulting the Council of our State on these points) to appoint the Judges in this City or its vicinity so that they might the sooner be convened, and of entering into an agreement with them relative to the admission of evidence & further offering them, as we could not agree on the day for holding the court, to leave that matter to Congress, as your Excellcy. will perceive in the papers No. 1 & 2⁴—but their State having made no arrangement for coming to trial by providing funds, delay became their duty & by not concurring with us in a day & proposing none earlier than May we were obliged having received no instructions on this head to adopt the only mode left us, that of an application to Congress. The reasons which appeared to us to operate with that body to determine as they have done were—

1st. The act of our State appointing Commissioners for an amicable adjustment of the dispute and no official information that Georgia had not agreed to such mode.

2d. The unprepared situation of Georgia—for holding this court to be one of the greatest refinements of national policy, they conceived it necessary to give no cause to that State for complaint, as by hurrying them into a premature defence they might do, and thereby bring into dispute the decision of the court.

3d. The little hope there was of conveying information to & receiving acceptances from the gentlemen appointed, by so early a day as that we contended for.

Finding we could not obtain the day we so earnestly contended for we thought it best to get the time now mentioned, because that not only our own courts, but those of Pennsylvania and Maryland will be over and as judges of both these States are on the court, there will be a greater prospect of their accepting & by that means bringing the matter to a decision.

In prosecuting this business we take the liberty to mention to your Excellency we have not only found it very troublesome & fatiguing but entirely out of that line which our duty as delegates calls upon us to transact—besides we are informed that those persons who have heretofore been appointed by States having territorial disputes, have always had an allowance made them adequate to their trouble—added to which and it is with sorrow we mention it, the great loss in exchanging the paper of our State into money that will subsist us here has reduced our salaries as delegates so as to render it wholly inadequate to our maintenance—the least loss that we have suffered being 25 pr Cent.

Trusting that your Excellency will do whatever is right & proper and that you will be convinced that not only every exertion on our part has been but shall be made in the further prosecuting this matter,

We have the honor to be, Your Excellencies Most Obt. hum. Servts.

John Kean

Charles Pinckney

RC (ScCoAH: Governor's Messages). Written by Kean and signed by Kean and Pinckney.

¹ See the following entry.

² For Congress' resolution of June 1, 1785, fixing this date, see *JCC*, 28:408–10. See also these *Letters*, 22:427n.1.

³ For the appearance of William Few and William Houstoun of Georgia on May 8, see *JCC*, 30:238.

⁴ Not found.

Charles Thomson to the Judges for the Georgia-South Carolina Boundary Dispute

Sir (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, September 15. 1786.

I have the honor to transmit to you herewith enclosed a Copy of the

proceeding of Congress in the appointment of a Court for hearing and determining a matter in question between the States of South Carolina and Georgia, by which you will be duly informed and notified that you are a Member of the Court and that it is summoned to meet at the City of New York on the third Monday in June next.¹ As this Court is constituted in the manner pointed out in the 9th of the Articles of Confederation by nomination, striking out and by lot, and as the said Article declares that, "the persons whose names shall be so drawn or any five of them shall be Commissioners or Judges to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination." Congress rely on your acceptance and attendance of which you will be pleased to transmit notice to this Office as soon as convenient.

I have the honor to be &c.,

C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Honbl. Alex. Contee Hanson Esq, Annapolis, James Madison, Virginia, Robt. Goldsborough, Talbot County, Eastern Shore Maryland (a duplicate sent to him at Annapolis), James Duane, New York, Philemon Dickinson, Trenton (New Jersey), John Dickinson, Wilmington (Delaware), Thomas McKean, Philadelphia, Egbert Benson, New York, William Pynchon, Salem (Massachusetts)."

¹ For Thomson's enclosures, copies of congressional proceedings dated September 4, 11, 13, and 14, see *JCC*, 31:622–29, 642, 650–54. For the background of this Georgia-South Carolina boundary dispute and the origin of Congress' involvement in its settlement, which was eventually resolved bi-laterally without convening this proposed federal court, see these *Letters*, 22:427n.1. See also the preceding entry.

Rufus King to James Bowdoin

Sir

Philadelphia 17 Sep. 1786

I am here on a committee from congress, soliciting the legislature on the subject of Revenue,¹ the Temper of the Times, and the systems of many of the States, are very unfavorable to the honest & just views of the United States.

The Delegates from New York to the Annapolis convention passed through this place this morning on their return home—from them I learn that Delegates from only Five States assembled at Annapolis, that the powers of even these Five were materially different; and that from a consideration of the small number of States which had sent Delegates, but more especially since the Authorities of the Delegates assembled were so essentially different, and the original proposition made by Virginia so far short of the Reform which is necessary, they had agreed in a recommendation to the states that a convention of Delegates should be held at Philadelphia in May next for the purpose of a *general Revision* of the confederation, and a Report to Congress, and also to the several Legislatures.²

As the post leaves this city this Evening, I could not excuse myself in not communicating this information; probably however the Gentlemen from Massachusetts will by this post possess you of a more particular & circumstantial account, than it is in my power to transmit.

Foreign nations had been notified of this convention, the Freinds to a good federal Government through these states looked to it with anxiety & Hope; the History of it, will not be more agreeable to the former, than it must be seriously painful to the latter.

With perfect Respect I have the Honor to be Sir, your Obt. and very Hble Serv.,
Rufus King

RC (NN: Emmet Collection, no. 9446).

¹ See King to Nathan Dane, August 17, note 2; and King's Memorandum, September 13.

² The September 14 report of the commissioners to the Annapolis Convention, which contained the information summarized here by King, was transmitted to Congress with a letter of the same date from John Dickinson, chairman of the convention. See *JCC*, 31:678–80; and *PCC*, item 78, 8:187–94. The report was submitted on October 11 to a grand committee consisting of Nathan Dane, Nathan Miller, Jonathan Sturges, Melancton Smith, Lambert Cadwalader, Charles Pettit, John Henry, Edward Carrington, John Bull, and William Few, which was renewed February 12, 1787. See *JCC*, 770n; and *PCC*, item 190, fol. 127. The original proceedings of the Annapolis Convention, which vary only slightly from the "copy" submitted with the commissioners' report, are also in the *PCC* (*PCC Miscellaneous Papers*, M332, reel 10, fols. 104–10), but were not submitted by Dickinson to the United States government until December 1803. See Howard H. Wehmann, "The 'Lost' Records of the Annapolis Convention, 1786–1986," *Manuscripts* 38 (Spring 1986): 101–4.

For the election of delegates to the convention, see King to Jonathan Jackson, June 11, note 1. For the movement to amend the Articles of Confederation, and a collection of related documents, see Jensen, *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, 1:176–85, 13:29–34. See also Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:684–90; Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:115–27; and Mervin B. Whealy, "'The Revolution is not Over': The Annapolis Convention of 1786," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 81 (Fall 1986): 228–40.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My dear friend,

Philadelphia 17 Sep. 1786

I am here soliciting the legislative to separate the Impost from the plan of supplemental Funds—but with what Success is very uncertain. Mr. Cushing, Mr. Dana & Mr. Breck passed through this place on Thursday last for Annapolis, and may be expected here again this Evening; the Delegates from New York called on me this morning on their way home, Five States only having assembled, and agreed to recommend a convention at this place in May next for the Object of a general Revision of the Confederation—thus you see the Termination

of this project of Virginia. What events are to determine the condition of our country are unknown or in the volume of Futurity—Be assured that the very worst is reasonably to be apprehended. I am distressed with the Temper and disposition of the counties in Massachusetts. If the affair at Worcester is as we hear, our situation is unfortunate indeed.¹ If the Government has not Energy & Strength sufficient to seize, try, and punish the Ringleaders of these measures, all must be given up to lawless influence; our Revolution will be our misfortune and the *cause of America*, which we have thought to be the cause of Freedom and Humanity, will be the Scorn of nations.

I wish I could see the Captain General of Massachusetts himself, at the Head of the Forces of the State. I am confident of this, if the lawful authority does not quell these Traiterous proceedings that our Government must be ruined.

Farewel,

R. King

RC (Mrs. Elsie O. and Mr. Philip D. Sang, River Forest, Ill., 1981).

¹ For the resort to arms by Shaysites to stop the courts in several Massachusetts counties in August and September, 1786, see David P. Szatmary, *Shays' Rebellion, The Making of an Agrarian Insurrection* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), pp. 58–59.

John Bayard to John Nicholson

Dear Sir,

New York Sept. 18th. 1786.

I received your Letter of the fourteenth by Post—before this reaches you Mr. Milligan will be in Philada. with powers from the Treasury Board to settle Mr. Morris's Accounts with You, and in case You cannot agree, to join in chusing an umpire.¹

I hope this will bring the dispute to a proper Issue. I expect to have the pleasure of seeing You in Philada. the latter End of next Week—in the mean time, I am with sincere Regard and Esteem, Dear Sir, Your Freind & Hble Servt.,

John Bayard²

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Addressed: "John Nicholson Esqr., Comptroller Genl. of the State of Pennsylvania, In Philadelphia."

¹ For the background of this issue, and Congress' September 5 resolve authorizing the board of treasury to settle Robert Morris' accounts with Pennsylvania, see Charles Pettit to Nicholson, February 11; and *JCC*, 31:634–35.

² This day also a report was submitted to Congress by the committee appointed on September 6 "To form a system of Etiquette to be observed at the court of the U.S.," which was a renewal of a committee appointed August 19, 1785, on motions by Elbridge Gerry "respecting title and rank of Members of Congress" and by Charles Pinckney "respecting robes." See *JCC*, 29:649n, 31:639n, 665–66.

Georgia Delegates to John Jay

Sept 20th 1786

A Controversy now pending, between the States of South Carolina and Georgia, respecting Jurisdiction and territory, which is shortly to be determined by A federal Court;¹ makes it necessary for the Under written Agents of the State of Georgia, to request the favor of the Honble. Mr Jay to inform them, whither he possesses any documents that will show, there was ever A temporary or fixed line admitted as A boundary between Florida and Carolina, by the Kings of Great Britain and Spain in consequence of A Convention agreed on by them the day of January 1739, for that purpose; and also how far, and on what principle Spain extended her territorial claim up the River Mississippi on the Southeast side, at any time before the last war, and how far Great Britain expressly, or tacitly, admitted such claim: or whither by any treaties, or other means, before that period, it could be determined, in whose right, that territory or tract of land *was*, which lies between A line runing West from the head or source of the South branch of the River Alatomaha to the Mississippi, and the thirty first degree of North latitude.

The said Agents, will be extreemly obliged to Mr Jay for any information he may please to give them on these subjects.²

Wm Houstoun

W Few

RC (James S. Copley Library, La Jolla, California). Written by Few and signed by Few and Houstoun.

¹ See Charles Thomson to the Judges for the Georgia-South Carolina Boundary Dispute, September 15.

² This letter was not recorded in the daily journal of the office of the secretary for foreign affairs (PCC, item 127, fols. 23-25), and no record of any response to it has been found in the PCC.

Rufus King to Thomas Smith

Sir,

City Tavern 20. Sep. 1786

Upon farther reflection, I think you will do well to present a formal memorial to the supreme Executive of this State, representing the conduct of their Comptroller Genl. in exact conformity with the Facts as they have arisen, stating that you had fully informed the B. of Treasy. of the whole Transaction, & had recd. thire instructions in no Event to submit the Question in controversy between the U.S. & Pen. to the determination of the Judicial of the latter; that you had also

been instructed, in case the process of the C. Genl. shd. be farther urged, to claim the Interposition & Protection of the Executive of this state as an Officer of the U.S.¹

That in obedience to these instructions you did claim & require the interposition & protection of the Executive & laws of Pen. not as a Citizen of the sd. state, but as an Officer of the US.

If you will form or procure to be formed a memorial upon these Ideas, and show it to me I will with pleasure give you my Opinion of its propriety.

Yours &c,

Rufus King

RC (NIC: Noyes Collection).

¹ For the context of Smith's dispute with Pennsylvania comptroller general John Nicholson, see Pennsylvania delegates to Benjamin Franklin, July 26, note 1. In the course of this dispute, Nicholson had laid a property attachment on Smith, Continental loan office commissioner for Pennsylvania, to compel him "to give up to the State the full Sum of 390,000 Dollars in the New Emission of the 18th March, 1780." See *JCC*, 31:925–26; and Smith's correspondence with Nicholson and the board of treasury on this subject in *PCC*, item 139, fols. 339–40, 351–52, 435–43.

Smith had obviously solicited King's advice on this matter while the latter was in Philadelphia on a special congressional mission to the Pennsylvania Assembly.

New York Agents to Robert Yates and John Lansing

Sirs,

New York, Sepr. 22d. 1786.

We have received a Letter, dated the 7th Instant, from the Massachusetts Agents, with a Copy of the Act of the Legislature of that State, for determining the Controversy between the two States, otherwise than by a Fœderal Court, expressed nearly in the Words of our own Law.¹ They are pleased to offer Us New-port, Hartford or New Haven as the place of Conference, but think New-port the most eligible. A Voyage by Water in the approaching Season We do not approve and therefore have given them Notice that We consent to hold the Conference on Monday the 6th day of November next at the City of Hartford in Connecticut. We have also assigned Monday the 16th of October next at this City for a general Meeting of our Agents to prepare for the Conference, when and where We earnestly press for Your punctual Attendance, being of Opinion that it is indispensable that the Period between that day and our setting out should be employed in investigating the Subject, and making up our own Judgments.

You will observe that by our Law, the Consent of five, out of the Seven, Agents is necessary to any Compromise which may be pro-

the context of this issue and discussion of several of the challenges facing the Continental post office at this time, see Wesley E. Rich, *The History of the United States Post Office to the Year 1829* (1924; reprint ed., Lawrence, Mass.: Quarterman Publications, 1977), pp. 60–64. For other aspects of the paper money problem in Rhode Island, see Rhode Island Delegates to John Collins, September 28, note 5.

Rufus King to John Avery

Sir,

New York 24 Sep. 1786

I have been honored with your letter of the 28th day of June last, notifying me of my Election as a delegate to serve in congress for one year to commence on the first Monday of November next.¹ I pray you to assure the General Court that I am truly sensible of the Honor of this appointment—that impressed with the difficulties, and Embarrassments, as well of the united States, as of the individual states composing the Confederacy, I foresee the arduous labors, which they must attempt, who at this period engage in the public Service;

But these considerations do not discourage me, I cheerfully accept the Office; and only lament, that my Abilities are not equal to my love for my country, and to my earnest desire to promote her freedom & happiness.²

With perfect respect, I am Sir, your obt. & very Humble Servt.,

Rufus King

RC (M–Ar: Unpassed Senate Documents). Addressed: “John Avery Junr. Esquire, Secretary of the commonwealth of Massachusetts. Boston.”

¹ For this election of Massachusetts delegates, see King to Elbridge Gerry, July 2, note 2.

² A similar letter of acceptance from King’s colleague Nathan Dane dated October 2 is also in the collection of Unpassed Senate Documents, M–Ar.

Charles Pinckney to John Jay

Sir

New-York September 24. 1786.

I do myself the honour to inclose you a copy of the scheme & of the convention as signed by you, the motives & reasons which occasioned the alteration will prove a considerable aid to the Committee¹ in deliberating upon this business (& your obliging me with them should your recollection enable you to afford it, your doing so.)

FC (DNA: PCC, item 55). In the hand of Charles Pinckney.

¹ That is, the committee of five chaired by William Samuel Johnson and including Pinckney appointed September 12 to consider Jay’s August 18 report of a draft letter to Thomas Jefferson directing him to renegotiate the consular convention between the United States and France originally negotiated by Benjamin Franklin in July 1784. Jay

had long felt that Franklin had deviated significantly from his instructions of January 1782 by granting excessive immunities and privileges to French consuls at the expense of American sovereignty and had recommended in July 1785 that the convention not be ratified. According to Charles Thomson's committee book, the committee was discharged October 2, but Jay's draft instructions to Jefferson, the January 1782 "Scheme of a Convention," and the July 1784 convention were entered on the journals October 3, the same day that Jay forwarded them to Jefferson together with his July 1785 report explaining the differences between the scheme approved by Congress and the convention negotiated by Franklin. See *JCC*, 22:47–54, 29:500–515, 31:647–49, 712–35; *PCC*, item 190, fol. 121; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 10:430–31. See also Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry, April 30, 1786, note 3.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

Phila.¹ Sept. 25. 1786.

I arriv'd here the evening of the day I left you & found Mrs. Monroe & the family well. They desire to be remember'd to you. I think you mention'd you had not recd. the letter I had address'd you in answer to yours before you left Phila., the last from that place.² You express'd an uneasiness at failing to command such a sum, as might enable you to furnish me with the sum I advanc'd for you in the affr. of Taylor.³ I then desir'd & again repeat it, that you give yourself no anxiety upon this subject. Had it been convenient, & perfectly so, to remit it any time before I left this place it woud. been well—but I shod. have been unwilling & beg of you to act accordingly, to receive it, if it shod. expose you to the smallest inconvenience. I shall be able so to arrange my affrs. here as to accomodate your payment to me in Virga. & sometime hence to suit me. I have just taken my seat in Congress & know little of their proceedings. I shall write you again & constantly whilst you remn. in Phila. Make my best respects to Mrs. Trist & the family & be assur'd of the sincerity with which I am yr. friend & servant,

Jas. Monroe

RC (CtLHi: Ransom Collection, v. 31:100).

¹ That is, New York. Monroe's error is understandable since he had just returned from his mission to the Pennsylvania assembly and Madison was in Philadelphia at this time in the wake of the Annapolis Convention. See Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:133.

² That is, Monroe's letter of September 12 in answer to Madison's of August 31? See *ibid.*, p. 110.

³ See Monroe to Madison, July 15, note 2.

Charles Thomson to Jeremiah Wadsworth

Sir

Office of Secretary of Congress, Sept. 26th. 1786

I take leave to transmit to You herewith enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress Assembled of 1st Novr. 1783, grounded on

a letter from the late General Greene, by which you will perceive that it was the desire of General Greene as well as of Congress, that his letters and miscellaneous papers containing a history of the most material parts of the southern operations should be transcribed and preserved in this Office.¹

Immediately after the passing of this Act, I conversed with General Greene on the subject; and as it seemed to me proper that the person employed in this business should possess his confidence, I proposed to him, and he readily agreed to fix upon a suitable person, and set him about the work. The removal of his family to the southward, & his other necessary avocations having prevented his executing this business, and he being now unfortunately dead, it rests with his Executors to carry into effect, what he intended & wished to have done. I have conversed with Mr Rutledge on the subject, and he refers me to You.

I am anxious that this work should be compleated, and that speedily, because I find, as the General intimated in his letter to Congress, that Officers who served under him have occasion to refer to his letters & papers, and for this purpose sundry applications have been made to this Office.

But there is another motive which operates still more strongly. The regard I have for the memory of a Man who has performed such essential services to his country makes me most earnestly wish to preserve those documents which alone will enable some future historian to do justice to his merit, and transmit his fame to posterity.

If You will think proper to send the papers to me, I will immediately arrange them, and employ a clerk to copy into books such as relate to the southern operations and You may rely that whatever may be found among them touching his own particular affairs shall be carefully preserved and returned.

The favour of an answer as soon as convenient will much oblige, Sir,
Your Most Obedt. humble Servant, Cha Thomson

RC (Ct: Joseph Trumbull Papers). In the hand of Roger Alden and signed by Thomson.

¹ For the congressional authorization to preserve the papers of Gen. Nathanael Greene concerning the southern campaign, see *JCC*, 25:788–89; and these *Letters*, 21:138.

Rhode Island Delegates to John Collins

Sir, New York 28th Sept. [17]86

Permit your Delegates to address your Excellency in your official Character, and give you a short detail of the Business now before Congress, with some observations upon the present state of the Federal Government &ca., &ca.

An important national matter which has for some time past engaged the attention of Congress will, probably soon come into public view. That body have now before them a report of a grand Committee for granting to your federal Government additional powers necessary to render it efficient, this, after the subject has undergone the necessary investigations, will be laid before the respective Legislatures.¹ An ordinance for the establishing a Colonial Government in the western territory is also nearly compleated;² as also for the establishment of a Mint for the United States,³ with many other matters of less magnitude.

Your Delegates wish to be informed whether the Accounts of the State against the U.S. are ready for adjustment, Mr Chinn having informed the Treasury board that they are not ready; nor can they be got ready for a long time.⁴ As that Gentleman's Salary still goes on, your Delegates wish to be possessed of such official documents as may set that subject in its true point of view.

It is highly necessary that all payments made by the State, to the federal Government, whether on Requisitions or otherwise, should be carried to its Credit on the books of the Treasury, therefore all these accomps ought, without loss of time, to be sent forward.

Your Excellency will be made acquainted, by Congress, that no paper, emitted by the States, will answer federal purposes. Will not this evince it to be mistaken policy, in our Legislature, to order payments, for the late requisition, in their own paper currency?⁵

When Gentlemen reflect, but for a moment, on the exhausted state of the federal treasury; that no monies are expected but what come in from requisitions on the different States; that these are either all stopped, or so slow in their operations, that nothing can be calculated upon with certainty; that the moment is arrived that our Credit with foreign powers is *lost*; that an enemy on our frontiers stands prepared to take every advantage of our prostrate situation; that an enemy more despicable is embarrassing our most beneficial commerce, and carrying our fellow cittizens into Slavery for life (about thirty at present being in that unhappy Situation)⁶ does it require the spirit of prophecy to predict what will, & must inevitably be the consequence? Or will arguments be necessary to draw forth the most vigorous exertions of every friend to American Liberty, to arrest the sacred Palladium, & prevent our total ruin as a Nation?

Amidst, however, these gloomy scenes, we have the pleasure to inform you that her Majesty of Portugal, has ordered a squadron of 5 Sail of Men of War to cruise at the mouth of the Straits for the protection of her trade; & that she has ordered her officers to give the same protection to the American flagg, as to her own; of this her Minister has given official information to Mr Adams at the Court of London.⁷ An instance of Magnanimity this, which is worthy of imitation, & demands our grateful acknowledgements., as we have nothing better to offer her in payment.

While foreign potentates take such an interested part in our favour, does it not call for unanimity & exertions at home, amongst every class of our Citizens to rescue the commonwealth from impending ruin? Should not these considerations reconcile the Mercantile and landed Interests in the State of Rhode-Island & produce a repeal of those penal Laws, which have already convulsed, & still threaten ruin to the State?

It is now agreed by all that our federal Government is but a name; a meer shadow without any substance; and we think it our duty to inform the State that it is totally inefficient for the purposes of the Union; and that Congress, without being invested with more extensive powers, must prove totally nugatory. Should it be imagined that your Delegates, as individuals, wish for an increment of power, be assured that we hold ourselves servants of the State of Rhode Island, and in readiness to relinquish the exalted station in which you have placed us, & return with pleasure to the shade of retirement, provided we can see such a degree of energy infused into your federal Governmt. as may render it adequate to the great ends of its original Institution.

We need not, Sir, inform you how it wounds our feelings, in every company, as well as in the Gazette's to hear & see the proceedings of our Legislature burlesqued and ridiculed; and to find that Congress and all men of sober reflection reprobate, in the strongest terms, the principles which actuate our administration of Governmt. We are Citizens of Rhode Island & are most sensibly affected with every thing which militates to the dishonour of the State. Your Delegates further beg leave to observe that if those measures are continued, which have, for the last six months been pursued, in their opinion they will infallibly terminate in the ruin of the State; & have no inconsiderable share in the subversion of the Union.

We conclude, by observing that the necessary supplies for our support are expected, & will be provided by the Legislature, as we greatly need them, while we have The Honour to be, Your Excellency's Most obedient and Most humble Servts.,

James Manning

Nathan Miller

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors). Written by Nathan Miller and signed by Miller and Manning.

¹ For this report on amending the Articles of Confederation, see Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell, August 16, note 5.

² For the evolution of this ordinance, see James Monroe to John Jay, April 20, note.

³ See Charles Thomson's first letter to the states, October 21.

⁴ See James Manning to Nicholas Brown, July 15, note 4.

⁵ Rhode Island had struggled over various paper money proposals since early 1784 and embarked upon a policy of paper emissions following the 1786 elections which produced a political upheaval in the state and a clash with Continental authorities leading to her estrangement from the union. A letter from William Ellery, Continental loan office commissioner in Rhode Island, explaining that the state had made paper money receivable for Continental taxes in violation of congressional policy, was referred on Fri-

day September 15 to a committee whose report was submitted and adopted Monday September 18. Congress accordingly reaffirmed that "no payments, either in bills of credit or in any other mode than those pointed out by the said requisitions, can or ought to be admitted," and instructed the board of treasury to notify the states and loan office commissioners of this decision. See *JCC*, 21:662-64, 996. For an excellent discussion and analysis of Rhode Island's "Paper-Money Tangle," see Polishook, *Rhode Island and the Union*, pp. 119-80, especially pp. 119-29, 173-78.

⁶ That is, captives of the Barbary States.

⁷ This information was reported in John Adams' June 27 dispatch to John Jay, which was read in Congress September 26. "The Chevalier De Pinto, the Envoy of Portugal," Adams explained, "informed me, this day that he had received Instruction from his Court, to inform me, that the Queen his Mistress has sent a Squadron to cruise in the mouth of the Streights with Orders to protect all Vessels belonging to the United States of America equally with those of her own Subjects and that She would continue those Orders as long as they should be agreeable to Congress." See *JCC*, 32:16n; and *PCC*, item 84, 6:307.

Charles Thomson to William Hooper

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, September 28th. 1786

I have the honor to inform you that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts having by a petition to the United States in Congress Assembled prayed for a federal Court to decide a matter in controversy between the said Commonwealth and the state of New York Congress were pleased to assign a day for the appearance of the parties by their lawful Agents. Upon their Appearance they were directed to appoint by joint consent Commissioners to constitute a Court for hearing and determining the matter in question. They have accordingly agreed upon you¹ with the Honble. Thomas Johnson, George Wythe, George Read, Isaac Smith, William Patterson, Samuel Johnson, William Fleming and John Sitgreaves and desired that notice be given you that upon your acceptance a commission may be issued for constituting the Court. I am therefore to request the favour of an answer as soon as convenient, and am, Sir, With great respect, Your's &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Honble. William Hooper Esq, Hillsborough (N. Carolina)." Endorsed: "Dupte. sent 4 October 1786."

¹ Actually Hooper had been named to this position in the place of James Monroe, who had resigned his appointment, for which see *JCC*, 31:693; Monroe to Nathaniel Gorham, May 15; Massachusetts Delegates to James Duane, July 4, and to John Lowell, July 17; and Theodore Sedgwick to Duane, August 7, 1786. For information on how the protracted effort to name judges for deciding this controversy had already been overtaken by other developments, which led to a bi-lateral agreement between the two parties rather than a federal court decision, see New York Agents to Robert Yates and John Lansing, September 22, note.

Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell

Dear Sir

New York September 29th 1786

The enclos'd was handed to me by the Secretary of Congress with a request to forward it on to Your Excellency.¹ The publick Business make slow advances, & proceed in a Very Disagreeable Direction. The instr[uc]tion for a negociation with Spain has employd oure time principally ever since the 10th of August Last. The perticulars is confinde to secresy, which gives me great uneasiness, we have (that is the minority) endeavour'd to have the injuncion of secresy taken of, so far, as to communicate the perticulars to the Executives of oure States, but could not obtain Leave,² & I was oblig'd to suppress a letter which I had wrote on the subject, in confidence of obtaining Leave to communicate the perticulars to Your Excellency. This being the situation of affairs & not willing to forfeit my honour in Violating the rules of the house, have Long omitted writing any thing. The utmost warmth has appeard on this occation from each party, the Divition are seven states for the measure, & five against, & the Majority appears Determined to carry on the treaty at all events, & the minority as firmly fixt to oppose it in all its Stages, except Instructed to the contrary by their Different States. For my own part I think the president [precedent] Dangerous to the Liberties of the southern States. If seven states can barter any part of the Priveledges of the Different States, for any advantage whatsoever, there remains no security for any possession. It is wel known that the ballance of Power is now in the Eastern States, & they appear determined to keep it in that Direction. This to me is evident from all their Conduct, & in the present measure, if carried they will be favoured in their scheme. I shall think it my Duty to attend the assembly & lay the matter before them with the circumstances that attend the measure.³ All other business appears out of View, & I do not expect any thing of account will be don by the present Congress. We have endeavoured frequently to have som measures taken on the Indian treaties, & have had the subject refer'd to a committee, but they will not report as yet, & I fear no relief is intended, however shall urge it if possible.⁴ I am sorry to find Mr Blount does not intend to bring his family, we shall certainly be in want of an able representation the ensuing Year, & those that will give their steady attendance.⁵

I Remain with the highest Esteem & Regard, Your Excellencies
Most obedient & Very Humble servant, Timothy Bloodworth

RC (PHC: Roberts Autograph Collection).

¹ Not identified.

² The September 28 vote on Charles Pinckney's motion to lift the secrecy injunction was defeated six states to three, with Georgia divided and Maryland represented by only one delegate, New Hampshire and Delaware unrepresented. See *JCC*, 31:697.

³ See Bloodworth to the North Carolina Assembly, December 16, 1786.

⁴ On September 15 Henry Lee offered a motion written by Bloodworth, recommending appointment of a committee to examine "the late Treaty entered into with the Indians" recently protested by New York, North Carolina, and Georgia. It was referred to a committee of five chaired by Arthur St. Clair which was also to consider St. Clair's September 14 motion seeking to prohibit the states from levying war against the Indians in violation of existing treaties. St. Clair's motion was specifically aimed at Virginia which had, according to reports from Col. Josiah Harmar, raised "a considerable Force . . . with intent to levy War and commit Hostilities upon some of the Nations of Indians" with which the United States was at peace. See *JCC*, 31:656–58, 662; and PCC item 190, fol. 122. Confirmation of Harmar's reports came on October 16 when Robert Pemberton, assistant to Secretary at War Henry Knox, submitted to Congress May 15 Virginia Council resolves declaring a military expedition against the Wabash and other "inimical" Indian tribes "justifiable, necessary and . . . practicable," some proceedings of the Virginia officers in Kentucky, a lengthy letter of July 22 from J. M. P. Le gras to George Rogers Clark concerning a planned Indian attack on Vincennes, and reports from frontier settlers and the inspector of Continental troops, Maj. William North. The original committee considering Lee's and St. Clair's motions was renewed October 17 and directed also to consider Pemberton's letter and enclosures. See *JCC*, 31:885n; and PCC, item 150, 2:20–66, item 190, fol. 129. In its October 30 report the committee made four separate observations or recommendations: (1) that Virginia was "in perfect conformity to the Confederation" in protecting its citizens and that "the offensive operations commenced by the inhabitants of Kentucky are authorized by self preservation and their experience of the imbecility of the foederal government;" (2) that it was premature to judge conditions in North Carolina and Georgia until the new superintendent for Indian affairs for the southern department could report (for which see Bloodworth to Caswell, August 16, note 2, and Charles Thomson to James White, October 9, and Thomson to Certain States, October 11); (3) that to overcome the enmity of the Indians, which stemmed from the inability of government to compel British withdrawal from the western ports, federal troops should be stationed on Lake Erie at the mouths of the Cayahoga, Sandusky, and Miami rivers; and (4) that the Illinois settlers be assured that a government would be established there as soon as possible and, in the meantime, they should continue "united measures" to defend themselves. According to Secretary Thomson's Register of Reports, this report was never acted on, being merely "transferred" in November 1787 to a new list of reports on which no action had been taken. See *JCC*, 31:916–18, 33:746; and PCC, item 189, fols. 15–16.

⁵ In a letter of October 19 from Martinsborough, N.C., William Blount informed Caswell that "I shall set out from this on the 21st Instant for New-York so as to be there in Time to take my seat in Congress on the first Monday in November." Governors' Letterbooks, Nc-Ar.

Rufus King to Theodore Sedgwick

My Dear Sir,

New York 29 Sep. 1786

I intended to have written to you before I went to Pensylvania, but the constant engagements in which I was involved, denied me that

pleasure. The Affair which so long & so warmly employed the attention of congress was finally assented to by seven states.¹ By agreement the Record was Detained in the Hands of the President during the Time Mr. Monroe & myself were at Philadelphia—we returned but two or three Days ago—the record has been sent to the Office of Fn. Affairs, but so recently that nothing farther has yet been transacted.

Our mission was not attended with the immediate accession of Pennsylvania to the proposal of congress, but I hope has placed the business in such a situation, as will induce an early compliance.

I intend going to Boston in a few days, Brother Dane having very kindly returned and thereby afforded me an Opportunity to make this visit.

I suppose you was at Springfield on Tuesday, we are in most anxious expectation to learn the Events of that Day.

Sullivan appears to have conducted nobly in New Hampshire.² I pray God that moderation may soon succeed to the Tumult, and Disorder, which has prevailed in Massachusetts. It will be humiliating indeed, if the Blood & Treasure expended so gloriously by our country should establish our Disgrace and furnish just grounds of exultation to the Advocates of Tyranny and Dispotism.

I will write you again before I leave this place. Mrs. King joins me in sincere regards for you[r] happiness & welfare—and I beg you to be assured of the attachment of Dr Sir, Your's Affectionately,

R King

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

¹ That is, Congress resolved on August 29 by a vote of seven to five to repeal John Jay's instructions limiting his freedom to negotiate with Spain on the navigation of the Mississippi River. A motion to remove "the injunction of Secresy. . . respecting the Negotiation between the United States and his Catholic Majesty" failed by a vote of 6 to 3 on September 28. See 31:595–96, 694–97; and the preceding entry, note 2.

² That is, King highly approved the forceful action taken by Pres. John Sullivan against the armed New Hampshire men, the counterparts of the Shaysites in Massachusetts, who intimidated the New Hampshire General Court at Exeter September 20. See Charles P. Whittemore, *A General of the Revolution, John Sullivan of New Hampshire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 200–203.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York Sepr. 29. 1786

Since my last it has been propos'd that each delegation be at liberty to communicate to the legislature of the State to wh. they belong the project of Mr. Jay & the proceedings of Congress thereon & negativ'd.¹ The Journal has been handed to Mr. Jay—as yet he has said nothing nor have we information what course he means to take

except from those here in his party, who affirm he will proceed. I wrote some weeks since to Colo. Mason upon this subject, at the time I wrote Govr. Henry,² but have recd. no answer from him; from wh. circumstance as well as that of R. H. Lee's being in the opposite sentiment, there is room to conjecture he is not with us. R. H. L. I conclude has been influenc'd by Arthur who has been intrigng. on the other side to serve his own purposes, & leaving the business of the treasury bd. to Billy Duer.³ Bland is also in the assembly so that possibly the party in favor of this project may have advocates with us. I hope Colo. Grayson hath recover'd. Be so kind as make my best respects to himself & lady & believe me yr. friend & servt,

Jas. Monroe

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ See the preceding entry, note 1.

² Monroe's letter to George Mason has not been found, but see Monroe to Patrick Henry, August 12.

³ William Duer was secretary to the board of treasury.

Arthur St. Clair to Daniel St. Clair

[September ? 1786]¹

There is indeed a considerable degree of resemblance between epide-mical Diseases and popular Opinions—both appear from time to time to prevail for a while and gradually wear out. The prejudice against Lawyers is one of those Opinions which rages in America²—it formerly raged in England also, so much so that on one occasion they were excluded from Parliament, but the People thence as they will also do here returned to their Senses, and that Parliament has ever since been branded with the Epithet of the lacks learning Parliament, and Lord Coke who was certainly a very good Judge observes that in this Parliament not one good Law was made. It is to be observed that in free Countries where property is protected the Laws regulating property must necessarily be numerous and intricate as to render the profession necessary—it is a consequence of freedom and a price paid for that enviable situation and who would not pay it chearfully? In despotic Countries indeed, as there is no property there is no need for them, as a knowledge of the principles upon which Laws ought to be founded might be troublesome to the Prince who has reduced everything to the measure of his Will they are not suffered. It has been said, that in Prussia under the great Frederic who tho a most despotic Prince certainly loved his People and did much for the happiness of his Kingdom, there was but one Lawyer. It was his natural disposition to which the People were indebted for all the good he did them, and not to the Laws. The Controul they must have established over himself

was sufficient to prevent the Study of them. What has not France [. . .] of one owed to her Parliaments which were composed entirely of Lawyers. How much has the World been indebted to her Montesquieu, and will Americans forget that to the [advice?] given by her illustrious law Characters when the insidious designs of Britain found other Subjects enow to Countenance and assist in fastning the Chains they had prepared, the Liberty we now enjoy and a place among the Nations of the Earth was principally owing³

FC (O: St. Clair Papers). In the hand of Arthur St. Clair.

¹ Date conjectured—St. Clair was responding to a letter from his son Daniel dated “Near Norristown Sepr. 19th. 1786,” which is also in the St. Clair Papers at the Ohio State Library. Daniel St. Clair (1762–1833) had served as a lieutenant in his father’s 3d Pennsylvania Regiment, 1777–81. Frazer E. Wilson, *Arthur St. Clair, Rugged Ruler of the Old Northwest* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1944), pp. 8, 31, 233.

² Daniel had protested his father’s choice of a profession for him, the study of the law, announcing that he believed the profession of the soldier to be a more honorable one.

³ FC ends abruptly at this point.

Henry Lee to George Washington

Dear Genl.

[October 1? 1786]¹

I have not written to you for a long time having nothing important or agreable to communicate.

Nor have I now any thing agreable, but alas the reverse.

The commotions which have for some time past distracted the two eastern states, have risen in Massachusetts to an alarming height. In New Hampshire the firmness of their President the late General Sullivan has dissipated the troubles in that state.² I enclose a full narration of his decided conduct, and the effects which it produced.³ But affairs are in a very different situation in Massachusetts. After various insults to government, by stopping the courts of Sussex &c, the insurgents have in a very formidable shape taken possession of the town of Springfield, at which place the supreme court was sitting. The friends to government arrayed under the Militia general of the district Shephard in support [of] the court, but their exertions were not effectual. The court removed and broke up, the insurgents continue possessed, of the town & General Shepherd has retired to the United states Arsenal one mile from Springfield. This Arsenal contains a very important share of our munitions of war. Congress have sent their secretary of this department, General Knox, to take the best measures in his power in concert with government for the safety of the Arsenal. What renders the conduct of the insurgents more alarming is, that they behave with decency & manage with system, they are encamped and reg-

ularly supplied with provisions by their friends & have lately given orders to the delegates in Assembly from their particular towns, not to attend the meeting of the Legislature.

It must give you pleasure to hear in this very distressing scene, the late officers & soldiers are on the side of government unanimously. The Insurgents it is said are conducted by a Captain of the late army, who continued but a small period in service & possessed a very reputable character.⁴

This event produces much suggestion as to its causes. Some attribute it to the weight of taxes and the decay of commerce, which has produced universal idleness.

Others, to British Councils the vicinity of Vermont & the fondness for novelty which always has & ever will possess more or less influence on man. The next accounts will I hope produce favorable intelligence, but present appearances do not justify this hope.

Has your china arrived, & does it please Mrs Washington. Be pleased to present my best respects to her & accept the repetition of my unceasing regard with which, I have the honor to be most sincerely, Your ob ser,

Henry Lee Junr.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Endorsed by Washington: "The Honble. Henry Lee about 1st Octr. 1786."

¹ Date conjectured from the endorsement and Washington's reference to this letter in an October 31 reply as one of "the 1st." Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 29:33.

² See King to Theodore Sedgwick, September 29, note 2.

³ This "full narration" is not in the Washington Papers, DLC; but for an eye-witness account and discussion of the episode from the perspective of a participant, see Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions*, 11 (1906-7): 390-97; and Lynn W. Turner, *William Plumer of New Hampshire, 1759-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), pp. 22-25.

⁴ That is, Daniel Shays.

Rufus King to John Adams

Dear Sir,

New York 2. Oct. 1786

The convention proposed to have been held at Annapolis in the last month on the subject of commerce has terminated without credit, or prospect of having done much good.

I inclose you the report which they addressed to their constituents¹—they were founded in the Opinion that an adjustment of the commercial powers of the several States is intimately connected with the other Authorities of the Confederacy and of the respective states.

Whether the States will accede to the proposition of a convention at Philadelphia in May is yet uncertain. Congress I think will not interfere in such manner as to patronize the project; I am fully convinced

that Your Opinion is a just and political one, that congress can do all that a convention can, and certainly with more safety to original principles.² But we are now separating, the federal year will expire in a few weeks, and little public business will receive an examination before the assembling of the next congress.

With the highest Respect I have the Honor to be Dr. Sir your Obt. & very Hbl. Servt.,
Rufus King

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

¹ See *JCC*, 31:678–80; and King to James Bowdoin, September 17, note 2.

² In a June letter to King, Adams had written: "The proposed convention, it is to be hoped will do good; but I know not why Congress could not have done as well or better." King, *Correspondence* (King), 1:144n.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir

New Yk. Octr. 2. 1786

I have lately seen Taylor—he has a right to 4,000 acres of land in an undivided tract of 40,000 which he wishes to sell & will take six shillings pr. acre, at the time of concluding the bargn. & the balance 12 months afterwards. The tract is distinguish'd in the maps by the name of Funda's patent. It lies near fort Stanwix, adjoins the river above it & runs within two miles of the Mohawk down some miles below it. If I recollect the good lands abt. the fort, above & 20 miles below it extend further from the bank of the river than elsewhere or lower down. I do suppose the paymt. of the first sum might be put off untill Feby next. The lands of the Baron lie further I believe from the river & are for sale at 8./ pr. acre. I have it in contemplation to move to day that the report from Annapolis be referr'd to a Committee.¹ I am persuaded the Eastern States will not grant an unlimited commission, but wou. accede to it if its objects were defin'd, or rather this is the language of those whom they have here.² We mov'd that the injunction of secrecy be taken off & that each delegation be at liberty to communicate the proceedings on a certain subject to their legislature, which was negativ'd. The States in opposition were fearful of giving a dangerous wound by referring a subject to wh. they were competent in any degree to the view of their constituents, to the Confeder[a]tion.³ To prevent a ratification, to wh. poin[t] I apprehend they will bring it, will be a difficult thing. Mr Ramsay has recanted & join'd. Mr. Kean applauds the project & is with them & our worthy colleague⁴ altho' he votes generally with us at length speaks agnst us, & give[s] every opposition in his power. Sincerely yr. frien[d] & servant,
Jas Monroe

[P.S.] I shod. write Colo. Grayson but hope he is by this on his way here; if the contrary shod. be the case make my best respects to himself & family.

RC (NN). Reprinted from Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:138–39.

¹ There is no evidence in the journals or PCC that Monroe made such a motion. For the October 11 referral of the report to the committee, see Rufus King to James Bowdoin, September 17, note 2.

² See Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell, September 29, note 2.

³ That is, since Congress alone had responsibility for foreign policy, the delegates feared that the referral of Jay's instructions to the states would undermine the Confederation.

⁴ That is, Henry Lee, who with Nathaniel Ramsey of Maryland, James White of North Carolina, and William Houstoun of Georgia had voted against Charles Pinckney's first motion of September 28. John Kean of South Carolina was absent at that time. See *JCC*, 31:696.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir. (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, October 2d. 1786

Pursuant to Order, I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herewith enclosed a state of the representation in Congress for the Month of September to be communicated to the Legislature.¹

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For this enclosure and the 11 other monthly attendance lists sent to the states during the Congress of 1785–86, see Appendix.

Rufus King to John Adams

Dr Sir,

New York 3 Oct. 1786

You will undoubtedly hear much of the tumultuous and irregular conduct of a considerably numerous class of people in the western counties of Massachusetts. The same temper which appears to have collected these illegal Assemblies in Massachusetts, has shewn itself in New Hampshire, but General Sullivan, who is now President of that State, by very proper and decisive Measures has put an End to these unjustifiable proceedings in that country.¹ Perhaps in Massachusetts, considering the prostrate situation of our commerce, the Government have pressed the subject of Taxes, *of the direct Kind*, beyond what prudence would authorise; the amount of Taxes laid on the Citizens of that State, in one form and another, and for the purposes of the Union, the State, the counties, & towns, including the support of the

Clergy & the town schools, in the course of the year 1786, will not be less than the sum of One Million & a Half of Dollars; the whole of this Sum, excepting about 250, or, 300 Thousand Dollars which are raised by Imposts & Excises, must be raised from the People by an immediate and direct apportionment upon the Polls & Estates of the Inhabitants. Perhaps this Apportionment may be nearly equal to One third part of the Rents or income of the Estates of all the Inhabitants.²

The operation of these heavy Taxes, in connection with the pressure of the Creditors upon their Debtors for their private Demands has occasioned an Opposition to the judicial Courts in the Counties of, Middlesex, Bristol, Worcester, Hampshire & Berkshire; and the Opposition has been so considerable that in some of these counties, the lower court has been obliged to adjourn without doing any Business. The General Court are now sitting, and without Doubt they will pursue such Measures as shall redress all the real Greivances of the People, and establish the honor and Energy of our Government.

You will see this business greatly magnified, and Tories may rejoice. But all will be well.

With sincere Respect, Dr. Sir, Your Ob. & very Hbl. Servt.,
Rufus King

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

¹ See King to Theodore Sedgwick, September 29, note 2.

² For discussion of the incidence of taxation in Massachusetts during the 1780's, see Hall, *Politics Without Parties*, pp. 96-101, 118-19.

Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[October 4-13, 1786]

- October 4th. Transmitted to the States, 26 copies of Journals from
Augt. 8th to Sept. 20
Secy. f. Affrs. 4 do.
Secy at War. 1 do.
Board of Treasy. 4 do.
- Octr. 12th. Transmitted to the Office for foreign Affairs.
Letters from Mr Dumas—Febry. 24th, March 23d,
April 11th, April 23d, May 6th, 1786.¹
Letter from Mr Dumas—April 31st, 1786, and three
papers accompanying the same.²
- Octr. 13th. Transmitted to the Office for foreign Affairs.
Letters—from
John P. Jones Octr. 9th 1785.³
Mr Lamb Decr. 24th. do.⁴

Mr. D. Humphreys	24th. do. ⁵
Mr. Wm. Smith	6. do. ⁶
Mr. Carmichael	9th. 9th & 26th. do. ⁷
Mr Pintard	29th. do. ⁸
Count Florida blanca	Jany. 28th. 1786. ⁹
Mr Dumas	27th. do. ¹⁰
Extract from Monsr Castries	
to Mr de la Forest	Jany 22d. 1786. ¹¹
Mr Pintard	Feby. 5th. do. ¹²
Mr Adams	9th. do. ¹³
Mr Jefferson	March 5th. do. ¹⁴
Govr. of Madeira	18th. do. ¹⁵
David Beveridge	April 12th. do. ¹⁶
Mr Gardoques	May 18th. do. ¹⁷
Count de Galvez	Jany. 1st. do. ¹⁸
Mr Gardoques	May 22d. do. ¹⁹
Mr Van Berckel	May 10th. do. ²⁰
Mr Barclay	June 10th. do. ²¹
Mr Otto	— 12th. do. ²²
A List of Vessels arrived at Madeira ²³	
A. Fowler	May 24th. do. ²⁴

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, August 22-25, 1786.

¹ These letters are not in the PCC, but Dumas' drafts of them are in the Charles W. F. Dumas Collection, Inventaire II, fols. 782, 787-89, 796-97, 805-6, 810-13, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, DLC microfilm.

² Not found.

³ See PCC, item 168, 2:335.

⁴ PCC, item 91, fols. 475-78.

⁵ PCC, item 59, 3:97-101.

⁶ PCC, item 92, fols. 25-46.

⁷ William Carmichael's letter of December 9 is in PCC, item 88, fols. 424-28. The letter of the 9th that was continued on the 26th is in the PCC Miscellaneous Papers, M332, reel 2, fols. 90-93.

⁸ John M. Pintard's letter from Madeira is not in the PCC.

⁹ PCC, item 97, fols. 290-92.

¹⁰ The draft of this letter is in the Dumas Collection, Inventaire II, fols. 770-72.

¹¹ PCC, item 96, fols. 358-60.

¹² Not found.

¹³ PCC, item 84, 6:87-90.

¹⁴ Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 9:316-17.

¹⁵ Not found.

¹⁶ PCC, item 120, 2:270-75.

¹⁷ PCC, item 97, fol. 156.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 434-7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 156.

²⁰ PCC, item 99, fols. 241-42, 247-55.

²¹ PCC, item 91, fols. 152-56.

²² Not found.

²³ This list is filed under the date February 1786 in PCC, item 84, 6:138.

²⁴ This letter from Alexander Fowler to Secretary John Jay is in PCC, item 78, 9:555–60.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, Circular Office of Secy of Congress, Oct 4. 1786

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency herewith enclosed two copies of the Continuation of the Journal of Congress from the 8 August to the 20 Sept. last, one for the executive the other for the legislative branch of government.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

Charles Thomson to Edward Fox

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, Oct. 6. 1786

I have the honor [to] transmit you herewith enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress assembled appointing you a commissioner pursuant to an Act of the 13 April 1785 which is also enclosed.¹

I am, Sr, Your Obedt h S.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For these enclosures concerning Fox's appointment, "in the room of Mr. Parsons, who has resigned," as a commissioner to settle the accounts of Virginia for expenses incurred in capturing and maintaining western posts in territory subsequently ceded to the United States, see *JCC*, 28:261, 31:741; and Thomson to Samuel Holden Parsons, September 5, note.

James Monroe to James Madison

Dear Sir New York Octr. 7th. 1786

I have been favor'd with yours covering a letter to Mr. Thomson which I shall deliver him in the morning.¹ I am glad you have accepted the appointmt.; if the court shod. sit, wh. is only a probable event, & the arrangment we have in contemplation with respect to the Mohawk shod. succeed I shall be happy to accompany you in a trip here next summer. We have heard nothing from Mr Jay since the journal hath been handed to him;² I am inclin'd to suspect it hath made a different impression on him, from what the narrative of its

contents had done by those in his party in the late transaction. This with the impression Mr. Th.³ (if he hath conferr'd with him) may have made, may perhaps have suspended his movements for the present. I am inform'd he means to submit nothing further to the present Congress. Perhaps he waits the convention of the ensuing delegations, to sound them & to be govern'd by circumstances as they shall turn up. If Pena. & Jersey shod. move in the business this intrigue is at an end. Symmes of the Jersey delegation brings the subject to the view of his legislature.⁴ We set out if nothing intervenes to prevent it, on Friday nex[t] so as to get into Phila. on Saturday evening. Will you be there on our arrival & take a seat with us in a spacious carriage to Fredricksbg? [Do?] you intend visiting the Genl. before you get to Richmond, in that event we wou. go togeth[er]. I shall write Mr. Jefferson on our private afr. by this packet.⁵ I am sincerely yr. friend & servt,

Jas. Monroe

[P.S.] We propos'd the other day to refer the report from Annapolis [to] a Committee. It was objected to by the Eastern states. W[e] withdrew it for the purpose of a conference with th[em] but we suspect yet they will vote agnst it. No. Caroli[na] is off the floor so that I doubt the possibility of c[ar]rying it & in that event shall decline it.⁶

RC (NN). Reprinted from Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:142–43.

¹ For Madison's October 5 letter to Monroe and his September 25 letter to Charles Thomson accepting an appointment as a judge to determine the South Carolina-Georgia boundary, see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:133, 140–42; and Thomson to the Judges for the Georgia-South Carolina Boundary Dispute, September 15.

² See Monroe to Madison, September 29.

³ That is, Secretary Charles Thomson who may have given John Jay more information about congressional proceedings and delegate sentiment than could be obtained from the journals.

⁴ See Monroe to Madison, September 12, note 3.

⁵ See Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, October 12.

⁶ For the October 11 appointment of a grand committee to consider the report, see Rufus King to James Bowdoin, September 17, note 2.

Edward Carrington to Timothy Pickering

Dr. Sir

New York Octo. 8. 1786

Capt. Heard writes me that he has presented to you an Acct. of General Morgan for forage due him, but that you cannot settle it without knowing from me the prices I allowed to the southward—the very extraordinary price of forage in So. Carolina, occasioned by the devasta-

tions there, & of consequence the comparative scarcity of grain & Fodder for the Numbers to be supported of Man & Beast, obliged me to allow for such deficiencies as I did pay in 1782, 30/90s of a dollar for a Compleat Return—for 1781 I settled none, but the price must be about the same—in the beginning of 1783 for my justification I got General Green to have the price fixed by a Board of officers consisting of Genl Gist & some of the field Officers, who reported that the price ought to be 32/90ths—that is to say 18/90ths for grain & 14/90ths for Hay, and at this price I have settled for all forage due in 1783. You will however observe that as the high prices of Forage existed no where but in So. Carolina, so they never have been allowed for any time but when an Officer was actually there; whenever they were on furlough in Virginia, North Carolina or even in any other state, they were allowed the prices which prevailed in Virginia in the Contract formed in 1782 at Cumberland Court House with Mr. James, being 18/90ths for a compleat Ration.¹

I am dr Sir with esteem, Your Afft Hubl, Ed. Carrington

RC (MHi: Pickering Papers).

¹ See also Carrington to Pickering, July 14.

Charles Thomson to John Ettwein

Reverend & Dear Sir,

New York Oct 9. 1786

This will be delivered to you by Mr James White, late a delegate in Congress from the State of North Carolina and now Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern district, which includes all the Indians South of the Ohio.¹ Immediately on his appointment I conceived a hope that he might be instrumental in furthering the laudable endeavours of the Brethren to carry the gospel of peace & salvation to the Nations of Indians under his Superintendence. On this subject I conversed with him and he very readily agreed to call upon you in his return home. The design therefore of this is not merely to recommend him to your friendly notice, but that you may confer with him and if you see the way open, concert measures, that while he is attending to the *temporal*, the labours of the brethren may be employed in promoting the *spiritual* Welfare of these poor benighted people.

Be pleased to remember me affectionately to the revd. Baron de Watteville and his good lady² for whom I entertain a high esteem & regard.

I am with sincere esteem and affection, Revd & Dear Sir, Your humble Servt,
Cha Thomson

template your acceptance of the appointment, as the Objects of it are of great importance, and require the integrity and abilities which we know you possess, and we are solicitous that you may find Convenient to go on without delay—but should you not find it convenient to do so, it becomes their duty to ask that you will Signify your resignation, that the Commissioners may be at liberty to make a new appointment.² We however pray you to accept if you possibly can accommodate your going forward to the Urgency of the Case. In behalf of the Virginia delegation in Congress, I am with great regard, Dr Sir,
Your Most Ob Servt.,
Ed. Carrington

RC (MHi: Lincoln Papers).

¹ See Charles Thomson to Samuel Holden Parsons, September 5, and to Edward Fox, October 6.

² Like Timothy Pickering before him, Lincoln was not interested in the assignment and David Henley was eventually appointed the third commissioner, for which see Carrington to Pickering, April 16, note 2.

Rufus King's Address

[October 11, 1786]¹

Mr. King stated, That though our Delegates had been unsuccessful in their efforts to procure a redemption of the old continental bills of credit, as instructed,² yet their exertions had been productive of such measures as, by pressing the other States to pay in their quotas, had procured a market for a part of the surplus of those bills, which had rested on the good people of this Commonwealth.

That the expences of the Penobscot expedition had not yet been allowed by Congress from the following causes—the demands from the southern part of the Continent against the Union, were chiefly by individuals. The governments there, during the ravages of the enemy, were more deranged than those at the northward, and for that reason, greater exertions had been made by particular citizens. These demands not being supported by vouchers, and being thought exorbitant, had been held in some measure inadmissible. And it had now become a condition by their Representatives in Congress, that the expences of the Penobscot expedition should be allowed or not, as those demands were admitted or rejected. But that there was nevertheless a great prospect of those expences being allowed, as the southern States had taken the debts of their own citizens upon themselves, and though this had been an embarrassing circumstance in making requisitions, yet the States would probably agree, and then our expences would be more advantageously adjusted than they could have been at any past time, or in any other mode.

That the delays in settling the accounts between the several States and the United States had been retarded by the same causes, but would now probably issue equally favourable to Massachusetts. This, it was to be hoped, would ease the minds of those citizens, who supposed that their burthen from unequal exertions was neglected by Congress.

That the alloy and value of coins having been established by Congress, a mint would probably be soon erected,³ and a coin with an American impression relieve the citizens under their distresses arising from the want of money.

That the demands of sundry individuals for property taken by British Commanders,⁴ the subject of the eastern boundary of Massachusetts,⁵ and the insolent conduct of a late navy Officer to our Chief Magistrate, had been before the British Ministry.⁶ The latter business had been noticed in a manner suitable to the dignity of this State.

As to the matter of interest due to British subjects, Mr. King observed, that nothing final had been accomplished, but much attention had been paid in England to American acts which were said (and of them which postponed the payments of British debts were justly said) to be breaches of this part of the treaty. But the treaty was the law of the land, and there could not be a question that the peculiarity of the situation of the two countries justified the wishes of Americans, as to withholding interest during the war. Juries had a right to determine the question, and this would render legislative interference unnecessary.

That the report of the Commercial Convention was before Congress.⁷ The Hon. Gentleman observed, that doubts had arisen as to the mode of agreeing upon commercial regulations. The Confederation was the act of the people. No part could be altered but by consent of Congress and confirmation of the several Legislatures. Congress therefore ought to make the examination first, because if it was done by a convention, no Legislature could have a right to confirm it. Did any Legislature sit for such purpose? No. It must be referred to the people, and then what degree of assent was necessary to make it an article of the confederation? whereas if it was conducted agreeably to the confederation, no such difficulty would exist. Besides, if Congress should not agree upon a report of a convention, the most fatal consequences might follow. Congress therefore were the proper body to propose alterations.

That the federal Treasury afforded a most melancholly prospect. Decency forbid his making any observations upon the supplies from this Commonwealth, but as to the other States it was a fact, that South-Carolina had paid no monies for three years.

Virginia and Maryland indeed had supplied liberally, and Pennsylvania with exactitude, but New Jersey had done little and New-York

had exerted herself but lately. The last two years not 500,000 dollars had been received, a sum scarcely more than adequate to the ordinary charge of government. It has become a subject of admiration how Government existed. From foreign loans nothing was to be expected; the gleanings of these had hitherto kept things along. But what were to become of our demands from foreigners? the French Crown no doubt would be, as it had been, magnanimous; the Spanish debt was small; but our creditors in Holland were not to be put off. Educated in the science of money matters, they held every man as much bound as though he had sealed his obligation, and all property would alike be exposed to their reprisals.

So melancholly was the state of the federal treasury, that all men seemed to turn away from it, as an evil which admitted of no remedy. If all the States could be brought into the Continental Impost, this resource indeed might be anticipated, and the national credit strengthened in that way, but there remained two States which had not acceded to it, Pennsylvania and New-York. The situation of the former was known, and should that State be brought over, New-York would not dare longer to oppose the Union.

That as to the domestick debt, it had been urged that the people were not able to pay it; but there were not wanting means of reducing it in a short time. At any rate the great Representative Body of the States would never disgrace themselves by any dishonest measures relative to the securities. There were good grounds for the creditors to entertain a confidence of this. The State of New-York had already collected their proportion into their treasury; and Pennsylvania had done more. They had assumed the debt due to individuals, by the sale of their lands, and otherwise, and they would not fail, therefore, to enforce an honourable payment of this debt—The means which Congress possessed to extinguish it, were not trifling. Their lands were now almost ready to be sold; near 3,000,000 of acres would be surveyed by November next, and purchases were eagerly sought after. That, in short, if America had any virtue left, she might yet be happy. Her resources from the impost duty, and her lands, would very soon relieve her from her burthens. Near half a million of dollars might in a short time be applied from the duty, to sinking the domestick debt, and this fund would in a few years be nearly adequate to extinguishing the whole.

But the honourable Gentleman observed, that there was an evil in publick affairs, infinitely greater than any he had mentioned. It was not, perhaps, immediately within the order, under which he had the honour to stand before that house; but so serious were the effects which it seemed to him must follow, that considerations of duty to the Legislature, and to his country, had emboldened him to mention it. The house, to be sure, would anticipate, that he spoke of the commo-

tions now existing in Massachusetts. This was viewed by Congress, as the most important subject that ever came before that respectable assembly. Every member considered himself as personally interested in it. He realized his life, liberty and property, as involved in the issue of their decisions. There was a league subsisting between the States of America, to oppose every force that should arise against either of them. The United States would not be inactive on such an occasion. They were concerned—deeply concerned, in the result. If such a barrier was removed, every other government would eventually be swept away. Let numbers be compared; if government had only a minority, let it be remembered, that they had a majority of every State in the Union, to join them. It ought not to be concealed, that the British Packet had been dispatched a day earlier, merely in consequence of the commotions which had happened with us.

Advantages might be taken of the divided state of the people, to bring about measures which otherwise could never be effected by the enemies of our country. When Congress should know this; when they should see government prostrated in the dust, what would be their feelings? They were not authorized to see any government subverted. If the Speaker had been too earnest on this subject, he requested the pardon of the house, as he spoke from a fear lest palliatives might be adopted where vigour was required.

The Honourable Gentleman then read several private letters from a gentleman in office, at a foreign Court,⁸ to confirm the sentiments which he had advanced.

Reprinted from the *Boston Magazine* 3 (September-October, 1786): 405–7, where it appeared under the heading “Substance of the Hon. Mr. King’s communications to the Legislature.”

¹ Date taken from the Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, September 27–November 18, 1786 session, p. 250, DLC(ESR). “The Hon. R. King Esqr. attended the House agreeably to the vote of yesterday, & laid before them his communications, on the state of public affairs.”

² See these *Letters*, 21:319–20.

³ See Charles Thomson to the States, August 12, note 3.

⁴ See King to James Bowdoin, February 5, 1786, note.

⁵ See Massachusetts Delegates to Bowdoin, September 20, 1785, note 1.

⁶ See Charles Thomson to Bowdoin, August 20, 1785, note.

⁷ See King to Bowdoin, September 17, 1786, note 2.

⁸ Undoubtedly letters from John Adams.

Henry Lee to George Washington

My dear Genl

Newyork 11h. Ocr. [17]86

In the full confidence you receive my letters as testimonials of my unceasing respect, and from a solicitude to acquaint you with all mate-

rial contingencies in the administration of our national affairs, that you may be able to form your judgement on authentic documents, and consequently that your opinions being bottomed on truth may not fail to produce the most beneficial effects to our country, I again address you, and mean to confine myself to one subject, which will I apprehend soon become the topic of public debate. Among the defects which degrade the constitution of the fœderal gœvernment is the physical impossibility of secrecy in the sovereignty, therefore it is often necessary to make confidential communications, when they serve to correct the circulation of erroneous informations on subjects of national concern which in their nature is secret, but from the cause just mentioned become public. Considering myself therefore at full liberty to give you a history of this business, I will do it with brevity.

We are told here that the decided difference which prevailed in Congress on the proposed treaty with Spain is generally understood in every part of the Union, and it is suggested that the project of the treaty will become the subject of deliberation in the Assembly of Virga.

True it is that this affair unfortunately produced an intemperance common in democratic bodys & always impervious to the interest of the public; for to judge wisely on systems & measures, the mind ought to be free from prejudice & warmth, and influenced by a full deliberate view of the general effects of such system & measures.

The eastern states consider a commercial connexion with Spain, as the only remedy for the distresses which oppress their citizens, most of which they say flow from the decay of their commerce. Their delegates have consequently zealously pressed the formation of this connexion, as the only effectual mode to revive the trade of their country. In this opinion they have been joined by two of the middle states. On the other hand, Virginia has with equal zeal opposed the connection, because the project involves expressly the disuse of the navigation of the Mississippi for a given time, & eventually they think will sacrifice our right to it. The delegation is under instructions from the state on this subject. They have acted in obedience to their instructions & myself excepted in conformity to their private sentiments. I confess that I am by no means convinced of the justice or policy of our instructions & very much apprehend, unless they are repealed by the present Assembly the fatal effects of discord in council will be experienced by the U. States in a very high degree.

The project submitted by the secretary for foreign affairs was founded as well as I can recollect on the following principles—

1st. The commerce between the U.S. & the King of Spain to be founded on the principles of perfect reciprocity, which reciprocity to be diffused in all the sub-regulations.

2d. The trade to be confined to his Catholic Majestys Enropean dominions.

3d. The bona fide manufactures & produce of the respective countrys imported into either, to be subject to the same duties as are paid by the citizens and subjects of the two Nations.

4h. A Tariff to be established by convention within one year after the ratification of the treaty ascertaining the necessary duties, to be imposed.

5th. Mast & timber annually requisite for the Navy of Spain to be bought from the Merchants of the U. States in preference, provided they are equal in price and quality.

There are some other matters which I forget. In consideration of the advantages of this treaty the US stipulate to forbear for the term of the treaty the use of the river M. The boundarys will be (in case of treaty) established as fixed in the definitive treaty of peace between the U States and G. Britain.

The article of tobacco is excepted in the project being the produce of Spanish colonies & is to continue on the present footing, which is favorable.

Thus have I delineated to You the outlines of the proposed plan.

Among the many arguments used by the advocates for the treaty I will mention only one which I think ought to be known. They say that the right of the navigation of the M, is disputed, that the use of that right is now suspended & cannot be possessed, but by force, or by treaty; and that a forbearance of the use on our part, is a confirmation of our right, the use of which right will be in due time possessed in consequence of the present project without putting our claim to the issue of war, which is always precarious, & for which we are totally unprepared.

Should this matter come before our Assembly, much will depend on Mr. Masons sentiments.

So many reasons founded on true policy will arise in a full investigation of this subject, that I cannot but hope that the state of Virginia will consider a treaty with Spain on the principles of the project, essentially necessary to her political happiness, and to her commercial aggrandizement.

The sedition in Massachusetts is in some degree subsided, but is not I fear extinguished.

Col. Monroe who was an aid in Lord Stirlings family, a delegate from Virginia in Congress will in a few days return home with his lady.

He means to do himself the honor to pay his respects to Mount-Vernon in his way. My best respects to Mrs. Washington: with the most affectionate attachment I have the honor to be your h. ser.,

Henry Lee Junr.

James Manning to Nicholas Brown

Sir

New York 11th Octr. 1786.

Agreeably to you[r] request in your Letter to me, in Company with Capt Manly & Mr Benson,¹ I waited on the Board of Treasury, delivered the Letter from Mr Ellery & enforced your request. The board declared they would do everything in their power to do for you, & upon the first view of the subject they declared they thought you was entitled to your Indents.² They appointed a time for Mr Benson to call on them for their decision, which I presume will be in your favour.

Am glad to hear of the decision of the superior Court on the penal Law of Rhode Island, which I hope has led on to a repeal of the tender. We could get Congress to do nothing on the subject you wished. The General & I wrote a Letter to the House,³ in which we took the liberty to express our sentiments without reserve.

We have heard nothing from the House since their late Meeting. Mrs. Manning is in Jersey, but was well when I heard last from her.

With Sentiments of Esteem, I am &c,

J Manning⁴

RC (RPJCB: Brown Papers).

¹ That is, Capt. John Manley, former second ranking captain in the Continental Navy, and George Benson, Brown's business partner since 1783. James B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations, The Colonial Years* (1952; reprint ed., Providence: Brown University Press, 1968), pp. 289–91.

² For Brown's speculation in loan office certificates and efforts to collect indents covering interest on these notes through 1784 from the Continental loan officer for Rhode Island, William Ellery, see *ibid.*, pp. 318–23.

³ Not found, but see Rhode Island Delegates to John Collins, September 28.

⁴ This day Manning also wrote the following letter of introduction of a friend to George Washington.

"I beg leave to introduce to your notice the Bearer, Mr Joseph Jenckes of Providence in the State of Rhode Island. He is son of Mr John Jenckes of that Town, of a good family. He was educated under me, and I have ever considered him as a young Gentleman of real worth, as a man of principle. With mercantile views he has removed to the State of Virginia. As a stranger it may be of advantage to him to have his character known to your Excellency, whose known goodness prompts you to serve & encourage real merit." Washington Papers, DLC.

Charles Thomson to Certain States

Sir.

Office of Secretary of Congress, October 11. 1786.

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency herewith enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress Assembled for the appointment of a Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the Southern Dis-

trict; The election of Mr. James White to that Office,¹ and an Act directing him to repair to the States of North-Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia and to investigate the causes of the uneasinesses between the Indian Nations and the frontier inhabitants of North Carolina & Georgia, in which investigation he is to consult with the executives of the three States who are requested to afford him all the aid & protection in their powers;² also a resolution to inform the Executives of the States whose Citizens are subject to the effects of Indian hostilities that in case the Indians refuse reasonable terms of pacification and evince a hostile disposition Congress will afford the most ample protection in their power to the Citizens of the United States.³

With the greatest &c.,

C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "The Governors of North Carolina, South Carolina & Georgia."

¹ See Thomson to James White, October 9.

² See *JCC*, 31:759-60.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 760.

James White to Nathaniel Gorham

Sir

New-York 11th Octobr. [1786]

A letter from McGillivray, cheif of the creek nation, which I have taken the liberty to lay before Congress, induces me now to trouble their honble. body.¹

The necessity of some one, on the part of Congress to treat with that nation of indians appears more fully from that letter; & my office of superintendant calls me, I shall be happy in being able to perform the service:² but I beg leave to suggest that the sum of 500 dolls. which, by a resolve of yesterday, I ought to receive, will be necessary for to enable me to proceed; that I well know there is no fund in North Carolina, from whence I may expect the money, but from the *Tobacco*, lately purchased by the state for federal purposes; & the board of Treasury decline pointing out, to the state, that resource, without the express direction of congress.³

I have the honor to be, Yr. Excellency's most obedt. servt.,

James White

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78). Addressed: "His Excellency The Presidt. of Congress."

¹ Alexander McGillivray's letter is not in PCC; but for discussion of the place of McGillivray and the Creeks in congressional Indian policy at this time, see John W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), pp. 27-33.

² See Charles Thomson to White, October 9, and the preceding entry.

³ There is no record of any action taken on White's request. The letter was endorsed by Charles Thomson "Letter 11 Oct. 1786, Jas. White S.I. Aff. SD, read 11 Oct," to which Roger Alden added "for an order for 500 dolls."

Massachusetts Agents to the New York Agents

Gentlemen

Boston 12th October 1786

In consequence of your Letter of the 22d September¹ the Agents on the part of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, appointed to settle the territorial controversy between that State and yours, have attended to the time you proposed for a meeting at Hartford and altho' We have in our former letter submitted the Time and place of meeting to your pleasure, yet from A consideration that some of the Agents on our part are engaged in public business upon the 6th day of November next, we are obliged to beg the favour of your acceding to A proposition of post poning the time to the 30th day of that month. Should this meet your approbation you will communicate it to Mr King as early as shall be agreeable to you.

We are with great Esteem and regard your Humble Servts,

James Sullivan

for himself Mr. Lowell & Mr. King

RC (NHi: Duane Papers). Addressed: "Honorable James Duane, John Haring, Melancton Smith, Egbert Benson Esquires." Written and signed by James Sullivan; "for himself Mr. Lowell & Mr. King" added by Rufus King.

¹ Not found, but see New York Agents to Robert Yates and John Lansing, September 22, note.

James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York Octr. 12. 1786.

Since my last I have receiv'd yours of the 9 of July.¹ I advis'd you therein of the progress that had been made by {Mister Jay}² in the {Spanish negociation}, that he had brought {a project before Congress for shutting the Mississippi} and {not} for {opening it} for the term of {twenty five} or {thirty years} combin'd with some {commercial stipulations}, the latter to be the price of the former; although admitted they {opened} no new {port} nor admitted us {into} those now {open upon better terms than} those we {now enjoyed}. Since this {project} was presented, the {negociation} has been more {with Congress} to {repeal the ultimata} than {with Spain} to carry {the instructions} into effect. I inform'd you of the proposition from {Massachusetts} for the repeal in

Committee of the Whole. This was carried by {Pennsylvania} inclusive {eastward, Maryland} inclusive {southward} being agnst it. {Delaware} was {absent}. In the house we mov'd to postpone the report of the Committee in order to take up propositions to the following effect. {That the negotiation} as to the {Mississippi} & {the boundaries} be taken out of the hands of the {Secretary and committed} to {Carmichael}. The following points to be agreed on there & afterwards concluded here. 1st that {New Orleans} be made {an entrepot} for {exports}—that they be shipp'd thence {in the bottoms of America, Spain} & {France} under the regulations of each party. 2d. that they pay at sd. port a duty of 2 pr. centm. ad valorem to {the crown} of {Spain} as a compensation for port duties. 3d. That {imports} be {prohibited}. 4th. that the instructions of Annapolis be reviv'd as {the basis of a treaty} of {commerce}. 5th. that two additional {commissioners} be {appointed} with equal {powers} with {the secretary} to conclude the same. Upon this there was precisely the same division. The question was then taken on the report & carried by 7 states. Upon this the following proposition was mov'd, "is the repeal constitutionally carried by 7 states so as to give a new instruction materially different from the former" & set aside by the previous question. We are told he will proceed, but of this have no certain information. It is extraordinary he {should have taken} up {the} subject of {trade} as powers upon principles that applied to all {nations alike} had already been given under a commission which had at the time his were, near one year to run to {form a treaty with Spain}, wh. were not repeal'd by these nor the subject mention'd except by a distant implication. I do suspect the business rests for the present untill the new {Delegates} take their seats, in which case {he} will be govern'd by circumstances. I suspect the point will ultimately be carried, but this is yet doubtful. I forgot above to mention the {negotiation was} to have been carried on in our propositions under {the mediation} of {France}. I sit out tomorrow for Virginia³ with Mrs. Monroe by land. My residence will be for the present in Fredericksburg. My attention is turn'd to Albemarle for my ultimate abode. The sooner I fix there the more agreeable it will be to me. I shod. be happy to keep clear of the bar if possible & at present I am wearied with the business in wh. I have been engag'd. It has been a year of excessive labor & fatigue & unprofitably so. What you find in the journals, especially the regulation of the coin, pass'd upon the report of the Bd. of treasury without examination, or with very little.⁴ Our minds were generally at the time otherwise engag'd. Mr. Madison and myself have been desirous if possible of forming an engagment for land in this State {which would hereafter put us at ease}. He promis'd me {to advise you} of it, {and to} tell you of our little plan. If {it were an object with you to⁵ your property} in my estimation a better opportunity cannot present itself. I shall write you more fully on my

arrival home on many publick affairs, which at present I have not leisure for. Tell Short he has the friendship of the delegation & always will have it. No appointmt. of secretary of legation will take place to that court & if one did he woud. have the good wishes of our State. I am affectionately your friend & servt.,
Jas. Monroe⁶

RC (DLC; Jefferson Papers).

¹ Monroe's last was apparently that of August 19. For Jefferson's letter of July 9, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 10:111–15.

² Words printed in braces in this text were written by Monroe in cipher.

³ Monroe apparently did not attend Congress this day. See *JCC*, 31:776.

⁴ See Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell, August 16, note 7.

⁵ Monroe apparently neglected to encode a word at this point—perhaps “augment” or “increase”—which would have completed the meaning of this sentence.

⁶ Monroe had difficulty settling his congressional accounts when he returned to Virginia because state auditor John Pendleton, Jr., disallowed expenses for Monroe's second western trip with the Indian commissioners in August and September 1785 to attend a treaty at the mouth of the Miami River, for which see these *Letters*, 22:559, 599. This decision was reversed in October 1801 when Monroe presented treasury officials with a full summary account of his travel time and attendance in Congress from October 20, 1783, to June 10, 1784, October 20, 1784, to November 12, 1785, and December 1, 1785 to October 31, 1786. Continental Congress Papers, Vi.

Charles Thomson to John Ettwein

Reverend & Dear Sir,

New York 13. Octr. 1786

A few days since I recommended to your notice Mr James White who is appointed Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the southern district which includes all the Indian Nations in the territory of the United States Southard of the Ohio.¹ The object of my recommendation was that you might have an Opportunity of conversing with him & possibly of concerting measures for carrying the gospel of Peace and Salvation to those poor people.

I have since had an Opportunity of conversing on the same subject with gentl Richard Butler who is appointed Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the northern district which comprehends the Indians in the territory of the United States northward of the Ohio and westward of Hudson river.² As the Congregation of the brethren are in this district I have recommended them and their worthy Minister David Zeisberger to his particular attention & he assures me it will give him great pleasure to have an Opportunity of promoting their welfare and desires me to assure you of his sincere disposition to render them every service in his power.

I shall be extremely happy if by any means in my power I can be any way, instrumental in preserving a remnant & of promoting the happiness of these poor people whose condition & situation I most sincerely commiserate.

Cha Thomson³

¹ See Thomson to Ettwein, October 9.

³ Thomson sent this letter under cover of the

³ Thomson sent this letter under cover of the following letter to Richard Butler of the same date: "I send you here enclosed a letter for the revd J Ettwein, that you may forward it from Philadelphia with a line informing him where he may direct his letters to you. After perusing it you will do me the favour to seal & forward it. If it is sent either to Mr Daniel Benezet or to the Moravian house in Race Street Philadelphia, it will be taken care of and sent on safely. I heartily wish you success & satisfaction in the administration of your Office." Thomson Papers, DLC.

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, Oct 13. 1786

I have the honor to transmit to your excellcy herewith enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress Assembled for discharging the balance of three months pay in 1782 & four months pay in 1783 due to the Officers of the late Maryland, Virginia & South Carolina lines.¹ On this Subject I beg leave to refer you for further advice to the board of treasury,

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's
Most Obedt & Most humble Serv., C.T.

¹ For this October 10 “Act,” see /CC, 31:761.

Rhode Island Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

In compliance with the request of the Honourable the Corporation of the College at Providence in the State of Rhode Island, transmitted in their vote of the 7th of September last, we take the liberty to inform your Excellency that the College under their direction was founded in the year 1764, and received the small endowments of which it is now possessed, solely, from the beneficence & contributions of individuals, the Government not being sufficiently impressed with an idea of the importance of Literature to afford its Patronage, or lend it any further assistance than that of granting it a Charter. With these small beginnings, however, at the commencement of the late war, the Corpora-

tion had the pleasure to see that beautiful Edifice, erected on the hill at Providence, and upwards of forty students matriculated, together with a large Latin School, as a necessary to supply it with Scholars.

The whole of the College endowments consisted of one Thousand Pounds Lawful money as a fund, with six Acres of Land adjoining it. At that period the young Institution was rapidly growing in reputation, as well as in number of Scholars, but on the arrival of the enemy in that State, in the year 1776 it was seized by the public for the use of Barracks and an Hospital for the American Army, and continued to be so occupied until a little before the arrival of the Armaments of his Most Christian Majesty at Rhode Island when it was again taken out of the hands of the Corporation by an order of government, and delivered up to our Allies for the same uses to which it had been applied by the American Army; and they held it till their Army marched for the Chesepeak. To accommodate the Building to their wishes they made great alterations, highly injurious to the designs of its founders: this with the damages done to it by the Armies of both nations, while so occupied, subjected the Corporation to great expence to repair it; and that when the deranged state of our finances prevented us from making scarcely any advantage of the Interest of our little fund, in the State Treasury. Having, at their own expence made these repairs they applied first to the Legislature of the State, and afterwards repeatedly to Congress for some compensation, but have not been able to obtain the least. Thus circumstanced they think it their duty to solicit the patronage of his Most Christian Majesty, in the manner they have done in the memorial which accompanies this letter.¹

We have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that there are now upwards of fifty students belonging to the College, with flattering prospects of an increase. The foregoing is a brief account of the origin and present state of the College at Providence. We only beg leave to add, that this Institution embraces in its bosom, and holds out equal priviledges to all denominations of Protestants. And its Corporation, agreeably to Charter, is, and must forever be composed of some of all Denominations of Christians.

We have the Honour to be, Sir, Your very Humble and most obedient Servants,

James Manning

Nathan Miller

RC and enclosures (DLC: Jefferson Papers). Written by Manning and signed by Manning and Miller.

¹ This memorial, which Jefferson never submitted, for reasons explained in his July 22, 1787 reply, has been printed in Guild, *Early History of Brown University*, pp. 350–51. For the two other enclosures that accompanied this letter and Jefferson's response, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 10:462–63, 11:609–10.

South Carolina Delegates to William Moultrie

Sir

New-York October 16. 1786

Since the delegation wrote you Congress have passed an Ordinance for organizing the Indian Department and taken such measures as will in their opinion extend to the frontiers regular and certain security against the future designs of the indians. Mr. White appointed Superintendant for the southern district left this on Saturday under their directions to proceed immediately to Georgia in the execution of the duties of his office. The Georgia legislature have laid their proceedings respecting indian affairs before Congress, and should They seriously enter into a war with the Creek nation we are to hope none of our citizens will be subject to the effect of their hostility. The Ordinance has been already transmitted by the Secretary.¹

On the 2d of August Congress passed a requisition for the supplies of the present year in which our state is called upon for 103,015 dollars in indents and 139,017 in specie—a proviso is made in favour of the state so far as to allow her a partial credit in consequence of her supplies in 1782 & 1783 it is in these words—"provided that so far as relates to the State of South Carolina, this Requisition be considered as including one million of dollars, being that part of the Requisition of the 30 October 1781 which hath heretofore remained uncalled for, so far as to entitle the said state to the benefit of paying the same in such manner as she was entitled to pay her quota of the said requisition."² This will give us a partial, but not compleat credit on the amount of our supplies. Congress contend that the agreement with the Superintendant extended only to our quota of the Requisition of the 30 October 1781 for 8 Millions and that the excess of supplies beyond that proportion, must be carried to our general account. We asserted and endeavoured to establish the whole, but without effect and its settlement must be left to be adjusted between them and our legislature. We think the claim founded in justice and that an application to have credit on the requisition might be proper on this occasion.

On the 9th of August Congress passed a resolution recommending to the states of North Carolina, South Carolina & Georgia to cede their claims to western territory for the use of the US³—if this is done both on the parts of Georgia and South Carolina it will supercede the necessity of a federal court should the present amicable intentions of the two states in accommodating the same by commissioners not succeed—the federal court is appointed to meet on the third Monday in June and several of the judges have accepted and agreed to attend at that time.⁴ Should an accommodation in the interim take place, your Excellency will be so obliging as to give us the earliest information upon the subject. The agents on the part of our state have already de-

tailed their proceedings so fully respecting this business that it is only necessary for us to refer you to their letter of the 14 ultimo.

The mode of settling the accounts between the US & individual states being found ineffectual by keeping commissioners in each state at the present expensive establishment, on Thursday last Congress passed an Ordinance erecting a board of three commissioners for this purpose to commence on the first of April next, at which time the power of the present commissioners expires.⁵ The authorities of this board will exceed theirs, but are not in our opinion sufficiently equitable and extensive to cover the claims of the southern states arising from their assumptions—but as there seems a disposition to bring these long and complicated accounts to a settlement as soon as their situation will admit, we trust that by the time our accounts are brought before them their powers will be so enlarged as to include such an authority as we conceive alone competent to this end.

A copy of this Ordinance is sent by this Opportunity as also of one for establishing a Mint for the US passed yesterday and which will commence it's Operation as soon as the necessary Apparatus can be prepared.⁶ This will be done as soon as it conveniently can.

A report has just been made to the house by the Secretary for the department of foreign affairs on the subject of Lord Carmarthen's answer to Mr. Adams's memorial demanding the posts & complaining of an infraction of the treaty by Great-Britain.⁷ This report recapitulates the infractions on our part by the acts of the different legislatures respecting debt & recommends such measures as are proper upon the subject in his opinion. This and the treaty with Spain will probably be the subject of much discussion in the new Congress to commence in November, the present being too nearly expired to admit their being discussed at this time.

We shall always be glad to hear from you and remain with respect Your Excellency's obedient servants.

John Kean D. Huger

John Bull John Parker

Charles Pinckney

[P.S.] The Secretary will always transmit the journals & other proper communications *ex officio*.

Major Pinckney will deliver you the recommendation respecting the paying our officers some months pay in 1782 and 1783 which please to lay before the legislature.⁸

RC (ScCoAH: Governor's Messages). Written by Pinckney and signed by Pinckney, Bull, Huger, Kean, and Parker.

¹ See Charles Thomson to the States, August 12. For the election of James White as superintendent of the southern district and the Indian unrest on the North Carolina-Georgia frontier, see Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell, August 16, note 2, and

September 29, note 4; and Charles Thomson to White, October 9, and to Certain States, October 11.

² See *JCC*, 31:459–65.

³ See *JCC*, 31:507.

⁴ For the appointment of judges to settle the South Carolina-Georgia border dispute, see South Carolina Delegates to Moultrie, September 15.

⁵ See the following entry.

⁶ See Timothy Bloodworth to Richard Caswell, August 16, note 7.

⁷ See *JCC*, 31:781–874; and David Ramsay to John Adams, May 14, note 1.

⁸ For this October 10 resolution, see *JCC*, 31:761.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir.

Office of Secy of Congress, Oct 16. 1786

I have the honor of transmitting to Your Excellency herewith enclosed An Ordinance passed by the United States in Congress Assembled for establishing a board to liquidate & settle All Accounts between the United States and individual States.¹ As this Ordinance contains a recommendation to the several legislatures to pass laws to enable the said board & the person or persons commissioned by them to call before them respectively Witnesses and examine them on Oath or affirmation in all matters touching the claims exhibited to the board, your Excellency will be pleased to submit this matter to the legislature of the State over which you preside.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be Yr Exy

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For the adoption of this October 13 ordinance, which involved a subject that had been under study for more than a year before becoming the focus of debate September 5, 18, October 5, 12, and 13, see *JCC*, 31:508n, 636–37, 666–67, 741–46, 771–81. For previous efforts to develop such an ordinance and the background of this debate, see these *Letters*, 22:499n.2, 653n.3.

Henry Lee to George Washington

My dear Genl.

New York 17h. Ocr. [17]86

In my last letter I detailed the eastern commotions and communicated my apprehensions of their objects & issue.¹

G. Knox has just returned from thence and his report grounded on his own knowledge is replete with melancholy information.² A majority of the people of Massachusetts are in opposition to the government, some of their leaders avow the subversion of it to be their object together with the abolition of debts, the division of property and reunion with G. Britain. In all the eastern states the same temper pre-

vails more or less, and will certainly break forth whenever the opportune moment may arrive. The mal-contents are in close connexion with Vermont—& that district it is beleived is in negotiation with the Governor of Canada. In one word my dear Genl we are all in dire apprehension that a beginning of anarchy with all its calamitys has approached, & have no means to stop the dreadful work. Individuals suggest the propriety of inviting you to our Congress to pay us a visit, knowing your unbounded influence & beleiving that your appearance among the seditious might bring them back to peace & reconciliation. This is only a surmise & I take the liberty to mention it to you that should the conjuncture of affairs induce Congress to make this request you may have some previous time to make up your mind.³

In great hurry & real dystress I am your affect., H. Lee Junr

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ Lee is referring to the letter that he apparently wrote October 1, rather than his letter of October 11, which dealt with the Spanish treaty.

² See the following entry, note.

³ In his response to Lee's three October letters, Washington's advice was explicit: "You talk, my good Sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found; and if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. Influence is no Government. Let us have one by which our lives, liberties and properties will be secured; or let us know the worst at once." To Washington the situation called for decision. "Know precisely what the insurgents aim at. If they have *real* grievances, redress them if possible; or acknowledge the justice of them, and your inability to do it in the present moment. If they have not, employ the force of government against them at once. If this is inadequate, *all* will be convinced that the superstructure is bad, or wants support." Delayed action would only increase the ranks of the insurgents. "Precedents are dangerous things; let the reins of government then be braced and held with a steady hand, and every violation of the Constitution be reprehended: if defective, let it be amended, but not suffered to be trampled upon whilst it has an existence." Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 29:34–35.

Charles Pettit to Benjamin Franklin

Sir,

New York 18th. October 1786

I have to acknowledge the Receipt of your Excellency's Letter of the 10th Instant. Time will not at present permit me to make any Observations on the Subjects therein mentioned. The immediate Object of giving you the Trouble of this is a fresh Communication from the Eastward which represents the State of Massachusetts as in a most dangerous & critical Situation;¹ the Danger indeed extends immediatly to all the Eastern States and the Consequences cannot be unimportant to the other States in the Union. Till very lately the Insurrections in Massachusetts were considered as the ebullitions of Discontent arising from the transient Inconveniences they suffer from the Stagnation of Commerce & the other usual Effects of changing from the diffusive

circulation of Money in War to the Habits of Frugality and Oeconomy adapted to Peace. But the Discontents now assume a more alarming Aspect, and take Root in a variety of Causes which were hardly supposed to have Existence in America. A total Abolition of all Debts both public and Private, and even a general Distribution of Property, are not without Advocates. Men who have respectable Standings & Characters & possessed of decent Shares of Property are said to countenance the general Insurgency tho' they avowedly claim less Reform (as they call it) than the others, but even they propose to relitigate the public Debts & then pay them off in a Paper Money to be created without Funds & to make it a legal Tender. Strange as it may appear, it is said that five Counties containing more than half the Free men of the State have large Majorities, & some are almost unanimous in the Measures of Insurgency. It is conjectured, & the Conjecture is founded in at least plausible Circumstances, that foreign Influence has no little weight in their Councils—that they have a great Degree of Systematic Order in their Measures, and are ready on an Alarm to come forth an organized Army of not less than 10,000 Men armed & Officered.

Whether these alarming Circumstances are magnified or not Time must discover, but these Communications are from high Authority. Prudence however requires that they be made a discreet use of. Your Excellency's known Prudence & Judgment can only justify me in the Communication I am now making, & at present I trust you will not extend it as it is under a Seal of Secrecy in Congress. Some Resolutions will probably issue for an Augmentation of Troops, the Reasons assigned for which may be our Intelligence respecting the Western Indians; but in Fact this Augmentation seems to be necessary to the preservation of interior Government.

I write in too much Haste to be accurate or correct but on such an Occasion your Excellency will excuse Blemishes of this Kind. The Wisdom of the most experienced is not too much for a Crisis of this Kind, I shall therefore hope for some Observations on the subject from Your Excellency.

The last Minute of the Post hour is arrived. I must therefore only say that with perfect Respect I am, Your Excellency's most obt. Servt.,
Cha. Pettit

RC (PPAmP: Franklin Papers).

¹ This "fresh Communication" was secretary at war Henry Knox's final October 18 report on his recent trip to Massachusetts to assess the threat posed by the Shaysite disorders, especially to the Continental arsenal at Springfield. For Knox's four reports of this tour, see *JCC*, 31:739–40, 751–53, 875, 886–88; and *PCC*, item 150, 1:583–90, 2:17–20, 67–74. The fourth report was read and referred this day to a committee consisting of Pettit, John Henry, Charles Pinckney, and Melancton Smith, whose recommendations

were adopted October 20, for which see Charles Thomson to the States (2d letter), October 21, note 2. See also Pettit to Franklin, October 23.

Henry Lee to James Madison

My dear sir.

New York 19th. Ocr. [17]86

In our letter of this date to the Assembly¹ you will know our sentiments on the interesting subject of finance. I am persuaded if the suggestions meet the approbation of the Legislature and any plans calculated on the principles of our letter, should be properly executed much good will accrue to the state.

We omitted one subject which involves the respectability of our country viz that of a well disciplined & well appointed militia. This matter having been under consideration very often & meeting with different issues, we have declined renewing it now, presuming that the difficultys which did obstruct the formation of a proper system are still alive, & will continue to operate with similar effect. But really when we look around us here, & observe the exertions in these countrys to acquire this national defence, we lament the indifference which pervades our country on this important subject. I transmit for the perusal of those who wish information on military arrangements the report of the secretary of war relative to the organization of Militia.² This performance does honor to the genius of the secretary, but its utility depends entirely on the execution, which in the situation of American affairs we apprehend will be subject to much difficulty. The eastern commotions are becoming very serious, Massachusetts contains 75,000 men from 16 to 60, the five seditious countys possess 40,000 of this number, upon a fair calculation I beleive we may reckon that state divided for & against Government.³

The legislature is now in session but have taken no measures yet to reconcile or to subdue.

Indeed their difficultys are so numerous and pressing and their ways & means so disproportionate that I imagine they know not what to do, & will be obliged to trust too much to the chapter of accidents, for the U.S. who ought to be able to aid the governments of particular states in distresses like these are scar[c]ely able to maintain themselves. The insurgents are taking all the necessary arrangements to prepare for the last appeal, their ostensible object is the revision of the constitution, but they certainly mean the abolition of debts public & private, a division of property & a new government founded on principles of fraud & inequity, or re-connexion with G.B. Congress have received authentic information touching these points and are

now in consultation how to ward off the blow. The enclosed papers will inform of many particulars relative to this unhappy affair. You continued a long time in Philada. we hear, this unexpected movement gives lye to various suggestions all tending to prove that you are in full gallop to the blessed yoke. In all your intentions you possess the best wishes of your friend for their accomplishmts. H. Lee Jnr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ Not found.

² That is, Gen. Henry Knox's plan for the organization of the militia, for which see David Ramsay to Knox, March 12, note. Although Lee failed to enclose the plan with this letter, he included it in his letter of October 25.

³ In contrast to Lee's estimates of disaffection, General Knox reported to Congress between October 1 and 18 (see Charles Pettit to Benjamin Franklin, October 18, note) that only 1,200 insurgents first gathered at Springfield, although he thought they could reassemble at any time "in larger numbers than before."

Rufus King to James Bowdoin

Sir

New York 19 [*i.e.*, 20] Oct. 1786¹

On my arrival here I found congress deeply impressed with the Danger arising from a very extensive combination of savages from Georgia to the Frontiers of Pensylvania. The States bordering upon the Ohio & the Mississippi will exert themselves for the safety of their Citizens; but these exertions may not be so efficient as the welfare of so many citizens as will be exposed to the Cruelties of an indian war may demand; Congress therefore this day resolved to augment the federal forces to a legionary Corps consisting of two thousand men including artillery and cavalry.² As the legislature on a former Occasion expressed their desire of furnishing their Quota of any future demand for Troops, we willingly acceded to the wishes of congress on this occasion, and consented that a large proportion of the men proposed to be raised should be recruited in Massachusetts. The Infantry and artillery are quotaed upon the four Eastern States viz

New Hampshire	260
Massachusetts	660
Rh. Island	120
Connecticut	<u>180</u>
	1220

The Cavalry amounting to 120, or two troops, are equally quotaed upon Maryland & Virginia—As the survey, sale, and actual settlement of the federal lands west of the Ohio are objects of the highest consideration, more especially as they stand connected with the payment of the domestic Debt, the Troops intended to be raised must necessarily remain some Time in Service. Congress have therefore proposed the

Term of three years *unless sooner discharged*. This period corresponds with the Time of service of the troops now on the Ohio—some detail arrangements are wanting to complete this act; I hope they will be executed tomorrow, and immediately forwarded to your Excellency—
With perfect Respect I have the Honor to be Sir, yr. Obt. Servt.,
Rufus King

RC (TxU; Hanley Collection).
¹ The congressional decision concerning additional Continental troops that are the subject of this letter, which King declared was “this day resolved,” was adopted October 20.
² See Charles Thomson to the States (2d letter), October 21.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

Dear GerryNew York 19 [*i.e.*, 20] Oct. 1786¹

I mentioned to you my apprehensions of a very dangerous and extensive indian war—on my return here² I found my fears but too well founded, Georgia & Virginia are in arms. The protection of the Citizens of the states bordering upon the Ohio is required of congress. You know that we have entertained well founded expectations of discharging a large portion of the federal domestic Debt by the sales of the western Lands; the Indians now appear to have united to oppose the survey and Settlement of that country; this combination is most unjust, since we have fairly and bona fide extinguished their claims. The monies expended in Treaties with, and presents to, these very indians, since the year 1775 will exceed a hundred Thousand specie Dollars. This is too much to lose. To do ourselves justice and protect the Frontiers together with the surveys of the indian Cessions, congress this day resolved to augment the federal Troops to a legionary Corps to consist of two thousand Men. The cavalry amounting to one hundred and twenty men are quotaed on Maryland and Virginia, the infantry & Artillery are quotaed upon the four Eastern states. viz

New Hamp	260
Massa	660
R Island	120
Cont	<u>180</u>
	1280 ³

The Troops now in service are from Pensylvania, N. Jersey, New York & Connecticut; when these men were raised our Legislature, not being called on for any part of them, passed an instruction to their Delegates that in case any more men should be required, that the Legislature would choose to furnish their quota. We therefore met the wishes of congress in agreeing that our quota of the Troops now re-

quired should stand so large a proportion of the whole number. The Act is not quite completed; I hope it will be forwarded on Saturday or Monday. But you must impress upon the minds of *our monied friends the indispensable necessity* of a Loan of monies upon an engagement of congress of a reimbursement from existing Requisitions or some other Funds.¹

Adieu,

R King

RC (NHi: King Papers).

¹ See the preceding entry, note 1.

² King had been in Boston, for which see King's Address, October 11.

³ A slip of the pen for 1220. Cf. King's report of the same information in the preceding entry.

⁴ In his November 29 reply, Gerry observed: "I am favoured with yours of the 19th, & yesterday the Legislature voted to comply with the Requisition. Some however of the country members laugh and say the Indian war is only a political one to obtain a standing Army." King, *Correspondence* (King), 1:197.

Henry Lee to St. George Tucker

Dear sir

Ocr. 20h. N. York [17]86

I have the pleasure of your ler. from Baltimore on your return from Annapolis.

Your polite communication of my instrumentality to your & your ladys happiness by introducing you to my old friend Smallwood was highly satisfactory.

Your narrative of the proceedings of the convention at Annapolis was followed in a few days by a letter from the chairman to the president of Congress.¹ With difficulty the friend to the system adopted by the convention induced Congress to commit your report, altho all were truly sensible of the respect manifested by the convention to this body, and all zealous to accomplish the objects proposed by the authors of the commercial convention. Indeed their conviction of the inadequacy of the present foederal government render them particularly zealous to amend & strengthen it. But different opinions prevail as to the mode; some think with the Annapolis meeting, others consider Congress not only the constitutional but the most eligible body to originate & propose necessary amendments to the confederation, and others prefer state conventions for the express purpose, and a congress of deputys appointed by these conventions with plenipoten-tiary powers.

For my own part I am only solicitous to see an accomplishment of the salutary work and very regardless of the particular mode, so that the end is answered effectually & quickly.

Since you left us² a political cloud has risen in the east & portends much calamity to our infant empire. Present appearances justify apprehensions of an appeal to the ultima ratio regum in Massachusetts, or submission to the mob. The Insurgents are very numerous, inhabitants of a rugged country well united, and firmly decided in their objects—Abolition of debt & division of lands are the cardinal points in view, these are masqued by some ostensible complaints, the redress of which are attainable with ease & certainty in a constitutional manner, but having very different intentions they prefer illegal measures.

Back of the Malcontents lyes Vermont—these people are in commercial connexion with Canada, & are leagued with the insurgents. Thus you see there is a plain road to British Magazines & munitions of war, & I beleive no American can entertain any doubt of the conduct which the British King would pursue, was a civil war to take place among us.

Mrs. Lee & Mr A Lee unite with me in most affectionate respects to my cousin & best wishes for Your health & happiness.

Adieu,

H. Lee Junr.

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

¹ See Rufus King to James Bowdoin, September 17, note 2.

² Tucker had been in New York on business from July 19 to August 27 before attending the Annapolis Convention as a Virginia delegate. See Virginia Delegates to Patrick Henry, July 17, note 5.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, Circular Office of Secretary of Congress, Oct 21. 1786

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency herewith enclosed an Ordinance for the establishment of the Mint of the United States of America and for regulating the value and alloy of Coin.¹ As this Ordinance limits the time after which no foreign copper coin shall be current within the United States, and fixes the value of copper coin struck under the authority of any particular state in the Union I submit to Your Excellency the propriety of causing it to be published for the information of all whom it may concern within the State over which you preside.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedt and M h S

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ For this October 16 ordinance, see *JCC*, 31:876–78.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, October 21st. 1786.

I have the honor of transmitting to Your Excellency herewith enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress Assembled for augmenting the troops in the service of the Union to the number of 2040 Non commissioned Officers & privates, which was passed by the unanimous vote of the ten States now represented in Congress.¹

For Your further information I herewith enclose the Intelligence on which the report of the Committee is grounded.²

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most humble Servant, Cha Thomson

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

¹ For the enclosed October 20 "Act," see *JCC*, 31:892–93.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 891–92. Notwithstanding the official explanation that this troop augmentation was adopted in response to recent "intelligence of hostile intentions of the Indians," it is clear from the report of the committee to which secretary at war Henry Knox's October 18 report on the Massachusetts disorders had been referred, that this increase in the military establishment was adopted in large measure in response to the perceived threat to the eastern states posed by Shays' rebellion, a conclusion reinforced by the distribution of the quotas adopted. The 1,340 "noncommissioned Officers and privates" to be raised were specified as follows: Infantry—Massachusetts, 660; New Hampshire, 260; Connecticut, 180; Rhode Island, 120; Cavalry—Maryland and Virginia 60 each. "... the committee," the report reads, "think it proper that a body of troops should be immediately raised under the authority of the United States; but as it is not expedient that these causes should be publicly assigned for the raising of such troops, especially as the other Matters referred to the Consideration of the committee afford sufficient ground to authorize the measure, they have thought it proper, in a separate report on the intelligence received from the Western Country, to recommend the Augmentation of the troops in the service of the United States." *JCC*, 31:896. For the secrecy surrounding this decision and the views of the author of this report, see Charles Pettit to Benjamin Franklin, October 18 and 23.

Nathaniel Gorham to James Bowdoin

Sir

N York Oct 22d 1786

The affairs of the Western Country are in such a state as to induce Congress to propose an augmentation of the Troops¹—a considerable number of which are assigned to Massachusetts—if the General Court should agree to raise them; good Officers will be necessary. I presume your Excellency will have the best information on this head & I wish not

to offer my poor advice upon the occasion—but justice to the character of Major North who is going to Boston induces me to mention him to your Excellency as a Gentm. who supports the fairest reputation—and is spoken of—by all the military Men as an excellent Officer.²

I am with every sentiment of esteem & respect, Your Excellencys most Humble Servt.,
Nathaniel Gorham

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Addressed: "His Excellency Gover Bowdoin, Boston. Fav by Major North."

¹ See the preceding entry.

² Maj. William North (1755–1836), who had served with several Massachusetts regiments during the war and as aide-de-camp to Baron Steuben, 1779–83, had been appointed, on Steuben's recommendation, "inspector to the troops remaining in the service and pay of the United States," April 15, 1784. See *JCC*, 25:552, 26:230–31; and *DAB*.

Rufus King to James Bowdoin

[S]ir,

New York 22 Oct. 1786.

Major North is a Citizen of Massachusetts, a Soldier, and my friend; I have mentioned to him the act of congress for an augmentation of the federal troops, and that a respectable Quota of the new Levies will be raised in Massachusetts. He wishes *promotion* in this corps.¹ If a constant service during the late war will found a claim to future employment, the major has unequivocal pretensions; if a continuation in the military Department, from the commencement of Peace till this Time, strengthens these pretensions, he may very properly urge the distinction. But if to these just [con]siderations it is added by the unanimo[us] Suffrage of all professional Men, that, with liberal Talents, and under the influence [of] the noblest examples, the Major has form[ed] himself upon the most perfect models of soldiership, I confess that I am not acquainted with any person, who has more pure and just grounds to expect military employ [&] promotion: I therefore warmly recomme[ud] him, & his expectations, to your Excellenc[y's] Patronage, intreating you at the same time to be assured, that this letter is not written for the purpose of such an introduction as is of course, and frequently cannot be avoided; but that it flows from a sincere love for our country, & from a firm conviction that the Request it contains may advance the public interest, & promote the national Honor.

With the highest Respect I have the Honor to be your Excellency
Obt. & very Hble Servt.,
Rufus King

RC (NHi: King Papers).

¹ See the preceding entry.

Rufus King to Theodore Sedgwick

New York 22 Oct. 1786

All good and virtuous men must feel the utmost indignation towards that unworthy magistrate the first Justice of Berkshire.¹ I was in Boston when I heard of the Tumults in your county, and confess that I was not a little anxious for your safety—thank God you escaped their fury. What the Legislature will do I think is very uncertain; indeed their situation is somewhat embarrassing. I have no Doubts in my own mind what the line of their Duty is, yet it is by no means clear that they will view the Subject as it appears to me. What the consequences of these commotions will be time alone can discover. I myself have been an Advocate for a Government free as air; my Opinions have been established upon the belief, that my country men were virtuous, enlightened, and governed by a sense of Right & Wrong. I have ever feared that if our Republican Governments were subverted, it would be by the influence of commer[c]e and the progress of Luxury. But if in opposition to these Sentiments, the great Body of the people are, without Virtue, and not governed by any internal Restraints of Conscience, there is but too much reason to fear, that the Framers of our constitutions, & Laws, have proceeded on principles that do not exist, and that America, which the Freinds of Freedom, have looked to as an Asylum when persecuted, will not Afford that Refuge, which their hopes & wishes have suggested. I hoped to have seen you here on my Return. If your engagements will permit I will request to meet you.

Wednesday Novr. 9th. I wrote the foregoing on the day of its date. I will only add my sincere desire to see you here if you can come before the 30th instant. The Agents of Massachusetts & N York meet on that day at Hartford, with a view of settling our Territorial controversy.² I shall be there. If it is more convenient for you to come to Hartford than this place meet us at the former. I am anxious to see you on your own account as well as that of our Country. Six States only have appeared to form a New Congress. Mass., N York, Pensyl., Mard., Nor. Car. & So. Car.³ Bayard, Wilson & Henry are left out in Pensyl. & Meredith, Bingham & Genl. Irvine sent in their places.

Farewel,

RK

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

¹ A reference to Judge William Whiting, who in a series of articles published under the pseudonym "Grachus" had aired views sympathetic to the popular element responsible for closing the Berkshire County court. Sedgwick, also a Berkshire County resident, had reported Whiting's apostasy to friends such as King and Massachusetts governor James Bowdoin. See Stephen T. Riley, "Dr. William Whiting and Shays' Rebellion," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* 66 (1957): 119–66.

² See New York Agents to Robert Yates and John Lansing, September 22, 1786, note.

³ According to the journals, only five states were represented (i.e., with two or more delegates) at this date—Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina—although single delegates had arrived from New Jersey (Josiah Hornblower), North Carolina (William Blount), and Georgia (William Few). *JCC*, 31:928–30.

Charles Pettit to Benjamin Franklin

Sir, New York 23d. October 1786

I did myself the Honour to write to your Excellency some Days ago on the Subject of the Disorders in Massachusetts.¹ At that Time the Intelligence from that Country, and of the hostile Movements of the Indians to the Westward were under Reference to a Committee of which it was my burthensome Lot to be Chairman; and the Business has engrossed much of my Time since. The Acts of Congress on this Occasion will be communicated to your Excellency by the Secretary;² but as the most energetic Motives which called on Congress for Expedition & which would probably urge the States to Exertion, could not with Propriety be publickly declared, these Acts may require some Explanation. I am not at Liberty, however, to give this Explanation without an Injunction that, while the Reasons for Secrecy continue, it be not published. Your Excellency will, I trust make the proper Use of it for the Purposes intended without hazarding the Consequences intended to be guarded against by the Caution which Congress have thought proper to use.

For the Purpose of giving this Explanation I shall inclose a Copy of a separate Report of the Committee, which has been agreed to and ordered to be entered in the secret Journals.³ This Copy however is taken from the rough Draught and corrected from Memory according to the Alterations made in the House; it may not therefore be an exact Copy, but it is nearly so.

In the present impoverished State of the Treasury we could think of no Method so likely to raise the Money speedily as by a Loan; and we could not ask a Loan without pledging more than a Promise on worn out public Faith for the Repayment. The existing Requisitions were already appropriated. We therefore deemed it necessary to make a new Requisition expressly for this Purpose. The Goodness of this Fund will depend on the Exertions of the States.⁴ Congress are so deeply impressed with the Urgency of the Occasion that they have been unanimous in the Measures they have taken. The States however, not being possessed of equal Information may not feel an equal Call to speedy Exertion; hence a kind of Necessity arises of some Confidential Communications which is now submitted to your Excellency's Discretion.

With great Esteem & Respect, I have the Honour to be, Your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant, Cha. Pettit

[P.S.] Since writing the foregoing a Motion has been made to take off the Injunction of Secrecy so far as to admit of the making such confidential Communications as I am making to your Excellency.⁵ There being diversity of Sentiments among the Members, the Motion went off without a Decision. Your Excellency will therefore perceive how far I commit myself in forwarding this Letter, but conceiving it to be for the public Benefit, & having perfect Confidence in your Excellency, I conceive the Doing of it as the performance of a Duty.

RC (PPAmP: Franklin Papers).

¹ See Pettit to Franklin, October 18.

² See Charles Thomson to the States (2d letter), October 21.

³ For this report, which is in Pettit's hand and is endorsed "Private report of Mr Pettit, Mr Lee, Mr Pinckney, Mr Henry, Mr Smith, passed 21 Oct 1786," see PCC, item 30, fols. 405-8; and *JCC*, 31:895-96.

⁴ Upon adopting this increase in the military establishment of 1,340 additional troops on October 20, Congress also directed the board of treasury to devise a plan to fund the new establishment of 2,040 troops. For the board's report and the plan adopted the following day, calling for a 6% loan of \$500,000 secured by a special requisition on the states of \$530,000 payable by June 1, 1787, see *JCC*, 31:893-95. For the board's November 7 circular letter explaining and transmitting this plan, which assigned Pennsylvania a quota of \$72,504, see *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:86.

⁵ This motion was not entered in the journals.

Charles Thomson to George Read

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, October 24th. 1786.

I have had the honor of laying before the United States in Congress Assembled Your letter of the 7th which I recd this morning, And in answer thereto, I have it in charge to inform You, "that Congress having given public notice to all persons concerned, that the Court of Appeals would assemble at New York on the first Monday of November next, they cannot dispense with the punctual attendance of the Members of that Court."¹

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, Your Obedt. humble Servt.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ Read's October 7 letter, written in response to Thomson's June 29 notice that Congress had ordered the revival of the court of appeals, is in PCC, item 78, 19:551-58; and William T. Read, *Life and Correspondence of George Read, A Signer of the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1870), pp. 421-23. For Congress' rejection of Read's suggestion that the convening of the court be postponed to the first Monday in December, see *JCC*, 31:910.

Read's November 3 response to this letter, affirming that he would set out in a day or two and expected to arrive in New York "as soon as the weather will admit of a reasonable Travel for an Invalid," is in PCC, item 78, 19:567-70.

Henry Lee to James Madison

Dear sir

New York 25th Ocr. 1786

You now have the report from the secretary of war mentioned in my last letter & omitted.¹

The opinions I conveyed then relative to the eastern commotions are daily supported by additional intelligence. The eastern gentlemen here are confirmed in sentiments on this matter and beleive that the discontents will never be settled but by the sword. Perhaps their apprehensions may have some operation in their judgement: but whether so or not is immat[er]ial, for it is unquestionably true that present appearances portend extensive national calamity. The contagion will spread and may reach Virginia.

The objects of the malcontents are alluring to the vulgar and the impotency of government is rather an encouragement to, than a restraint on, the licentious. Carrington left us a few days past to visit Col. Grayson, whose situation demanded this attention. This leaves me alone, tomorrow I expect his return, when I hope Grayson and his family will arrive.²

His misfortune is truely lamentable but will soon yield I trust to relaxation from business and the company of his friends. Yours affec.,

H. Lee Jnr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

¹ See Lee to Madison, October 19, note 2.

² Edward Carrington resumed his seat in Congress by October 30, but William Grayson, who had gone to Philadelphia with James Monroe in early September where he developed "an extr[ordinary] disease," did not attend again until November 20. See *JCC*, 31:621, 652, 910, 916, 930; and Monroe to Madison, September 12, postscript.

James Manning to Samuel Jones

Dear Sir,

New York Octr. 25th 1786

Yours of the 9th Inst. was handed me a few days since by my Nephew, who also shewed me yours to his father.¹ His inclination is to go to Kentucky, if Mr Jones goes, but as his father appears to be in a decline, & is confined to his bed the chief of his time, both he & his Mother are against his going at present. Neither does he seem inclin'd to venture there without Messrs. Jones or Ustic go.²

I shall consult Kollock upon my Arrival at Rhode Island (for which I am to sail to morrow), & upon obtaining his Ultimatum will write you immediately; though as an Indian war appears inevitable & general; & will probably fall heavy upon Kentucky, I doubt his going, unaccompanied with you or myself.

This day I resign my seat in Congress,³ and shall, for the remainder of my life, bid adieu to Politics. Please to let me know all important advic[e]s you may receive from that quarter. Present my best respects to Mrs. Jones, & beleive me to be, Sir, Your friend & Servt,

James Manning

RC (RPB: Henderson Manuscripts).

¹ That is, the Rev. John Gano, Manning's brother-in-law, who moved to Kentucky in 1788, Guild, *Early History of Brown University*, pp. 38–39, 456.

² The Rev. Thomas Ustick, a Baptist minister at Philadelphia, was with Manning engaged in a project to send books to illiterate ministers in Kentucky. *Ibid.*, pp. 403, 405–6, 415.

³ For confirmation that this was indeed Manning's last day in Congress, see *JCC*, 31:911.

Charles Thomson to Certain States

Sir

Office of Secy of Congress, Oct 27 1786

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency herewith enclosed An Act of the United States in Congress assembled, bringing again to your view the enclosed resolutions of 30 April 1784 and recommending to the legislature of your state so far to amend their Act as to vest the powers therein contained for the term of fifteen years from the day on which Congress shall begin to exercise the same.¹

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Connecticut, Pensylvania, Maryland, South Carolina."

¹ On October 23 Congress adopted a committee report reviewing the responses of the states to its April 30, 1784, appeal (*JCC*, 26:321–22) for vesting Congress with power to regulate trade for the term of 15 years. The report concluded that some states—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, and Georgia—had essentially complied with the request, but recommended that the authorizing acts of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina be amended in regard to "the time at which the powers thereby invested shall begin to operate," and that those of New Hampshire and North Carolina be amended in other minor ways. For the committee's report and the resolutions adopted in response to its recommendations, see *JCC*, 31:907–9, 969; and the following entry.

Thomson also sent the following related letter to the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, and Georgia this date: "I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency herewith enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress Assembled touching the Resolutions of 30 April 1784, and the Acts passed by the several states in consequence thereof." PCC, item 18B, fol. 105.

Charles Thomson to Certain States

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, Oct 27 1786

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency herewith enclosed An Act of the United States in Congress Assembled, bringing again to your view the resolutions of the 30 April 1784 and earnestly recommending to the legislature of your State to revise their Act & pass it in such conformity to the said resolutions as to enable Congress to exercise the powers therein mentioned as soon as possible.¹ I also enclose a copy of the resolutions of the 30 April 1784,² And have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Your Excellency's Most Obedt & M h S

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "New Hampshire, North Carolina."

¹ For the enclosed October 23 resolution calling upon New Hampshire and North Carolina to revise their acts authorizing Congress to regulate trade to conform to those adopted by the other states, see *JCC*, 31:909; and the preceding entry.

² See *JCC*, 26:321–22.

Henry Lee to Richard Bland Lee

Dear Sir Octr. 28h. N York [17]86

I have your letr. of the 19h by which I learn that Mr Henry means to abdicate the high office he holds for the honor and glory of haranguing your house. Surely you will put in his place¹ R H L or Mr. Charles Carter of Currotoman. My conduct in the affair you mention² has been uniformly in conformity with my colleagu[e]s, because we are under instructions & because any opposition would have been idle, therefore as far as can be known, I have been with Mr. Henry in this matter.

Had I not been fettered with instructions, I certainly between you & me, should have taken a different part. These instructions ought to be repealed. I am so convicted of the policy of the proposed Treaty that I am clearly of opinion on a fair statement of facts two thirds of your house would coincide with me in sentiment, at the same time I well know that such communications will be made & insinuations whispered as to forbid any attempt to espouse the true interest of our country on this subject. Not only the interest of the cisalpine Virginia and indeed their existence as a people is involved in the politics of this question, but the true interest of the transalpine country also. For

it is unquestionably true that the western settlements prosperity depends & ought to depend on the prosperity of the Atlantic country & grow in proportion thereto. To push forward the infant at the expense of the parent is wrong.

Would not our tobacco the staple of Virga fall to mere nothing, if the western country could export that article.

What would become of us if we were suddenly deprived of this only advantage we possess. Would not also in this event the western settlers be employed in the culture of tobacco and thereby the crops of grain fall short, from which the emigration would be checked, as subsistence to emigrants would be high & precarious. Would not the interest of our colonys be instantly seperated from our interest, & in some commercial points in direct opposition. These & many other reasons would decide me, had America the power to use the Mississippi. She claims that navigation as her right, Spain denies it. An appeal to the sword or treaty must settle the difference. We are inadequate to the first: by the last we shall in a few years obtain in my opinion what may be necessary to our western friends—and at a time & in a manner which will not destroy ourselves, while it assists them.

But view this subject as it effects the U. States and you will find it pregnant with reasons in support of the conduct of the majority in Congress. The eastern fishery for want of this very treaty is nearly destroyed, by this commercial connexion certain advantages would be secured to the fisherys which would revive the eastern trade. The surplus money arising from that trade would circulate among the middle & southern states in purchase of grain, tobacco &c. Thus we should all participate in the advantage which is branded with the name of partial. But there are many other emoluments secured to our commerce arising from the reciprocity on which the connexion is founded. All these procured for our forbearance for a given term from the use of a river, which we have not the power to use. This is meant for your own special information.

H. Lee Junr.

RC (DLC: Armes Collection of Lee Family Papers).

¹ That is, as governor of Virginia. Edmund Randolph was elected to succeed Patrick Henry.

² The debate over the navigation of the Mississippi River.

Massachusetts Delegates to James Bowdoin

Sir,

New York 28 Oct. 1786

In obedience to the Resolve of the general Court transmitted to us by your Excellency, we have requested of Congress a prolongation of

the Time limited for the Receipt of Indents of Interest on the Requisition of the 27th of Sep. 1785; this proposition, according to the usual practice in like Cases, has been referred to the Board of Treasury for their Report.¹ Some Time has in this way been consumed, the report however is now before congress; but as the Dissolution of this Assembly will take place in a few days, so few of the States are now represented that no Business of importance can receive a decision. Our request therefore must be postponed till the meeting of the next congress.

Although we have exerted ourselves to obtain an act, at this Time, authorising the Measure we proposed, yet from the condition of this business in most of the States, we can discover no certain inconvenience, which will flow from the want of a present Decision. In Connecticut, New Jersey & North Carolina, the Requisition of Sep. 1785 has not been complied with even by a legislative Act for levying their respective Quotas upon their Citizens. In most of the other states, which have passed legislative Acts for such Levies, the collection is equally in Arrear with Massachusetts; connecting therefore the views & interest of such states, with those of Connecticut, New Jersey, & North Carolina, there is the highest probability that a large majority of the states must advocate the propriety, and contend for the establishment, of a Resolution of congress, extending the Time within which Indents upon the Requisition of 1785 may be received. We submit it to your Excellency, to recommend to the General Court to pass a Resolve prolonging the Time within which the several Collectors & the Treasurer of the Commonwealth may receive the Indents payable in discharge of the Requisition of the 27th of Sep. 1785; confiding that the Indents thus collected & received, will by a proper Act of congress be admitted to the Credit of the Commonwealth upon their Quota of that Requisition.

With perfect Respect we have the Honor to be your Excys. obt. & very Hbl. Servts,

Nath Gorham²

Rufus King

Nathan Dane

RC (PP: Carson Collection). Written by King and signed by Dane, Gorham, and King.

¹ In compliance with this General Court instruction, the Massachusetts delegates offered a motion "for extending the time for paying in Certificates beyond the time limited by the requisition of Sept 1785," which was referred to the board of treasury October 16. The board's report was read in Congress October 21, but no action was taken as the current session of Congress was about to expire. Nor did Congress subsequently take separate action on the report, for as Secretary Thomson's endorsement indicates: "This matter settled by requisition of 1787." See *JCC*, 31:882n, 897-99; and *PCC*, item 139, fols. 403-9.

² Gorham also wrote the following brief letter this day to the treasurer of Massachusetts, Thomas Ivers.

"I have been under the necessity of borrowing some money of a Friend in this place for which I have given him a Bill on you for 300 dollars. He has I find sent it on to Mr. Flint. I must intreat your exertions that it may be paid as I cannot leave this place with-

out the negotiation of that sum at least. I have no doubt Mr. Henshaw or Capt. Hendly would oblige me thus farr—& I shall be much [obligated] to you for your assistance." Gratz Collection, PHi.

Rufus King to Daniel Kilham

Dear Sir

New York 29. Oct. 1786

Two posts have arrived and I heard not a word from any member of the General court. You must be impressed with the sentiment that we are extremely anxious to be informed of every step taken by the Legislature at this critical juncture of the Government. What measures you will pursue to preserve the commonwealth, it is your Duty diligently to Enquire. Wisdom & Fortitude ought most highly to distinguish the present Assembly. Upon what they do, or omit, in an eminent Degree must depend the national safety. The evil is of great magnitude, and the Remedy must be equally extensive or wholly inefficacious. I confess that I was greatly surprized when in Boston to find such an apathy among the People when the Government was convulsed, and the existence of the commonwealth in Danger—very few men appear to be informed (or if informed continue silent) of the Dangerous principles avowed by the Leaders of the Insurgents.

These men publicly avow the Opinion—that all America, which was formerly under the British Government, and now within the United States, was acquired by the People of the United States & by their joint exertions; that all men being by nature equal, the *Property ought to be equally divided* among all the Citizens of the United States; and that upon the principles of this acquisition, and the Dissolution of the Government existing before the Revolution, all Debts contracted before that period are annihilated, and any attempts to inforce their payment are attempts for Plunder and Robbery.

I have the best authority for affirming that these pernicious principles are cherished and industriously propagated by the leaders of the Insurgents. If when opinions so fatal to the Commonwealth are openly taught and justified, they who by their office are bound to watch for the safety of the Government, content themselves with limited Applications, and detail reforms, when the Evil is general, and the Disease has possessed itself of the Vitals—there is good reason to despair of the Commonwealth and to give all up to wild Anarchy & confusion. Farewel, Yours sincerely,

Rufus King

Maryland Delegates to William Smallwood

Dear Sir

Octr. 31. 1786

We have had the honor of receiving your Excellencys Letter of the 4th Octr. respecting the application of Mr. Charles Lansdale for the cross posts from Baltimore to Port Tobacco.¹

We have not heard as yet of the arrival of Mr. Lansdale at this place, as soon as he does, Your Excellency may be assured that we shall afford him all the Aid and assistance in our power.

If he applies soon and will enter into the necessary engagements, there can be no doubt but he will succeed, as we have not heard of any other person who has applied for this rout.

We have the honor to [be] your Excellencys obt and very hbl. Servt,

John Henry

Will. Harrison

Nat. Ramsey²

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by Henry and signed by Henry, Harrison, and Ramsey.

¹ Although Congress considered various aspects of mail transportation from October 23 to November 3, there is no indication in the journals or PCC that Lansdale, who operated other postal routes in Maryland, applied to Congress for this cross post—such appointments were the province of Ebenezer Hazard, the postmaster general. See *JCC*, 31:909–12, 918–24; and *Md. Archives*, 71:122, 283.

² Ramsey subsequently submitted a claim for £426 in pay and expenses for 142 days service, including travel time, from June 12 to November 1, although he continued to sit until December 4. On November 5 he also wrote to Christopher Richmond, auditor general of Maryland, asking for a ruling on whether he should have deducted from his expense account six days absence from Congress because of illness. Delegate Accounts, nos. 61/67/2, 61/67/6, MdAA.

William Harrison to Thomas FitzSimons

Sir,

New York, Novemr. 1st. 1786.

Your favor, of the 28th Septr., covering the Order from l. Gouverneur Junr., in favor of Hooe & Harrison, on Messrs. Haynes & Crawford, and by them formally protested, came duly to hand—but at a time when I was much indisposed, which must apologize for my not acknowledging the reciept of it until now.

I have made every inquiry here that I could with propriety, relative to the affairs of Curson & Gouverneur, and of Gouverneur alone—and have communicated the result to our friends at Alexandria.¹ It now rests with

them to choose, either to come in in common with other Creditors under the Assignment, or to have recourse to I. Gouverneur himself.

Whilst this business is in any way committed to me, should your advice or sentiments at any time appear necessary, I shall not hesitate to request them—and am, very respectfully, Sir, your obedt. Sert.,
Will. Harrison²

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ Not found.

² Harrison apparently remained in New York after the expiration of the present Congress, although he is not recorded as attending the new Congress until November 24. *JCC*, 31:928–31. He nevertheless submitted an account on February 10, 1787, to the Maryland treasurer for his delegate allowance from November 1 through December 7 plus “13 itinerant days,” which he thought reasonable since “my distance from N. York is about 300 miles, and considering the season of the year.” *Executive Papers, MdAA*. Although reelected to Congress for 1787 and 1788, Harrison never again attended. See *JCC*, 32:58, 251–52, 34:6.

John Henry to William Smallwood

Dear Sir.

Novr. 1. 1786

Since my former letter to your Excellency I have had a short note from the Gentleman to whom I alluded in my first to you respecting our quota of the domestic Debt.¹ As the object is weighty and as many of the public Securities are now in the hands of the Individual States, which effectually takes them out of circulation, they delay making their proposals untill they can ascertain with some certainty the quantity that is thus handed up.

Your Excellency will receive some important information through Mr Chase and the reason why it did not go immediately to you, which I hope will be satisfactory.

I have the honor to [*be*] Sir with Sentiments of the highest respect & Esteem, Yrs,
J Henry

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

¹ See Henry to Smallwood, August 30.

Rufus King to John Adams

Dear Sir,

New York 1st. Novr. 1786

I do myself the Honor of introducing to your civilities Doctor Provost, Chaplain to Congress and Rector of the Episcopal Church in

this City—the Doctor goes to England for consecration as a Bishop.¹ His very amiable private character, his exemplary conduct in his profession, & his firm attachment to the Freedom & Happiness of mankind, have very justly endeared him to his friends, & Countrymen.

It would afford me the highest Honor & pleasure, if this letter should prove a motive of the kindest Attentions from you & your good family in his favor.

In addition to the pleasure you must receive from an acquaintance with this most excellent man, you will thereby acquire the most certain information relative to the present & past condition of our Country.

With perfect respect, I have the Honor to be Dr. Sir your Obedt. & very Humble Servt.,
Rufus King

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

¹ For Samuel Provost's appointment as chaplain to Congress, see Charles Thomson to Provost and John Rodgers, November 25, 1785.

John Kean to John Jay

Sir. Hanover Square, Novemr. 4th. 1786.

Herewith I send you sundry papers relative to the Ship South Carolinas expedition against the Bahama islands in 1782 in conjunction with the forces of Spain under the command of General Cagagal—which may serve to elucidate the claim of the State of South Carolina for an allowance for their Ship on that expedition;¹ and which the Minister at the court of Madrid is directed by resolution of the 3d May 1784 to use his best endeavours to obtain.

It may not be improper to mention that the Prince De Luxembourg is a party concerned in any monies that may be obtained, therefore through him the court of France may be induced to instruct their minister at the court of Spain to second the efforts of our minister in this affair.

With great Esteem, I am, Sir, Yr. Obt. Servt., John Kean

P.S. Be so good as to acknowledge the receipt of the papers.²

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78).

¹ For the "sundry papers" enclosed, a number of which have been printed in *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 3:324–46, see PCC, item 120, 3:1–100. For the initiation of this claim, see Kean to Jay, February 28, and South Carolina Delegates to William Moultrie, March 4, 1786, note 4.

² Jay's responses to Kean of November 7 and 8 are in PCC, item 120, 3:101–2. See also Kean to Jay, November 11.

Charles Thomson to David Ramsay

Dear Sir

New York Novr. 4, 1786

I have received your letter of the 25 of Sept. by Mr Smith¹ with six numbers of the manuscript copy of your history² which I have read over with as much attention as my other engagements & frequent avocations would permit. They are now in the hands of Mr King to whom I communicated your request that he would favour you with his remarks thereon, at least in point of facts. For as to language that must be left to yourself when you come to revise it. As soon as he has done with it I shall commit it to your other friends as you desire, and shall now proceed to give you the thoughts which occurred to me in the cursory perusal I gave it.³ With respect to language there were some words which did not please such as *merged* in the Ocean &c and some phrases which seemed too common to comport with the dignity of history, such as *feeling the pulse of the people* &c. But these are trifles which I dare say you will correct when you come to revise your work. For I perceive this is the first draught.

As to matters of fact, the proclamation, which you ascribe to Genl Washington upon his first taking the command of the army, was drawn up by Congress. The consideration of it proceeded *pari passu* with the petition to the king, and was passed by Congress while the petition was engrossing. The truth is there was a considerable opposition to the sending another petition considering the manner in which the former had been treated. But several members were warm in favour of it, the matter compromised & the petition & declaration were both ordered and passed in a manner together. Your description of the works on Bunkers hill are in my opinion too much exaggerated and the firing upon the british from the houses in Charleston is a circumstance which is denied. The account you have given corresponds with that of the enemy. To save their honor it was necessary to make the works as formidable as possible and to take off from the Odium of burning towns at that early stage of the war it was thought necessary to represent that the Americans fired from the houses. I have conversed with Mr Gorham on the subject and he informs me that soon after the Americans sat down before Boston Genl Gage sent for him and informed him as an Inhabitant of Charl[es]town that in case the Americans approached Boston on that side he would be under the necessity of ordering that town to be burned; and that he could not be justifi[ed] by the laws of war to suffer it to stand to cover the approach of the Enemy. This Information Mr Gorham communicated to Genl Ward who then commanded the American forces; and as it was made known to the inhabitants of the town, as soon as our troops took possession of the hill, all the inhabitants of the town instantly fled & left their houses empty & he did not believe there was a single gun fired

from any of the houses. From this you see it was a premeditated act, justified by the rules of war and not depending on the firing from the houses. As to the works on Bunkers hill, how was it possible such as are described could be erected in the space of three or four hours? The truth is our people marched over the Causeway & took possession of the hill late at night instantly broke ground & threw up some slight redoubts of earth. They were discovered at day break and a detachment was immediately sent to dislodge them. This detachment landed at a point on the bay at a considerable distance from the town. Upon seeing the number of our troops on the heights they halted & sent back for reinforcements. Upon this our troops immediately pulled up the post & rail fences which enclosed the lots between the town & the bay & set them down again in two parallel rows at a small distance from each other, extending from the earthen redoubt on the right to the town & on the left to the bay, the space between the two lines they filled with hay which had been lately mowed & remained on the lots in cocks. These were the formidable works behind which they sheltered themselves & waited the assault of the Enemy. There are I apprehend other facts mentioned which will deserve examination and as truth & precision will be expected from an American and especially from you who have had so many opportunities of Information I think it would be proper to travel through the several states, to view the scenes of actions & converse with the people who were near them in order to obtain the fullest information & to form a right judgment.

With regard to the account you have given of the manner in which Pennsylvania was engaged to unite in the Opposition I dislike it altogether. The mentioning names is invidious as you have dealt in general with regard to the measures adopted in other states. I have therefore cut them out before I let the manuscript go out of my hands. The story of the German is flat & too low for history & the whole account defective & unsatisfactory. I shall therefore give you a short narrative of what passed without descending to particulars & leave it with you to mould it in any form you think proper at the same time I must earnestly entreat you either to alter that part of your history or to leave it wholly out passing over Pennsylvania as you have Delaware & Maryland.

Before I proceed to this I would just observe that there are sundry material circumstances omitted such as Gages perfidy in disarming the inhabitants of Boston—And also the manner in which our Army was furnished in the latter end of 1775 with powder, arms, mortars and other military apparatus by the fortunate capture of the two stores ships. There is also another Circumstance which I think ought to be mentioned in order to explain the mode & account for the rapidity of the news spreading throughout this country. You must recollect the news of the Boston port bill reached Boston the 10 of May.

And in a little more than a month it was not only communicated from state to state but a flame was kindled in almost every breast throughout this widely extended though but thinly inhabited Country. This must appear fabulous to a foreigner who is unacquainted with the situation of our affairs at that time. Would it not therefore be proper where you are giving an account of this matter to insert a clause to the following effect.

"In order to explain the mode by which the flame was so rapidly spread through this extended & thinly inhabited Country it is necessary to observe that the several Colonies & provinces are divided into counties & these again sub-divided into districts distinguished by the names of towns, townships, precincts, hundreds or parishes. In the New England Colonies the sub-divisions which are called towns were by the law & constitution of the governments corporate bodies, had their regular meetings & might be occasionally convened by their proper Officers. The advantages derived from these meetings by uniting the whole body of the people in the measures taken to oppose the Stamp Act induced other provinces to imitate the example. Accordingly under the Association which was formed in opposition to the revenue laws of 1767 & which lasted for upwards of two years, Committees were established not only in the Capitals of every Province but also in most of the County towns & subordinate districts. In the commencement of the present opposition these committees had been revived, extended and reduced to system; so that when any intelligence of importance which it was necessary the people at large should be informed of, reached the capitals, it was immediately dispatched to the county committees & by them forwarded to the committees of the districts who disseminated it to the whole body of the people. The expence of expresses when necessary was defrayed by private contributions. And as the persons employed in this service were animated in the cause their Zeal was a spur to their industry and the news was spread with incredible dispatch."

I shall now proceed to my narrative.⁴

The comtt of Philadelphia to whom the public letter from Boston was sent were fully sensible of the state of parties & disposition of the people of the Province. They saw the dispute with G B brought to a crisis and a new scene opening which required exertions different from those heretofore made. The success of these exertions, they well knew, depended on the wisdom with which they were planned & the Union of the whole people in carrying them into execution. They resolved therefore to proceed with the utmost caution & circumspection. The letter was publicly read⁵ at the coffee house and notice was given that it would be read the evening following at the city tavern in which there was a large room capable of receiving several hundred persons, and it was expected that the citizens would come prepared to give their opinion on the measures necessary to be taken on the pre-

sent alarming situation of affairs. At this meeting⁶ which was numerous & composed of leading men of different religious as well as political sentiments, the letter was ag[ai]n read & the subject of the act for shutting up the Port of Boston & the plans of the B. Administration were discussed. Agreeably to a plan previously concerted the debate was conducted so as to sound the sentiments of the people but not to cause divisions or create parties. It seemed to be admitted by all that every Colony as well as Massachusetts was affected by the Act of Parliament & that the people of Boston should be considered as suffering in the common cause of America; As to the means of relief the opinions were various. When the debate began to be warm it was prudently stopped by simply proposing that an Answer be returned to the people of Boston. This was unanimously agreed to. A Committee was then to be chosen to draft the answer, and two lists of persons were framed one containing such as were averse from, the other such as were in favour of active measures. To prevent disp[utes] it was agreed that both should stand and thus by prudent management unanimity in appearance at least was preserved and a committee appointed with the Concurrence of all. This had a happy effect in tempering immoderate zeal, giving time to prepare the public Mind and suffering matters to ripen gradually. Next day the Comtt met & dispatched an answer to the people of Boston. The letter was firm but temperate. They acknowledged the difficulty of offering advice on the present occasion; sympathized with them in their distress, and observed that all lenient measures for obtaining redress should be first tried—That if the making restitution for the tea destroyed would put an end to this unhappy controversy & leave the people of Boston upon their ancient footing of constitutional liberty it could not admit of a doubt what part they should act—But that it was not the value of the tea, it was the indefeasible right of giving and granting their own money which was now the matter in consideration—that it was the common cause of America & therefore necessary in their opinion that a Congress of deputies from the several Colonies should be convened to devise the means for restoring harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies and preventing matters from coming to extremities. Till this could be brought about they recommended firmness, prudence & moderation to the immediate sufferers, assuring them that the people of Pennsylvania will continue to evince a firm adherence “to the cause of American liberty.” The committee also dispatched the news express to the Provinces southward of them with a letter suggesting the necessity of a general Congress of deputies from all the provinces.

In order to awaken the attention of the people a series of letters were published well calculated to rouse them to a sense of their danger and point out the fatal effects & consequences of the late acts of Parliament & the plan of the british administration. Every news paper was filled with these & other pieces on the subject & with the debates

of the members of Parliament on the bill & the protests of the dissenting Lords. The first of June, the day when the Act began to operate, was solemnized with every manifestation of public calamity and grief. The Inhabitants shut up their houses; And after divine service a stillness reigned which exhibited a scene of the deepest distress and of sorrow unutterable. *(The houses of worship were crowded, divine services performed and sermons preached sensible to the occasion; when divine service was over a solemn stillness reigned through the City which seemed a repetition and a scene of sorrow not unlike in some measure resembling that which is described in the book of Esther, and which was taken for a text by one of the preachers, upon the issuing of the bloody decree against the Jews "And in every province withersoever the King's commandment and his decree came there was great mourning among the Jews and fasting and weeping and wailing and many lay in sackcloth & ashes." This was followed by meetings & private Assemblings of the people.)*

The minds of the people being thus prepared the Committee thought it necessary to request the governor to call the Assembly. For this purpose they drew up a petition stating "that since the recess of the Assembly, the proceedings of the british Parliament towards America & particularly an Act lately passed against the town of Boston have filled the minds of the people with deep anxiety & distress—that the petitioners apprehend the design of the act is to compel the Americans to acknowledge the right of Parliament to impose taxes upon them at pleasure—that the precedent of condemning a whole town or city unheard & involving all its inhabitants of every age & sex & however differing in political sentiment or action in one common ruin gives universal alarm—that deeply impressed with these sentiments and at the same time solicitous to preserve peace, order and tranquility they earnestly entreat the governor to call the Assembly of the province as soon as it can conveniently be done that they may have an Opportunity not only to devise measures to compose & relieve the anxieties of the people but to restore that harmony & peace between the Mother country and the Colonies which have been of late so much and so unhappily interrupted." This petition was immediately signed by more than 900 freeholders & presented to the governor on the 8 of June. To this the governor replied "that upon all occasions when the peace, order and tranquility of the province required it he should be ready to convene the Assembly but as that did not appear to be the case at present he could not think such a step would be expedient or consistent with his duty." This refusal *(which was foreseen)* opened the way for other measures.

The members of the committee who advocated the *(cause of)* people of Boston & who wished to engage the province to make common cause with them, promoted the petition for calling the Assembly, not with an expectation or desire that it should be complied with but

merely to preserve unanimity and to obviate objections which would otherwise be raised against the steps which they judged necessary to be taken to lead the whole province into a united Opposition. They had at several times intimated to the Comtt the necessity of calling together the freemen of the city and county in order that they might give their opinion on what was proper to be done in the present situation of public affairs: this was always opposed. But such was the ferment raised by the governor's refusal to call the Assembly that notwithstanding the reluctance of several individuals the Committee unanimously concurred in the measure, apprehending that a farther opposition would occasion tumults & consequently endanger their personal safety.

The meeting was held in the States house yard on the 18 of June and was very large. By computation the number was estimated at 8,000. To give it the more respectability none were admitted but such as had a right of voting at elections for representatives. The greatest solemnity, order and decorum was observed, and the business was managed with such address, both in the preparatory meetings & afterwards that those who were the most averse seemed to be the principal movers. At this meeting it was unanimously resolved

1. That the act of parliament for shutting up the port of Boston is unconstitutional, oppressive to the inhabitants of that town, dangerous to the british Colonies and that therefore they considered their brethren at Boston as suffering in the common cause of America.
2. That a congress of deputies from the several Colonies in North America is the most probable & proper mode of procuring relief for their suffering brethren, securing their common rights and liberties and reestablishing peace and harmony between great Britain and the Colonies on a constitutional foundation.
3. To appoint a committee for the city & county of Philadelphia to correspond with the sister Colonies & with the several Counties in this province in order that all may unite in promoting & endeavouring to obtain the great & valuable ends mentioned in the foregoing resolution.
4. That the comtt consult together & on mature deliberation determine what is the most proper mode of collecting the sense of this province and appointing deputies for the same to attend a general Congress, and having determined thereon they should take such measures as by them should be judged most expedient for procuring this Province to be represented at the said Congress in the best manner that can be devised for promoting the public welfare.
5. That the Comtt set on foot a subscription for the relief of such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston as may be deprived of the means of subsistence by the operation of the Act of parliament commonly called the Boston port bill; the money arising from such subscription to be laid out as the committee shall think will best answer the ends proposed.

They then proceeded to appoint a committee and with a view to preserve & promote harmony they reelected the members of the former Committee adding such a number of new members as to give a decided majority in favour of the measures now agreed on.

The comtt which consisted of 43 members met and determined, 1. that the Speaker of the Assembly be desired to write to the several Member[s] & request them to meet as soon as possible but not later than the first of August to take into consideration the very alarming situation of Affairs and secondly That letters be written to proper persons in each county recommending it to them to get committees appointed for their respective Counties and that the said committees or such number of them as may be thought proper may meet in Philadelphia at the time the representatives are convened in order to consult and advise on the most expedient mode of appointing deputies for the general Congress and to give their weight to such as may be appointed. The reason of the second determination was their not having a sufficient confidence in the members who then composed the House of Assembly and more particularly in the Speaker, whose influence was great but whose attachment to the cause of his Country was even then suspected, & whose conduct afterwards proved that the suspicion was well founded. They were apprehensive that if the members met they might be induced to take advantage of the irregularity of the call & of their not being convened in their legislative capacity & therefore break up without appointing delegates. In this case it was intended to have another body convened expressly for the purpose who should proceed to the appointment. Application was accordingly made to the Speaker who agreed to comply with the request of the Committee. But this was rendered unnecessary, by the governor's issuing a proclamation on account of some indian disturbances for the Assembly to meet in their legislative capacity on Monday the 18 July. It may not be improper to observe that though the Assembly of Pennsylvania agreeably to the Charter & laws of the Province met every year on a certain day and afterwards on their own adjournments, yet in case of any emergency during their recess the governor had a right & power of convening them and they were bound to obey his call.

Notwithstanding this call of the Governor the Comtt judged it necessary to proceed on the second determination and accordingly on the 28 of June wrote to each of the Counties enclosing copies of the resolutions passed at the meeting of the 18th & the determinations they had come to in pursuance of the trust reposed in them, informed them of the meeting of the Assembly and requested that the whole or a part of the Comtt appointed or to be appointed would meet the other committees at Philadelphia on the 15 July in order to assist in framing instructions and preparing such matters as might be proper to recommend to their represen[ta]tives at their meeting on the Monday following.

With this request the several Counties readily complied and the deputies met at the time appointed. Previous to their meeting the Committee for the city and county of Philadelphia had made such preparations that the business was soon dispatched.

The Convention being assembled & having chosen a chairman & clerk, it was agreed that in case of any difference in sentiment the question should be determined by the deputies voting by counties. The letters from Boston of the 13 of May were then read and a short Account given of the steps taken in consequence thereof and the measures now pursuing in this and the neighbouring provinces after which the following resolves were passed——⁷

1. That we acknowledge ourselves & the inhabitants of this province liege subjects of his Majy King G. the 3 to whom they & we owe & will bear true & faithful Allegiance.

2. That as the idea of an unconstitutional independence on the parent State is utterly abhorrent to our principles we view the unhappy differences between G B & the Colonies with the deepest distress & anxiety of mind as fruitless to her, grievous to us & destructive of the best interests of both.

3. That it is therefore our ardent desire that our ancient harmony with the Mother Country should be restored & a perpetual love and union subsist between us on the principles of the Constitution & an interchange of good offices without the least infraction of our mutual rights.

4. That the inhabitants of these colonies are entitled to the same rights within these colonies that the subjects born in England are entitled to within that realm.

5. That the power assumed by the parliament of G B to bind the people of these Colonies "by statutes in all cases whatsoever" is unconstitutional & therefore the source of these unhappy differences.

6. That the act of parliament for shutting up the port of Boston is unconstitutional, oppressive to the inhabitants of that town, dangerous to the liberties of the british Colonies; & therefore that we consider our brethren at Boston as suffering in the common cause of these Colonies.

7. That the bill for altering the administration of justice in certain criminal cases within the province of Massachusetts bay, if passed into an Act of parliament, will be as unconstitutional, oppressive & dangerous as the act above mentioned.

8. That the bill for changing the Constitution of the province of Massachusetts bay established by charter & enjoyed since the grant of that charter, if passed into an Act of parliament will be unconstitutional & dangerous in its consequences to the American Colonies.

9. That there is an absolute necessity that a Congress of deputies from the several colonies be immediately assembled to consult together and form a general plan of conduct to be observed by all the

colonies for the purposes of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress of our grievances, preventing future dissensions, firmly establishing our rights & restoring harmony between G B & her colonies on a constitutional foundation.

10. That although a suspension of the commerce of this large trading province with G B would greatly distress multitudes of our industrious inhabitants yet that sacrifice & a much greater we are ready to offer for the preservation of our liberties; but in tenderness to the people of G B as well as of our country & in hopes that our just remonstrances will at length reach the ears of our gracious Sovereign & be no longer treated with contempt by any of our fellow subjects in England, it is our earnest desire that the Congress should first try the gentler mode of stating our grievances & making a firm & decent claim of redress.

The foregoing were passed unanimously

11. Resolved by a great majority That yet notwithstanding, as an unanimity of councils & measures is indispensibly necessary for the common welfare, if the Congress shall judge Agreements of Nonimportation & Nonexportation expedient the people of this province will join with the other principle & neighbouring colonies in such an association of Nonimportation from & Nonexportation to G B as shall be agreed at the Congress.

12. Resolved by a majority That if any proceedings of the parliament, of which notice shall be received on this Continent before or at the general Congress shall render it necessary in the Opinion of that Congress for the Colonies to take farther steps than are mentioned in the eleventh resolve in such case the inhabitants of this province shall adopt such farther [steps] & do all in their power to carry them into execution.

The following were passed unanimously

13. That the venders of Merchandize of every kind within this province ought not to take advantage of the resolves relating to Nonimportation in this province or elsewhere, but that they ought to sell their Merchandize which they now have or may hereafter import at the same rates they have been accustomed to do within three months last past.

14. That the people of this province will break off all trade commerce & dealing & will have no trade commerce or dealing of any kind with any colony on this continent or with any city or town in such colony or with any individual in such Colony city or town which shall refuse, decline or neglect to adopt & carry into execution such general plan as shall be agreed to in Congress.

15. That it is the duty of every member of this Comtt to promote as much as he can the subscription set on foot in the several counties of this province for the relief of the distressed inhabitants of Boston.

16. That this comtt give instructions on the present situation of public affairs to their representatives who are to meet next week in Assembly & request them to appoint a certain number of persons to attend a congress of deputies from the several Colonies at such time & place as may be agreed on to effect one general plan of conduct for attaining the great & important ends mentioned in the ninth resolve.

Grounded on these resolutions they prepared a set of Instructions which on the 21 July were signed by their chairman and presented by them in a body to the Assembly then sitting.⁸

Their instructions were bold animated and pathetic. They not only pointed out the causes of the present uneasiness, & recommended the appointment of persons to attend a general Congress of deputies from the several Colonies for the purpose of promoting and establishing harmony between G B & the Colonies on a constitutional foundation, but proceeded to delineate the measures that appeared most likely to produce that effect, and the terms of a compact to be settled between the two countries so as to put a final period to the unconstitutional claims of the one and to the fears & jealousies of the other.

(As this is a curious paper and contains the sentiments which then prevailed in that province it may either be abridged or inserted at full length. I therefore enclose a copy of it.[])⁹

Deputies were accordingly appointed by the legislature, and thus without tumult without disorder or divided councils the whole province was by prudent management & temperate proceedings brought into the opposition with its whole weight and influence.

I shall trouble you no farther at present than just to request you to alter the sentence respecting my appointment to the office of Secretary & let it stand simply "Charles Thomson of Philadelphia" striking out what is said respecting the part I took in the conduct of affairs of Pensylv[ani]a.

I am &c.

FC (DL.C: Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson.

¹ This letter, delivered by Charleston merchant Josiah Smith, has not been found, but for another on the same subject see Ramsay's September 26 letter to Benjamin Rush in Ramsay, *Writings* (Brunhouse), pp. 105–6.

² That is, Ramsay's *The History of the American Revolution*, which was published in two volumes in 1789. In explaining his progress to Rush, Ramsay stated that he had sent Thomson "nearly the whole of the first volume." *Ibid.*

³ For a critical analysis of Thomson's critique, see Paul H. Smith, "Charles Thomson on Unity in the American Revolution," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 28 (July 1971): 158–72.

⁴ For examples of the uses made by Ramsay of Thomson's "narrative," see *ibid.*, pp. 166–67; and Ramsay, *Writings* (Brunhouse), pp. 37–42.

⁵ Thomson wrote in the margin "May 19."

⁶ Thomson wrote in the margin "May 20."

⁷ At this point Thomson wrote "here insert them," and then wrote the following 16 numbered resolves on three separate sheets keyed to this page.

⁸ These instructions, which were printed in the July 23, 1774, issue of the *Pennsylvania Journal*, have been published in *Pa. Archives*, 2d ser. 3:551–64. Thomson had been appointed clerk at this meeting of provincial deputies.

⁹ It is unclear what Thomson enclosed. The "Instructions" that were presented to the Assembly included an "argumentative part" which was separately prepared by John Dickinson. This portion, which the author explained "has been written in such haste," was Dickinson's "Essay on the Constitutional Power of Great Britain over the Colonies in America," *ibid.*, pp. 565–622.

Charles Thomson to the States

Sir (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, Novr. 4th. 1786

The 5th of the Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union provides that for the more convenient management of the general Interest of the United States, Delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each State shall direct to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November in every Year. The federal Year now drawing to a close, and few Delegates appearing to take their seats on Monday next, The Congress previous to their rising have commanded me¹ to inform Your Excellency that the present critical situation of public Affairs requires the immediate assembling of the States in Congress, and that it is their earnest desire that Your Excellency would urge the attendance of the Delegates for Your State with all possible dispatch.

In executing this command, I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect &c²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

¹ Thomson recorded no such order in the journals of Congress.

² A copy of the following brief note to James Bryson, the postmaster at Philadelphia, endorsed "Office of Secretary of Congress—Novr. 3d 1786," is in PCC, item 49, fol. 307.

"Mr Thomson presents his compliments to Mr Bryson, and requests that he will give himself the trouble to forward the enclosed letters, by the first Packet that sails from Philadelphia for Charleston."

John Bayard to James Hutchinson

My dear Sir

New York Novr. 5th. 1786

I received your freindly & polite Letter of Octr 31st informing me of my being left out of the delegation for the present Year.¹ I confess it

was in some measure unexpected to me, as several Gentlemen had received Letters the post before mentioning that St Clair, Pettit & myself would certainly be continued. I have however this Consolation that I have strictly attended to my Duty while a Member, & endeavoured faithfully to serve my state & Country. My Freinds in this City as well as most of the Members of Congress have in the most freindly Manner expressed their chagrin & surprise at the Conduct of the House in thus treating me, & their wishes that I had been continued. They think the Conduct of the Republicans on this occasion impolitic & ungenerous—but I wish to harbour no undue resentments, Events of this Nature are peculiarly attendant on republican Governments—they cannot therefore in Justice be consider'd as fixing disgrace upon our Characters. As None of the new Elected Members Yet appear, I have concluded at the request of Mr. Pettit to keep my Seat for the ensuing Week, that is till next Friday when my Commission Expires—on that day I shall sett off for Philada. & expect to be there on Saturday Evening.

Present my best respects to Enquiring Freinds & beleive me to be
My Dear sir, Your sincere Freind &c, John Bayard

RC (PPAmP: Hutchinson Papers).

¹ On October 31 the Pennsylvania Assembly elected William Bingham, William Irvine, Samuel Meredith, Charles Pettit, and Arthur St. Clair delegates for the ensuing congressional year. *JCC*, 31:929–30.

John Henry to William Smallwood

Dear Sir

N. York Novr. 5. 1786

Your Excellency will oblige me, by forwarding the enclosed Letter to the Gentleman who shall be appointed president of the Senate. It respects myself and I am desirous that it should be received before the legislature shall proceed to the Election of the Delegates to Congress.¹

I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that Mr. Barckley has concluded a Treaty with the Emperor of Morocco. We have not yet received it, but are assured that it is equally favourable with any that now subsists with the European powers.²

I am Sir with Sentiments of the highest respect and Esteem, Yrs,

J Henry

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

¹ The enclosed letter has not been found, but since Henry was not among the congressional delegates elected by the Maryland assembly on December 2, it was probably a request not to be considered for reelection. *JCC*, 32:57–58.

² Thomas Barclay's July 31 letter announcing the conclusion of a treaty with the Emperor of Morocco had been laid before Congress on November 2 by John Jay. Jay had already informed Thomas Jefferson on October 27, however, that news of the treaty had

come first from the French chargé d'affaires Otto. See PCC, item 91, 1:156–58, item 185, 3:179; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 10:488–89. See also, *ibid.*, pp. 76–77, 141–42, 207, 265–66, 302, 349, 389–92, 118–27.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry

My Dr. Friend

New York 5 Nov. 1786

We are encouraged in our Hopes and wishes for the safety of the commonwealth by the Papers and letters which the last post brought us. Persevere and you will restore the authority of Government. While I reverence the principles of rigorous Justice, and earnestly desire that the Constitution and laws may be superior to all Opposition, I feel compassion for those unfortunate men, who have thoughtlessly united in measures unauthorised by their sober Reflections. We have supposed that no men of consequence, have been connected with the Insurgents, and it has been taken for granted, that no *external* Council or Aid has been, or would be afforded them. But be assured, that neither you nor I comprehend the combinations, which these Insurgents may in possible Events be able to form. Let them shew their condition & numbers, and advance a little farther in open resistance of the Government, and a scene will then present itself of far more importance than has yet been conjectured.

There will not be wanting leaders of name, and consideration, to conduct them. We all have our preferences & aversions, and perhaps in general they are both alike unfounded. I confess however, that with the single exception of one French Nobleman,¹ I have always been more willing to confide in the Citizens of our Country, novel as their employments have been, than in the most plausible, or experienced, Foreigners who have been among us. Although in some few instances we may have received Benefits from Foreigners in the public service, yet I have rejoiced when the Obligation has been discharged, and they have quitted America.

Some *Adventurers* yet remain, they have their Rendezvous & their Leader²—concerning *his merits and pretentions*, even you and I my Friend, have held different Opinions. I know that he was a soldier of Fortune, and a mercenary in Europe; and notwithstanding his affected Philanthropy, and artificial Gentleness, I hold his Character the same in America. The only Difference is this, in Europe he received little money, and less Flattery. In America, the Sovereign of it, having added bounty to exact Justice, and possessed him of real monies exceeding in amount the life Aggregate of the Revenues of a prince of the german Empire, he has, from this Circumstance of preference, and from the adulation of Sycophants, been buoyed up to the preposterous Belief, that his military Talents are superior to those of any sol-

dier in America. "*Alieni Appetens, sui profusus*,"³ was the character of the man who plotted the Destruction of Rome: the same Dispositions, and the like desperate Fortune, mark the man who openly justifies the Conduct of our Insurgents, and who will head them if their cause prospers. I inclose you his performance of the 1st instant, under the signature of "*Bellisarius*"—these Opinions are his hourly conversation.⁴ Farewel—Remember that the Times are critical and that I write in confidence.

Rufus King

RC (NH: King Papers).

¹ Undoubtedly the marquis de Lafayette.

² That is, baron Steuben.

³ Sallust *Cataline* 5.4. "Desirous of another's [property], lavish of his own."

⁴ The November 1 issue of the New York *Daily Advertiser* printed a long letter written by Steuben over the signature of "Bellisarius" attacking Congress' recent decision to increase the Continental establishment from 700 to 2,040 troops, for the trivial reason of suppressing insurgency in Massachusetts, which already had "ninety-two thousand militia men" on the rolls, and then publicly justifying the action as meeting a non-existing threat from western Indians. For a long extract from the letter and a discussion of Steuben's identity as "Bellisarius," see John M. Palmer, *General von Steuben* (1937; reprint ed., Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1966), pp. 339–41.

Appendix

Monthly attendance lists: October 1785–September 1786

In response to its increasing inability to conduct business because of the poor attendance of delegates, Congress resolved August 17, 1785, "That the Secretary of Congress shall once in every month, transmit to the Legislatures of the respective States, a list of the States represented, and of those unrepresented in Congress, and of the members from each State; that effectual measures may, from time to time, be taken . . . to remedy these defects." *JCC*, 29:631–33.

For the inauguration of this system, see these *Letters*, 22:597, 622–23, 702–3.

The attendance lists in this appendix were transmitted by Secretary Thomson with letters to the states dated November 7 and December 3, 1785, January 3, February 1, March 1, April 1, June 1, July 1, August 4, September 5, and October 2, 1786.

The fifth article of the Articles of Confederation provided that "No state shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor more than seven Members." *JCC*, 19:215. In preparing these monthly lists, Thomson recorded "r" on days when a state was fully represented by two or more delegates, "1" when only a single delegate was present, and "–" when none was in attendance.

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month
of October 1785—pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members in Town during the month																															Novr.			
	3	4	5	6	7	10	11	12	13	14	17	19	20	21	22	24	25	26	27	28	31	1	2	3	4									
New-Hampshire, Mr Foster Mr Long	}	r	r	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
Massachusetts, Mr Gerry Mr Holten Mr King		}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	1	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r			
Rhode Island Mr Ellery Mr Howell			}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r		
Connecticut, Mr Cook Mr Johnson	}			r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
New-York, Mr Haring Mr Smith		}		r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	1	1	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r		
New-Jersey, Mr Cadwallader Mr Stewart			}	r	r	r	r	1	1	r	r	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Pennsylvania, Mr Gardner Mr Jackson Mr Pettit	}			r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	1	1	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r		
Delaware, Mr Vining		}		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Maryland, Mr McHenry Mr Hindman			}	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r		
Virginia, Mr Hardy Mr Lee Mr Grayson	}			r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	1	r	1	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r		
North-Carolina, Mr Cumming		}		-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
South-Carolina, Mr Read Mr Bull Mr Pinckney Mr Kean			}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r		
Georgia, Mr Houston Mr Habersham Mr Baldwin	}			r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	-	r	-	r	r	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
The States represented,		10		10	9	9	9	8	8	9	9	9	7	8	8	6	1	8	4	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7		

MS (Vi: Continental Congress Collection). Enclosed in Charles Thomson to the States, November 7, 1785.

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month
of November 1785—pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members in Town,	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	15	16	17	18	19	21	22	23	24	25	28	29	30
New-Hampshire, Mr Long	}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	l	l	l
Massachusetts, Mr King, Mr Dane	}	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	-	r
Rhode-Island,	}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Connecticut, Mr Johnson	}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
New-York, Mr Laurence, Mr Haring, Mr Smith, Mr Platt	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-Jersey, Mr Symmes, Mr Hornblower	}	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr. Pettit, Mr. Bayard	}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware,	}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland, Mr McHenry, Mr Hindman	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	-	r	r
Virginia,	}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North-Carolina,	}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South-Carolina, Mr Bull, Mr Pinckney, Mr Ramsay, Mr Kean	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	-	l	-	l	r	r	r	r	r	l	r
Georgia, Mr Houston, Mr Baldwin	}	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	r	-	r
The States repre- sented,		3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	4	6	7	7	7	6	4	7

MS (DLC: Continental Congress Miscellany). Enclosed in Charles Thomson to the States, December 3, 1785.

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month
of Decemr. 1785 pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members in Town, in the course of the Month	1	2	5	6	7	8	9	12	13	14	15	16	17	19	20	21	22	23	24	26	27	28	29	30
New-Hampshire, Mr Long & Mr Livermore }	1	1	1	1	r	r	r	1	1	1	1	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr King Mr Dane & Mr Sedgwick }	r	r	r	-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	-	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island, }	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Connecticut, Mr Mitchel & Mr Johnson }	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	r	r	r	r
New-York, Mr Lawrance Mr Haring & Mr Smith }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-Jersey, Mr Cadwallader Mr Symmes, & Mr Hornblower }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr Bayard & Mr Pettit }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	-	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware, }	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland, Mr McHenry & Mr Hindman }	r	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Virginia, Mr Monroe }	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1
North-Carolina, }	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South-Carolina, Mr Pinckney Mr Ramsay & Mr Kean }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr Houstoun & Mr Baldwin }	r	r	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1
The States represented	7	7	5	4	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	6	2	6	6	6	6	6	4	5	7	7	7	7

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month
of January 1786 pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members in Town, in the course of the Month	2	3	5	6	9	10	11	12	17	18	19	23	24	25	26	27	30	31
New-Hampshire, Mr Long Mr Livermore	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr King Mr Dane Mr Sedgwick Mr Gorham	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Connecticut, Mr Johnson Mr Mitchel	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-York, Mr Laurance Mr Haring Mr Smith Mr Yates	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-Jersey, Mr Cadwallader Mr Symmes Mr Hornblower	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr Pettit Mr Bayard	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland, Mr Hindman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Virginia, Mr Monroe	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
North-Carolina,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South-Carolina, Mr Pinckney Mr Ramsay Mr Kean	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr Houston	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
The States repre- sented,	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7

MS (DLC: Continental Congress Miscellany). Enclosed in Charles Thomson to the States, February 1, 1786.

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month
of February 1786 pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members in Town, in the course of the Month	1	2	3	6	7	8	9	10	13	14	15	16	17	20	21	22	23	24	25	27	28
New-Hampshire, Mr Long Mr Livermore	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr King Mr Dane Mr Gorham	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Connecticut, Mr Johnson Mr Mitchel	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-York, Mr Laurance Mr Smith Mr Haring Mr Yates	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	r	-	-	-	r	r	r
New-Jersey, Mr Cadwallader Mr Symmes Mr Hornblower	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr Pettit Mr Bayard Mr St Clair	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland, Mr Hindman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Virginia, Mr Monroe Mr Lee Mr Grayson	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South-Carolina Mr Pinckney Mr Ramsay Mr Kean	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia Mr Houstoun	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The States represented	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	7	7	7	6	6	3	7	6	6	6	7	7	7

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month
of March 1786 pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members in Town, during the course of the Month	1	2	3	6	7	8	9	10	13	14	15	16	17	18	20	21	22	23	24	27	28	29	30	31
New-Hampshire, Mr Long Mr Livermore	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr Gorham Mr King Mr Dane	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Connecticut, Mr Johnson Mr Mitchell	l	l	l	-	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-York, Mr Platt Mr Laurance Mr Smith	r	r	r	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	l	r
New-Jersey, Mr Symmes Mr Hornblower	l	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	l	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr Bayard Mr St Clair Mr Wilson	l	r	r	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	l	l	l	l	r	l	r	r	-	l	l	l
Delaware,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland, Mr Hindman Mr Harrison	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r
Virginia, Mr Monroe Mr Grayson Mr Lee Mr Carrington	l	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South-Carolina, Mr Pinckney Mr Ramsay Mr Kean	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	l	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The States represented	7	7	7	7	7	7	8	7	7	7	7	7	6	4	7	7	8	8	9	9	9	8	8	8

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month
of April 1786—pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members in Town,	3	4	5	6	7	10	12	13	17	18	19	20	21	24	25	26	27	28
New-Hampshire, Mr Long Mr Livermore	r	r	r	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
Massachusetts, Mr Gorham Mr King Mr Dane	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Connecticut, Mr Johnson Mr Mitchell	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-York, Mr Platt Mr Lawrance Mr Smith	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	l
New-Jersey, Mr Symmes Mr Hornblower	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr Pettit Mr Bayard Mr Wilson Mr St Clair	-	-	-	r	r	r	r	r	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland, Mr Hindman Mr Harrison	r	r	r	r	r	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Virginia, Mr Grayson Mr Monroe Mr Lee Mr Carrington	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South-Carolina, Mr Ramsay Mr Pinckney Mr Kean	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The States repre- sented,	8	8	8	8	8	7	7	8	7	7	7	7	7	8	8	8	7	7

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month
of May 1786 pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members in Town,	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9	10	11	12	15	16	17	18	19	22	23	24	25	26	29	30	31
New-Hampshire, Mr Long	}	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Massachusetts, Mr Gorham	}																							
Mr King		r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Mr Dane																								
Mr Sedwick																								
Rhode-Island, Mr Manning	}	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Connecticut, Mr Johnson	}	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	1	1
Mr Mitchel																								-
New-York, Mr Laurance	}						1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r
Mr Smith																								
Mr Haring																								
New-Jersey, Mr Symmes	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	1	1	1	r	r	r	r
Mr Hornblower																								
Pennsylvania, Mr Pettit	}																							
Mr Bayard		r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r
Mr Wilson																								
Mr St Clair																								
Delaware, Mr Patten	}	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mr Rodney																								
Maryland, Mr Hindman	}	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Mr Harrison																								
Virginia, Mr Grayson	}						1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	-	r	r	1	r	r	r
Mr Monroe		r	r	r	r	r																		
Mr Carrington																								
Mr Lee																								
North-Carolina, Mr Blount	}	-	-	r	1	r	r	1	r	r	1	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Mr Bloodworth																								
Mr White																								
South-Carolina, Mr Ramsay	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	1	r	1	r	1	r	r	1	1	1	1
Mr Pinckney																								
Mr Kean																								
Georgia, Mr Houston	}	-	-	-	-	-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	1	r	1	r	r
Mr Few																								
The States represented		8	9	10	10	10	6	11	11	11	11	11	10	10	11	10	9	6	9	9	8	6	8	8

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month
of June 1786 pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members in Town,	1	2	5	6	7	8	9	12	13	14	15	16	19	20	21	22	26	27	28	29	30
New-Hampshire, Mr Long Mr Livermore	}	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	r	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr Gorham Mr King Mr Dane Mr Sedgwick		r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island, Mr Manning		-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	r	r
Connecticut, Mr Johnson	}	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New-York, Mr Laurance Mr Haring Mr Smith	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-Jersey, Mr Symmes Mr Hornblower		r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr Pettit Mr Bayard Mr Wilson		r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware, Mr Peery	}	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland, Mr Hindman Mr Harrison Mr Henry Mr Ramsay	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Virginia, Mr Grayson Mr Monroe Mr Lee Mr Carrington		r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina, Mr Blount Mr Bloodworth Mr White		r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
South-Carolina, Mr Pinckney Mr Kean Mr Huger		1	1	r	r	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr Houstoun Mr Few	}	r	r	r	r	r	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	r	r	r	r	r
The States represented		8	8	8	9	9	7	7	7	6	6	7	7	6	6	7	8	9	10	10	10

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month
of July 1786 pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members who at- tended in the course of the month	3	5	6	7	10	11	12	13	14	17	18	19	20	21	24	25	26	27	28	31
New-Hampshire, Mr Livermore } Mr Long }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr Gorham } Mr King } Mr Sedgwick } Mr Dane }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island, Mr Manning } Mr Miller }	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r
Connecticut, Mr Johnson } Mr Sturgis }	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	l	l	l	r	r
New-York, Mr Haring } Mr Lawrance } Mr Smith }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-Jersey, Mr Symmes } Mr Hornblower }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr Pettit } Mr Bayard }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware, }	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland, Mr Henry } Mr Hindman } Mr Harrison } Mr Ramsay }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Virginia, Mr Grayson } Mr Monroe } Mr Lee } Mr Carrington }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina, Mr Bloodworth } Mr White }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
South-Carolina, Mr Bull } Mr Pinckney } Mr Hugier } Mr Parker }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr Houstoun } Mr Few }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
The States repre- sented,	10	10	10	10	9	10	11	11	12	12	12	12	12	12	11	11	11	11	11	12

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month
of August 1786 pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members in Town	1	2	3	4	7	8	9	10	11	14	15	16	17	18	21	22	23	24	25	28	29	30	31
New-Hampshire, Mr Livermore Mr Long	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr Gorham Mr King Mr Sedgwick		r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island, Mr Manning Mr Miller	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Connecticut, Mr Johnson Mr Sturges		r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-York, Mr Haring Mr Laurence Mr Smith	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-Jersey, Mr Cadwallader Mr Symmes Mr Hornblower		r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr Pettit Mr Bayard Mr St Clair	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware,		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland, Mr Henry Mr Hindman Mr Harrison Mr Ramsay	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Virginia, Mr Grayson Mr Monroe Mr Carrington Mr Lee		r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina, Mr Bloodworth Mr White	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
South-Carolina, Mr Bull Mr Pinckney Mr Huger Mr Parker		r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr Houstoun Mr Few	}	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
The States represented		12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12

MS (DLC: Continental Congress Miscellany). Enclosed in Charles Thomson to the States, September 5, 1786.

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month
of Sept. 1786 pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members in Town in the course of the month	1	4	5	6	7	11	12	13	14	15	18	19	20	21	22	25	26	27	28	29
New-Hampshire, Mr Livermore Mr Long	r	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Massachusetts, Mr Gorham Mr King Mr Dane	r	r	r	1	1	1	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island, Mr Manning Mr Miller	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	r	r	r	r	r
Connecticut, Mr Johnson Mr Sturges	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-York, Mr Laurance Mr Haring Mr Smith	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-Jersey, Mr Calwallader Mr Symmes Mr Hornblower	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr Pettit Mr Bayard Mr St Clair	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	1	1	r	r	1	r	r	r	r
Delaware, }	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland, Mr Henry Mr Hindman Mr Harrison Mr Ramsay	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r
Virginia, Mr Grayson Mr Monroe Mr Carrington Mr Lee	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	1	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina, Mr Bloodworth Mr White	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
South-Carolina, Mr Bull Mr Pinckney Mr Kean Mr Huger Mr Parker	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr Houstoun Mr Few	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
The States repre- sented,	12	10	10	9	9	8	9	10	10	10	9	9	9	10	10	10	11	11	10	11

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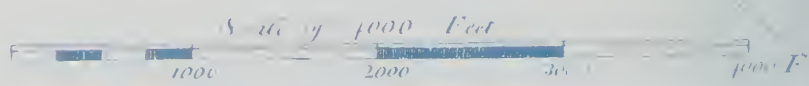
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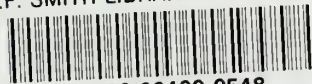


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